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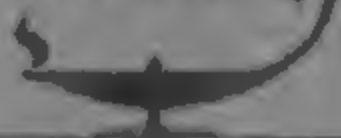


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M.DCCC.LVII.



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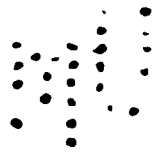
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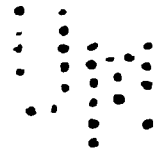
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# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW.

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JANUARY, 1857.

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## ART. I. — PALESTINE.

1. *Sinai and Palestine, in connexion with their History.* By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. 2nd Edition. London: John Murray. 1856.
2. *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and the adjacent Regions: a Journal of Travels in the Year 1852.* By Edward Robinson, Eli Smith, and others. Drawn up from the original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations. By Edward Robinson, D.D., LL.D. London: John Murray. 1856.
3. *Das heilige Land, nach seiner ehemaligen und jetzigen Geographischen Beschaffenheit; nebst kritischen Blicken in das Carl v. Raumersche "Palestina."* Von R. Joseph Schwarz, aus Jerusalem. Deutsch bearbeitet, von Dr. J. Schwarz. (The Holy Land, its former and its present State; with Critical Remarks on C. v. Raumer's "Palestine." By Rabbi Joseph Schwarz, from Jerusalem. Translated into German, and edited by Dr. J. Schwarz.) Frankfort-on-the-Maine. 1852.
4. *Syria and the Syrians; or, Turkey in the Dependencies.* By Gregory M. Wortabet, of Bayroot, Syria. 2 Vols. London: James Madden. 1856.
5. *'Azûba; or, the Forsaken Land: a Description of a recent Visit to Palestine.* By the Rev. W. Ritchie, Berwick-on-Tweed. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter. 1856.
6. *Voices of Many Waters; or, Travels in the Lands of the Tiber, the Jordan, and the Rhine, with Notices of Asia Minor, Constantinople, Athens, &c.* By Rev. T. W. Aveling. 2nd Edition. London: John Snow. 1856.
7. *Travels of Rabbi Petachia, of Ratisbon, (in the Twelfth Century).* Translated from the Hebrew. and published together with the Original on opposite pages. By Dr. A. Benisch; with Explanatory Notes by the Translator, and William F. Ainsworth, Esq. London: Trübner and Co. 1856.

PALESTINE, after all that has been written and lectured about it, still retains its intense hold on our interest. Generation after generation of travellers and of pilgrims have passed over it, and told us what they saw and felt, but we are as ready to listen to the adventures and impressions of the last returned, as we were eager to peruse the accounts of their predecessors. From the days when Abraham, a wanderer from Ur and Charan, first trod its soil, and the flocks of the patriarchs browsed on its plains, or were watered by its wells, to those when the Son of God passed over the same fields, teaching from their lilies; or retired to the same mountains to commune with His Father, and to reveal to the disciples His glory; or sat by the same well, throwing down the barriers of national prejudices, and teaching the central lesson of His Gospel, that "they that worship the Father must worship Him in spirit and in truth;" or accomplished His decease in Jerusalem,—the interest in the Land of Promise only deepens. During that period and since, empires have arisen and disappeared—the revolutions of the wheel of time have been in measure also revolutions in the political, social, intellectual, and moral history of mankind. But with almost the same eagerness, although on vastly different grounds, as the Jewish exile of old turned to the land of his fathers and to the place of his hope, we, from the distant isles of the West, whose history was chaos during the high time of Palestinian grandeur, recur to the land of the East with fond memories, the deepest and purest that can be conceived, and if not with expectant hope, at least with intense sympathy. Or, to put it in another shape, which of us has not at some period or other, hoped or wished to visit these lands? We remember, when our youthful ardour was first stirred by an account of these battles, when with Joshua we hasted over yonder hills to the relief of Gibeon, and pursued the flying enemy up and down the steep passes of Beth Horon to the valley of Ajalon; or with Jonathan and his armour-bearer climbed the rocky cliffs on the mountains of Gibeah; or, even earlier, when in imagination, we stood by Abraham's primitive altar, our kindling eye fixed on her who related to us the story of his great sacrifice; or when weeping, we followed poor Joseph sold to the Arabian merchants, pursuing his sad journey from Dothan along the sea-shore to the land of Egypt; or, later, when we traced on the map the wanderings of David,—the events of the rival monarchies,—the vicissitudes of the rebel race, till we stood in Bethabara; or near Selim, beside John, and then tried to follow the footsteps of the Master, desirous not only to understand and to feel, but also to realize the environs and circumstances—the "*tout ensemble*" of His words and deeds! Since that time, it may have been our

lot to wander over many parts. We may have sailed on the blue waters of the Mediterranean,—stood on the Acropolis, and gazed towards Salamis and Marathon—climbed the streets of Stamboul—reclined under the cypresses of Smyrna—or passed over the stormy waters of the Euxine,—but, compared with the land of Palestine, the interest attaching to such places fades, and manhood or age may still find us in this respect the same—with the same fond remembrances, and the same wishes to tread Zion hill, or by night to pass through the garden and over the Mount,—to stand in Bethany,—to follow winding Jordan,—to muse by the lake of Tiberias, or to survey the land from Pisgah on “the other side.” At any rate *we* have to plead guilty to this. After having perused very many accounts of those who had passed through, or sojourned in the land, pored over their maps, compared their descriptions, and studied the history till we almost know Palestine as we do our own country, our wishes to visit these scenes are, if possible, only stronger than they have ever been before.

Let not the reader accuse us of enthusiasm! To *such* enthusiasm we were almost tempted to apply the *Est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo*. It is based on the noblest and best emotions, it draws inspiration from the holiest events—nor is it necessarily connected with “externalism” in religion. Indeed, it deserves notice how wide-spread is this feeling. Thus we have oft remarked, when sitting by the side of some cottage-patriarch, far from the busy haunts and chosen walks of men, how, even those, whose horizon seemed so bounded as to passing events and living men—to whom the Bible was not only the text-book of religion, but almost of every other knowledge, expressed the same feelings and cherished the same wishes. And they were right—their Christian instinct, as we may term it, deceived them not; for the springs and wheels of the clock of time have moved in Palestine, wherever its hands pointed, and that mighty tree of historical reality, whose shoots and buds engage our attention in passing events or men, has struck its roots wide and deep in the soil of Palestine, and sent its fibres from the rocky mountain solitudes of Horeb and Sinai to Jerusalem, and from beside the fords of Jordan to Joppa. True, the land of Palestine is at this moment pre-eminently a land of *ruins*. But these ruins are the geological strata of our history, and especially of religious history: they are the index of the history of the earth. Take it any way you like, and it requires no stretch of fancy to connect Palestine with epochs in the history of the world, even as in the common language of the church it indicates the stages in the individual development of the Christian.

The history of the chosen race during its continuance as a commonwealth, may be divided into *three* great periods: that of the Hebrew Republic—that of the Hebrew Monarchy or Monarchies, and that of the Hebrew Province. The *first* commences with the entrance of Abraham into the land, when he pitched his tent in Shechem, that valley of “exquisite beauty,” with its soft-shaded olive groves, its many fountains, rills, and watercourses, and its “host of singing birds;” or built his first altar of rough unhewn stones under the wide-spreading oaks of Mamre, in a valley almost equally beautiful and fertile as the other, decked with the vineyards of Eshkol, in this the proper home of the vine, from which in later times the spies carried grapes to show what the land was which the Lord had promised to their fathers. This *nomadic* stage terminates with the descent into Egypt, and the stay there, necessary to transform what otherwise would have been tribes of wandering bedouins into a nation. Here then we stand at the cradle of a nation, the only one which the ravages of time have left, because they were bid spare what in reality was not only the cradle of Israel, but that of mankind. From Egypt the tribes come up, a heaven-made nation, to be organized at Sinai. But even the miracles of which they are the daily witnesses, and the awful realities enacting before them on these rocky peaks—the natural features of the scenery forming a fitting background—suffice not to train them. It requires a *generation* before the law becomes sufficiently vital in the nation to warrant their contact with the heathen inhabitants of Canaan. Both Aaron and Moses are parted from them, and with the entrance of the new race, under a new leader, and the possession of the land, commences the third stage of the Hebrew Republic. Under the Judges it gradually passes into a monarchy, which again branches into two rival kingdoms, both of which run their short course to be merged into the Assyrian empire. But even before this, Africa and Asia had already measured strength on this battle-field of the world’s empire. With the return from Babylon commences the third and last period of the Hebrew Commonwealth, when with short intervals, Palestine is a *province* of Egypt, of Syria, and of Rome—all of which contend on its plains. In its neighbourhood, Imperial Rome received probably its first and most serious shock, and there the Cæsar of the West, Napoleon I., sustained his first check. Once and again, after the throes of Judæa’s final struggles with Rome had ceased, and Palestine had lost all political importance, it became the scene of historical interest. First the resort of monks and anchorites, then the place of pilgrimage to the devout, or of penance to the sinner,—the contrast between the prosperity



of the West, and the desolation of its sanctuary in the East under Mahomedan rule, was too painful not to excite attention. Never was enthusiasm more general, never were other plans or animosities for a time more fully set aside for one all-absorbing thought and deed, than when at the call of the Hermit, thousands successively girt the sword for the recovery of the sacred soil, and the chivalry of Europe, led by its kings and princes, passed in splendid array, willingly to shed their best blood in an enterprise equally hopeless and fruitless, so far as its immediate objects were concerned. Strange, that the second half of the nineteenth century still finds the armies of Europe hovering on the same confines, and that the sound of trumpet, the noise of cannon, and the clash of arms become again almost audible along its borders. Granting that the Crusades originated, or at least drew much of their inspiration from the erroneous views of the sacredness attaching to externalities peculiar to the Middle Ages (a view which, if anywhere, has got its rebuke in Palestine, where the exact localization of the most sacred events has been rendered almost impossible, and in most instances been grievously caricatured), still they prove the intense hold of Palestine on the Christian mind, and the tendency of events. Christianity could not, indeed, become chivalric (in the sense of the Middle Ages), nor chivalry become Christianized, but the meaning and bearing of the Crusades, intensely preparatory in their character, was deeper and more lasting than appeared on their surface. It gradually evolved; nor may we perhaps be mistaken in looking for the development and evolution of a crisis, of which probably we have as yet only seen the first stage.

The East, with its mysteries, its hallowed persons, scenes, and events—what associations and recollections! Gaze we upon its ruins? First, we call up a train of anchorites and monks—a motley group, some living in sacred caves, some on mountaintops and in deserts. Then comes outcast Israel—afar off, or near the broken walls, weeping over ruins, unable to put stone upon stone, and unwilling to understand that this helpless desolation is only the symbol of a moral ruin, in which stone has been detached from stone in the sacred edifice, and all lie scattered on the ground. Then appears the Saracen, who claims each sanctuary as his own; then again, the stalwart knight, who, with his broad sword, will gain the land for Him whose emblem he wears. Then, silence again; and the tide of pilgrims returns. The “holy places” are now crowded by eager devotees, deluding and deluded: to the “sepulchre,” for the sacred fire, amid scenes of almost demoniac frenzy; to Jordan, to jump in

and wash, alike unmindful or ignorant of what John and his Master had there taught. With these frantic pilgrims now mingles a train of earnest worshippers; some bent on realizing by personal inspection the scenes on which their earliest memory had dwelt, and to which their fondest hopes cling; others whom "science's" *sacra fames* had brought, that they may impart to distant lands what accurate investigation, guided by careful study, had ascertained; some also led by mere curiosity, or by motives even more questionable. With many of the peculiarities of Eastern travel, many of its inconveniences and dangers have now also ceased; hundreds of our countrymen annually visit Palestine; European manners are introduced, and European dwellings are reared. The oft-destroyed Jerusalem again rises from its ashes, and thirty or forty feet above its ancient dwellings, overthrown in successive desolations, stand buildings, and even churches, while an enlightened and zealous Anglican bishop dots the land with Christian schools, and becomes the means of restoring a long-lost Gospel to its mixed population.

As might have been expected, such an influx of visitors and dwellers, together with the increased ease and safety of traveling, and the progress of modern science, have contributed not a little to our better acquaintanceship with the East. Yet, with all these advantages, not so much has been done as might have been desired or looked for. Let it be understood that in some respects, from the nature of the case, little additional knowledge could have been anticipated. We will not say that Scripture throughout has designedly effaced many local marks—although it were perhaps not too much to affirm so—but certainly the whole tendency of its teaching was so much in an opposite direction, as to render this an almost inevitable consequence. Of what moment was it on what exact mountain-summit the law was given, or Moses stood to take his first and his farewell look of the land of promise; *where* the waters of the sea or of Jordan had divided; or what was the precise spot of the crucifixion; of the newly-hewn tomb; of John's baptism; of Christ's miracles, or of any other of the great facts which have cast mankind and its history in their mighty mould? The event, its meaning and bearing, not its precise locality, were of importance to the world. The foot-marks of the passing caravan may soon be lost in the sand, but the trodden path and its glorious goal still and ever remain. The contrast between the teachers of the truth and the third or fourth generation of their disciples, appears very striking in this respect—the heavenly neglect of secondaries, trifles, and externalities of the

one, and the absorption in them of the other class. But while, perhaps, some of these localities cannot or are not meant to be ascertained, a vast deal yet remains to be done by the geographer and the antiquarian. The history of a people or of an event being known, an inspection of the country or locality, besides the interest which it imparts, may add a good deal to our understanding of facts, or to our familiarity with their details. Let any person think of the study of history with, and of that without, maps; or, still better, let him go over the details of an event with which he is *quite familiar*, on the spot, and among the people where it had taken place, and he will not only feel a thrill of intense reality, but understand the advantages to which we refer. Now, sacred history, although specially—shall we say designedly?—vague in fixing a locality, where such locality might ultimately have superseded the event itself, or pushed it into the background, is exceedingly vivid and pictorial in its representations and descriptions. A battle or an event may almost be recognized by its locality, or the locality discovered by the description of the battle or the event; indeed, so much is this the case, so detailed are the particulars which the sacred penmen furnish in the consciousness of their historical veracity, that their very abundance, which in the hands of different narrators necessitates divergences, has, by unthinking persons, been made the point of attack, as if offering grounds for objection. To us this is one of the strongest confirmations of these events. But, when refracted by their small bit of glass, the sunbeam resolved itself into its many-coloured rays, they straightway ran away to assure the world of a new discovery: that there was not only one, but, say half-a-dozen, differently coloured suns! We neither envy nor admire their bit of glass, and gladly do we leave the “discovery” to them and their disciples.

But the mere identification of a locality in connexion with a Scriptural event, although, perhaps, the most important, is not the only service which the philosophic geographer can and should render. If it be true that the geography of a country, and the history and manners of a nation, mutually illustrate each other, the intelligent student will in the case of Palestine enjoy the best opportunity for gathering information. We may, perhaps, illustrate this by way of contrast, when we remind the reader how little help could be derived from the present aspect of Britain and the manners of its inhabitants, in illustrating our earliest history. Here the whole aspect of the country has completely changed—woods have been cut down, morasses drained, fields cultivated, cities built, and the nation has made such progress in civilization, that it is about as easy

gathering illustrations of the state of Britain and its inhabitants eighteen centuries ago from what we now see, as it would be to infer from the rapidity of an "express" train the rate and mode of locomotion in past times. Not so in Palestine. The clock of its history has, in Divine Providence, with short and fitful interruptions, for long ages stood still. The ruins which covered it seventeen, or even eighteen centuries ago, cover it still; the few, and almost nomadic inhabitants who people it, have so much retained their pristine character, that their manners and mode of life still illustrate events recorded thousands of years ago; the very names of places have been retained, not only from the times of the Lord, or of Ezra, but of Solomon, of David, of Joshua, and even of the Canaanitish possessors, who had held the land before Israel's occupation. The case is altogether unexampled, and appears to us nothing short of a direct interposition of Providence. Literally, during the onward race of centuries, this land and its inhabitants have *stood still*, and when you enter the Sinaitish peninsula, or cross the Syrian border, you feel that you have stepped back centuries into the "desolations of many generations." All Palestine is a vast Herculaneum and Pompeii of Jewish history, but not underground, nor wholly unpeopled. By the side of monuments of more recent visitors, or attempting occupants, stand the remains of remotest antiquity, with the dust of ages gathered about them, but preserved even in their very names. It is altogether singular, and much to be remarked, what illustration of Scripture the *present* state of Palestine affords; and, just as the Jewish nation, in its history and present state, painfully illustrates the Bible, so the land has, in like manner, been preserved in its pristine desolation, that "while dead" it may yet "speak." It is as if we had entered the room of one departed many ages since, where all has carefully been preserved as when he occupied it; we allow the light of day to stream in, and, but for the dust of ages, we could almost fancy that the last occupant had but newly shut the door behind him.

If from these few and imperfect indications of what *might* be done for the elucidation of Biblical antiquities, we turn again to consider what has already been accomplished, we confess that a feeling of disappointment steals over us. Not to speak of what extensive and well-directed excavations might have brought to light, Biblical science has not made the advance which, in this respect, might reasonably have been expected. Coming down from the early notices of the Fathers, we have first the various Christian and Jewish itineraries. For a knowledge of the latter we especially recommend Asher's "Benjamin of Tudela," (2 vols., Berlin, 1840,)

and Carmoly's "Itinéraires." (Bruxelles, 1847.) Then follows almost a host of individuals who, from various motives, have visited the Holy Land, and given to the world the impressions made on *them*. It is scarcely necessary to enumerate the most trustworthy, the best informed, or the most "capacious" in their stand-point. A lengthened catalogue and short critique of them is found in App. I. to Vol. II., of Robinson's "Researches." (New Ed.) The student is familiar with names such as Raumer, Seetzen, Russegger, Schultz, Irby and Mangles, Buckingham, Robinson, M'Cheyne and Bonar, Van de Velde, Williams, Bartlett, &c. Without at present attempting either to classify or to criticize their labours, it may be more profitable to indicate, as briefly as possible, the necessary qualifications for an inquiry on the spot, of which the results may become generally useful. Having made himself *perfectly familiar* with the exact localities, so far as described in the Bible itself, and indicated by the earliest and most trustworthy Christian and Jewish authorities, the intending traveller will next acquaint himself with itineraries, and then compare with them the results of modern investigations. Probably he may draw one or more maps for himself, in which he may successively note what the Bible and the earliest authorities say concerning Scriptural localities, and again compare these maps with the conclusions of the best-informed travellers. Thus prepared and furnished with a thorough knowledge of the history of the country, and of its languages, past and present, he will be ready to enter on a tour of personal inspection. He will then require to bear in mind that, while dismissing all prejudices in one or other direction, he must also learn to appreciate the characteristics of the East, the leading peculiarity of which is, the sentiment of *reverence*. This element we also desiderate in our traveller, although regulated by scientific accuracy and conscientiousness. Both Jewish and Christian writers have greatly failed in their want of combination of these two *desiderata*. If superstition is blind, levity is odious. Thus, if we are sometimes apt to smile at the credulity of our Rabbi Schwarz, who clings to every sentence of Jewish tradition, and apparently even believes in the existence of the fabled river *Sambation*, somewhere in China, turbulent for six days and resting on the Jewish sabbath, we sometimes feel little short of indignant at Mr. Wortabet, who, we fancy, by way of writing in a dashing style, varies his accounts of Syria and Palestine by information concerning the tightness of his boots, the quality of his dinners, and the quantity of broiled chickens and brandered chops with which, under ordinary circumstances, he does away in his peregrinations, or wearies us with "Mitchell," (his Yankee *alter ego*) and "I"—a very remarkable personage whether *in naturâ*, or in



daguerreotype. But besides what we may perhaps call scientific reverence, we look for independence of judgment and ardour in our traveller. He must not merely be content to follow the beaten track of others—he must have definite objects in view, and determinately prosecute them. In this respect it is certainly remarkable that so many important points should as yet have been left unvisited by successive travellers. A little more originality and enterprise would, at any rate, have saved us a world of repetitions and sentimentalities. Caution also is necessary. Thus, while the present names of localities are very frequently an index for ascertaining their Biblical identity, mere similarity of name cannot by any means be implicitly relied upon. But it is needless to enter into further details. We may, perhaps, be allowed to add that, in our opinion, a single traveller, or even two or three, picked up at random, will scarcely be found to unite all the necessary requisites for a scientific or proper exploration. A scientific “pocket-man,” a kind of literary *omnium gatherum* and *multum in parvo*, has, so far as known to us, not yet been discovered. What *may* be attempted, and even how much may be accomplished by an individual who both possesses the needful ardour and many qualifications, will be gathered from a perusal of the unfortunate Seetzen’s “Life and the Account of his Travels,” (edited by Drs. Kruse, Hinrichs, and Müller, 2 Vols., Berlin, 1854). Still, it may fairly be doubted whether anything less than a small association of scholars, each of whom engages in a special department of inquiry, will suffice for a satisfactory investigation. Such an association harmoniously co-operating under the guidance of a general plan, leisurely and conscientiously carried out,—alas, yet a *pium desiderium*!—may, indeed, be expected to accomplish much. Of all modern travellers, the most eminent by far, and he to whom Biblical scholars are under greatest obligations is, doubtlessly, Professor Robinson, of New York. A review of his “Later Researches,” will afford us opportunity of mentioning some of the merits of his investigations. Meantime, we notice that in part he acted on the above-mentioned plan, at least so far as to choose for his companions in travel, scholars thoroughly informed, acquainted with the country, and familiar with the language and the habits of the people. But, let it be remembered, as Professor Robinson has rightly indicated, that all such personal investigations can only be *preparatory* to a much greater undertaking, and one urgently required; we mean a work on the “Physical and Historical Geography of the Holy Land.” Initial or partial contributions to it have already been made, but a standard work on the subject on a comprehensive plan, such as might readily be sketched,

exists not in our theological literature. Biblical scholars will be happy to learn that one every way so competent as Professor Robinson intends "speedily to address" himself to this task, and we are sure they will unite with us in earnest wishes that his "life and health may be spared" to accomplish so important a service to the church, and to the scientific world.

The various works, of which we have placed the titles at the head of this article, represent not only the different merits of writers on this subject—from the cedar that groweth on Lebanon to the hyssop that springeth from the wall—but also the different modes of treatment which it may receive. Mr. Stanley's "Sinai and Palestine" is an attempt, from actual inspection of the localities or from well-authenticated descriptions, to realize the various events recorded in the Bible. If it is not a geographical history it is an historical geography, or, at any rate, for the plan is not fully and consistently carried out, historico-geographical sketches. Professor Robinson's "Later Researches" give the diary of that eminent scholar during a journey in 1852, and must be considered as supplementary to his former great work, of which, in the present edition, it appropriately constitutes Vol. III. Rabbi Joseph Schwarz is a German Jew, who, from religious motives, had for sixteen years, before the publication of his volume, resided in the Holy Land. He has travelled through its length and breadth, and attempts identifying not only Biblical localities, but those also which have become memorable in the course of Post-Biblical Jewish history, or are mentioned in Talmudical writings. His work, originally composed in Hebrew, appears in a German translation by his nephew, Dr. Schwarz, who introduces it by a florid preface, and with a poem, in which, to use a common proverb, the will must be taken for the deed. Mr. Wortabet is a Syrian Protestant, the son of one of the first fruits of the American Mission in Bayroot. He professes to give a sketch of Syria and the Syrians, as well as of a journey to Jerusalem. The volumes of Messrs. Ritchie and Aveling were both originally series of popular lectures delivered by clergymen who had visited the Holy Land, with this difference, however, that Mr. Ritchie devotes his whole space to Palestine, while more than one-half of Mr. Aveling's book is filled with accounts of Europe and of Egypt. From this very cursory general notice the reader will perceive that in these volumes he has representatives of the various elements which, in combination, would go far to make up a perfect work: we mean the historical, the descriptive, the antiquarian, the illustrative, and the popularly-religious. We shall now introduce the reader to each of them, so far as may be necessary.

The value of Mr. Stanley's work consists chiefly in two

points,—the vivid sketches which he has given of the principal localities in Palestine in connexion with the events which had rendered them celebrated, and the pictorial representation of the land generally which his pen and pencil have furnished. In company with three friends, Mr. Stanley, in the winter of 1852 and spring of 1853, made a tour of Egypt and the Holy Land, in the manner and by a route not unfrequently followed. Journeying up the Nile as far as the second cataract, he gives of Egypt and its wonders, in what he rightly designates merely as an introduction, a description as chaste and life-like as any that could be produced within so brief a compass. With the entrance on the Sinaitic peninsula commences properly the subject of the book. Washed by two arms of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Suez and that of the Akaba, rises the peninsula, ever memorable for the one great fact of which it was the theatre,—the wanderings of the children of Israel and the revelation of the law on Mount Sinai. From almost every point of the peninsula one or another arm of the sea is visible. For the first time here, had the children of Israel, who formerly could have only stood by the tideless Mediterranean, seen ebb and flood in what they appropriately called “the Sea of Weeds”—with its “white shells” all along the shore; “its forests of submarine vegetation;” “its trees of coral, whose huge trunks may be seen even on the dry shore;” and “its red rocks and red sand.” The peninsula really consists of three distinct parts. The northern, and by far the largest portion, called the desert of the “Tih,” is “a wide undulating pebbly plain,” enclosed by long horizontal ranges,” all of the limestone formation, and gradually sloping into the pasture-land of Judæa. The “Tih” is bounded on the south by a narrow belting of sand, descending very much in a semicircular form. The third, or rocky and mountainous portion of the peninsula, is called the “Tor.” Its northern part is chiefly sandstone, the southern, granite or porphyry, both giving to its steep sides that strong red hue which, in certain lights, may even appear scarlet or crimson, and which forms one of its principal characteristic features. Mr. Stanley arranges these mountain groups into three clusters, the north-western of which Mount Serbal (6,759 feet high), is the most remarkable; the central, crowned by the Convent of St. Catherine (8,705 feet high); and the south-eastern, with its majestic Um-Shomer (8,850 feet). The highest Sinaitic peaks rise to a height of 9,300 feet, being only 75 feet lower than Lebanon, and 700 than the snow-capped Mount Hermon. The two peculiarities of this mountain-scenery, so vividly portrayed by Sir F. Henniker, are the intricate confusion of its peaks and their bare appearance, which he describes as that of “the Alps

unclothed." Here and there shrubs are found, and palms spring up; indeed, there is a slight tinge of verdure throughout the whole peninsula, sufficient to maintain at present the flocks of 6,000 Bedouins; but this does not materially alter the character of this desert mountain-solitude. There are, however, strong grounds for believing that in former times it had been capable of supporting a much larger population. An almost unbroken and awful silence reigns, and though, no doubt, the statement of the Arabs that they could make themselves heard across the Gulf of Akaba was exaggerated, Mr. Stanley mentions that a page "distinctly but not loudly read from the top of a mountain was perfectly audible at a distance of sixty feet." Verily, a fit scene these glaring, lonely, silent, naked cliffs, and altogether an apt emblem of the solemn transactions which there took place! Throughout, the peninsula is intersected by "wādys," or dry river-beds, filled perhaps in winter, but otherwise quite dry. Of perennial rills there are a few, which, however tiny in themselves, convert their immediate neighbourhood into oases. Three of these are described by travellers; one close by the shore, "half way down the Gulf of Suez," the other in Wādy Feiran, and the third about the Convent of St. Catherine.

From this description of the scenery we turn to the question—How far the route of the Israelites through that mighty wilderness has been tracked and identified? Here, with few exceptions, we can as yet only balance probabilities. At any rate, tradition (Arab, Jewish, and Greek,) must be entirely discarded—it is manifestly apocryphal and often contradictory. Even the question of the exact spot of the passage through the Red Sea is not yet quite settled, although every probability points to the immediate neighbourhood of Suez. Thence, of course, we are safe to conclude that the Israelites followed along the sea-coast "till they entered the low hills of Ghurundel,"—which, or else Ain Howara, must be the Biblical Marah,—and the wādys in the immediate neighbourhood, Elim. After that every question of the farther route is so mixed up with that,—Which of the mountain peaks in the Tor is "Sinai?" that it can scarce be solved in the present state of the question; for, it must be borne in mind that the Sinaitic peninsula has never been thoroughly examined, "no traveller having traversed more than one, or at most, two routes," and that even the rival peaks which claim to be Sinai have not been all ascended. We may here state that the latter honour has hitherto been chiefly vindicated for Mount Serbal and for Gebel Mousa (on which the Convent of St. Catherine stands). The principal objection, and manifestly it is decisive, to Mount Serbal, is the absence of sufficient or suitable ground for encampment around and before it. In the

Gebel Mousa range, two rival spots claim to be the "Mount of the Law." On the first, or traditional, stand the ruins of a small Christian church and of a mosque; the second is an elevated cliff called Râs Sasâfeh (Willow Head), which completely commands the wide-sweeping plain beneath. As the same objections which apply to Mount Serbal may, with equal and even greater force, be urged against the first-mentioned peak, Mr. Stanley decides for Râs Sasâfeh in language which we cannot help transferring to our pages:—

"That such a plain should exist at all in front of such a cliff is so remarkable a coincidence with the sacred narrative, as to furnish a strong internal argument, not merely of its identity with the scene, but of the scene itself having been described by an eye-witness. The awful and lengthened approach as to some natural sanctuary would have been the fittest preparation for the coming scene. The low line of alluvial mounds at the foot of the cliff exactly answers 'to the bounds' which were to keep the people off from 'touching the mount.' The plain itself is not broken, and uneven, and narrowly shut in, like almost all others in the range; but presents a long retiring sweep, against which the people could remove and stand afar off. The cliff rising like a huge altar in front of the whole congregation, and visible against the sky in lonely grandeur from end to end of the whole plain, is the very image of 'the mount that might be touched,' and from which the 'voice' of God might be heard far and wide over the stillness of the plain below, widened at that point to its utmost extent by the confluence of all the contiguous valleys. Here, beyond all other parts of the peninsula, is the *adytum*, withdrawn, as if in the 'end of the world,' from all the stir and confusion of earthly things."

But although, after a careful study of the ground necessary for the encampment around the mount, we must express our decided preference for Râs Sasâfeh as compared with Serbal, we are not by any means convinced that the former is "the mount that might be touched." Leaving, in the meantime, out of the question, the possible claims of Um-Shomer, (the "Mont Blanc" of the range), which has never been fully ascended or explored, we do not hesitate to express our preference for a mountain-top on the *opposite* side of the wâdys of the encampment (as we may term them), which stretch to Râs Sasâfeh. We must, however, premise that, as that top has never been climbed, so far as known to us, the final decision of the question must be postponed till a traveller, more enterprising than his predecessors, shall have investigated and reported on the spot. Our grounds of preference are the same, and even stronger than those which apply against Mount Serbal: the *situation*, and the *name*. A glance at the map will at once show the reader that

the most prominent spot—the real centre and platform of the range, is *not* Râs Sasâfeh. North of it the range called Gebel el Fureia extends almost in the shape of a heart terminating in an apex. This out-standing apex alone, of all the mountains in the peninsula, bears to this day the name of Gebel Sina. Around it on both sides, and fully commanded by Gebel Sina, sweep two extensive wâdys (Er-Rahéh and Es-Sheykh) which we have termed those “of the encampment.” The shape of these wâdys completely answers to that of Gebel el Fureia; so that Gebel Sina its apex stands out into these wâdys like a mighty platform or altar visible on all sides. On the other (the southern) side of these wâdys is the Ghebel Mousa range, receding in a manner exactly corresponding to that in which El-Fureia advances, and near the innermost and most receding point is the Râs Sasâfeh, which accordingly only commands one of the two wâdys of the encampment. Manifestly both the position and the name (Gebel Sina) point it out as *the* spot, unless other difficulties appear on a personal inspection. Mr. Stanley himself seems to have entertained some misgivings on the subject, and we can only express our astonishment and regret that he should have left it unexplored. If this point is meantime considered settled, we are disposed to agree in the view of Professor Ritter, reproduced by Mr. Stanley, according to which Mount Serbal was an ancient heathen sanctuary of the desert, and the battle of Rephidim (Ex. xvii.), fought at its base, took place in the Wâdy Feiran, which, according to the oldest tradition, bore the name of Paran.

These questions discussed, we may rapidly follow Mr. Stanley eastwards to 'Akaba, the ancient Elath, and thence to the wondrous rock-city, Petra, overhung by Mount Hor (5,300 feet high), on which Aaron died in presence of Moses and Eleazar. It is not necessary that we detain the reader with notices of Mount Catherine and its convent, which he may find in almost every book, or with doubtful discussions. Nor have we space to dwell on the vivid description furnished by Mr. Stanley of Petra, except to indicate its leading peculiarities. Our guide advises every traveller to enter Petra by the *eastern* and not, as at present, commonly, by the western approach. You enter here through the celebrated defile—the *Sik*, or mountain cleft—between rocks of red sandstone, which rise perpendicularly to the height of one, two, or three hundred feet. Passing for a mile or more along the continual sinuosities of this road, between cliffs of “dull crimson,” you come by a sudden turn of the gorge on a temple excavated in the rock, which completely closes “your view from top to bottom.” This, probably, is the most striking point. The road now opens and contracts again,



and you find yourself amidst the excavated tombs all around, of which the reader has, no doubt, heard or read. Another narrowing and another opening of the road, and you stand on the site of Petra itself, strewn with fragments of the once splendid city. Mr. Stanley identifies Petra with the *Kadesh* of the two battles with the Canaanites, of the rebellion of Korah, the death of Miriam, &c. Returning from Petra, we now cross the 'Arabah, and gradually near Judæa. As the desert ends the palm disappears, but other "signs of life are manifest;" shrubs multiply, grass is seen, then red anemones, patches of corn, daisies, and hyacinths. At last we ascend the boundary line of hills, and "deep glades of corn, green and delicious to the eye, spread right and left before us." What a host of well-known names now fall upon our ear: "the hill country of Judæa," Carmel, the mountains of Moab, En-gedi, and below it the Dead Sea! What a moment of intense excitement it must be when, having first set foot on the Land of Promise, the eye drinks in all these scenes—too much, almost, were it not that their very variety and extent prevented our dwelling too exclusively on any one of them. Verdure and fertility still increase, till at last we find ourselves amid the olive groves and vineyards of that ancient city, Hebron—so long the capital of Judah—where both Abraham and David had dwelt, and the most powerful of the tribes so often congregated. Another stage—past the oaks of Mamre, by Bethlehem—ever-memorable to the Christian—Ramah and Rachel's tomb, and the white walls of Jerusalem are in view. The first impressions in sight of the Holy City we shall describe in the words of Mr. Aveling:—

"A rush of feeling, such as I had not known for many years, passed over me; and the pent-up tide of emotions swept across my soul with a torrent's force. That city—that olive-clothed mount—the garden at its foot—the midnight hour—the unutterable agony—this knoll, outside the walls, where the cross was reared, and the awful scene of the death of the Son of God was beheld—all were there. Trembling with intense and overwhelming excitement, I sat down upon a fragment of a rock by the wayside, and looked long and earnestly at the objects before me. My feelings had been wrought to the highest pitch; and as my head drooped heavily, I burst into tears; I had no power to restrain myself, but wept long and passionately as if my heart would break."—P. 277.

Two things chiefly impress the thoughtful student in connexion with the history of Palestine—its smallness and insignificance, and yet its fitness and adaptation for the great events of which it became the theatre. From Jordan to the sea, the country scarce measures more than fifty, nor from Dan to Beer-sheba, more than a hundred and eighty miles. Its capital,

Jerusalem, did not for a long period—even in Jewish history—play any distinguished part, but remained an almost isolated heathen fortress in the land. Nor can we speak of anything like striking beauty of scenery—at least in the sense in which the term is generally taken. True, the present desolate condition of the land, the ruins which now mark the sites of its splendid cities, and the uncultivated waste which has taken the place of its former fertility and cultivation, cannot be taken as an index of what it must have been when, high amidst palaces, rose on Mount Moriah the Temple in its glory; when unnumbered flocks pastured on its plains; when its valleys were waving with crops, its hills decked with orchards, and even its cliffs covered with vine-clad terraces. But the general features of the scenery must always have been much the same as at present. These, with their many hills, mostly bare of wood, have been compared to the lowlands of Scotland or of North Wales, with the characteristics of which many of our readers are, no doubt, familiar. The very brilliancy of the flowers is chiefly set off by “the sober hue of the rest of the landscape.” True, the mountains of Moab, snow-clad Hermon, the peaks of Lebanon or of Carmel, must always have been glorious points of aspect and of prospect; the valleys of Hebron or of Shechem afforded delicious retreats; the plains of Esdraelon or of Sharon afforded rich vistas; the mountain-passes of Beth Horon appeared awful defiles; the wilderness round that sea of wonders, a terrible solitude; while the depression of the Jordan valley, with the tortuous rapid descent of that stream, is entirely unparalleled. The reader will form a more distinct idea of the latter, when we remind him that the course of Jordan is no less than 3000 feet below the mountains of Judæa; that its descent to the Sea of Galilee is 300, and thence to the Dead Sea, 1000 feet; and that it passes through twenty-seven rapids; and so deviously, that its windings multiply its course of 60 miles to 200, while the Dead Sea itself is not less than 1312 feet below the ordinary level of the sea! Still, all these features constitute rather the adaptation of the land to its history, than give it a claim to beauty of scenery. Defended on the east and south by the Desert; in part protected on the north by the ridges of Lebanon; with an open prospect towards the west, over that wide main, across which the great truths of Palestine were to be carried; the land was sufficiently secluded and yet sufficiently central for the purposes for which it was chosen, while—a not unimportant consideration—the *variety* of its climate and scenery afforded the readiest means for illustrating Scriptural teaching, yet so as to be adapted to almost every clime where that truth might afterwards be proclaimed. The very unattractiveness of its scenery was an



important element. Just as the neglect in fixing special localities proves the high spiritual cast of these teachers, when compared with the externalism of others, so the commonplace aspect of the country forms a striking and instructive contrast with the scenery of other and heathen sanctuaries. We shall best consult the advantage of the reader when we express this in the language of Mr. Stanley himself:—

“There is little in these hills and valleys on which the imagination can fasten. Whilst the great seats of Greek and Roman religion at Delphi and Lebadea—by the lakes of Alba and of Aricia—strike even the indifferent traveller as deeply impressive,—Shiloh and Bethel, on the other hand, so long the sanctuaries and oracles of God, almost escape the notice even of the zealous antiquarian in the maze of undistinguished hills which encompass them. The first view of Olivet impresses us chiefly by its bare matter-of-fact appearance; the first approach to the hills of Judæa reminds the English traveller, not of the most, but of the least striking portions of the mountains of his own country. Yet all this renders the Holy Land the fitting cradle of a religion which expressed itself, not through the voices of rustling forests, or the cliffs of mysterious precipices, but through the souls and hearts of men; which was destined to have no home on earth, least of all in its own birth-place; which has attained its full dimensions only in proportion as it has travelled farther from its original source, to the daily life and home of nations as far removed from Palestine in thought and feeling as they are in climate and latitude; which alone, of all religions, claims to be founded, not on fancy or feeling, but on fact and truth ”

To these points of adaptation we would add as another, that of the peculiar fitness of localities to the events which there took place. Willingly would we have dwelt on this, but our limits oblige us to refer the reader to the work of Mr. Stanley, which is mainly devoted to its illustration.

At Jerusalem we must needs part company with our instructive guide and pleasant companion. And where better could we wish to part than after having studied together the *locale* of its Biblical associations—especially on that spot where Jesus made His last and His triumphal entry into the doomed city. Following the southernmost of the three roads, which at present lead from Bethany to Jerusalem—a continuation of the old Jericho road—between the two tops of Olivet, now known as those “of the prophets” and “of offence,” winds the pathway over the mount to its “descent.” Here the first glimpse—not of the Temple, for it is yet hid—but of Mount Zion, the city of David, crowned by its palaces, is caught; and here, no doubt, as the morning sun poured his full lustre on its beauties, did the multitude raise the triumphant shout of “Hosanna to the Son of David.” Again we proceed; the road descends, and we lose

sight of the city; again it ascends, and we now reach the ledge of a rock where, all at once, the *whole city*—the Temple with its courts, its worshippers, and its ascending cloud of sacrificial smoke and incense—bursts on our view. Between us and the abruptly rising city, yawns the deep chasm of the valley of Kedron, here joining with that of Hinnom. Nor can we be mistaken when, with Mr. Stanley, we here pause, solemnly and awe-struck, as standing on the very spot where of old “He beheld the city, and wept over it.”

Leaving Mr. Stanley at Jerusalem to commit ourselves to the guidance of Professor Robinson, the reader may not unreasonably expect a few critical remarks, ere we finally leave our guide. With the purpose of realizing and verifying on the spot the various events, Mr. Stanley goes through the whole of Palestine, and in each locality describes what had rendered it celebrated. The learning of our author is thorough and profound, his observation accurate, his tone devout, his imagination lively, and his style really fascinating. An attractive feature of the volume is its chromo-lithograph maps, the variegated colouring of which gives a most vivid impression of the *aspect* of the country, indicating its different geological features and its appearance—forests, fields, rocks, limestones, granite, sandstone formation, &c. Here and there they may indeed be slightly corrected by a comparison with the map attached to Mr. Robinson’s “Later Researches,” but this only applies to minute or trifling details. Perhaps we could have wished more of critical decision and independent investigation in our author. As instances of the former, we may mention his hesitancy in pronouncing on the so-called Sinaitic inscriptions, and the arrangement of the different hills on which ancient Jerusalem was built. The latter may not have been within the scope of his work. As regards the Sinaitic inscriptions we may note by the way that Professor Robinson pronounces distinctly in favour of Tuch’s view, who ascribes their origin to heathen Arab tribes, and to later pilgrims of different creeds—an opinion in which, notwithstanding late remarks, we are disposed to acquiesce.

At Jerusalem, Professor Robinson and his fellow-traveller, Dr. Eli Smith, have reached their southern *terminum ad quem*, and with the exception of a few excursions from the city, they henceforth turn their faces northward. We have already stated that these “Later Researches” are almost entirely supplementary to the former great work of that *savant*—the result of his journey in 1838,—and which, since its appearance, has and will continue to maintain its place as the standard work on the subject in the English language. Dr. Robinson is at once the most scientific,

the most accurate and the most enterprising of modern travellers in Palestine. When, after a preparation of almost twenty years, he entered upon his first journey, he brought with him a thorough knowledge of the subject. An eminently sober-minded and pains-taking observer, he could turn his information the better to account that he was accompanied by so efficient an assistant as Dr. Smith, whose intimate acquaintance with the East and its languages is well known. The results of their investigations have already been of great use to Biblical scholars, as well as to succeeding travellers and writers. To verify some of his former observations, and to complete them, Professor Robinson undertook, in 1852, another journey, in company, first with Dr. Smith, then with Messrs. Thomson and Robson. Of this expedition the volume under our notice is the fruit. It were almost presumptuous to say anything in praise of the labours of one to whom Biblical geography already owes so much. Very few of his conclusions have been called in question; and, in regard to those which have been controverted, we have to say for ourselves, that the balance of evidence seems generally to lie in favour of Dr. Robinson. Every intelligent and competent traveller who succeeded him has borne witness to his accuracy. But we must confine our observations to the "Later Researches." There are, indeed, many localities and questions which are still left for future travellers to investigate or to solve. Parts of the Sinaitic peninsula, the southern shores of the Dead Sea, the eastern banks of Jordan, the place where John baptized—not to speak of many others, which might readily be mentioned—present a sufficient field for the researches of the most enterprising travellers, provided they possess similar qualifications with Professor Robinson. Every section of his book will, by the accurate bearings which he continually notes, the minute descriptions, the copious references and the accurate measurements which he gives, prove to the reader that he has now committed himself to the guidance of a thoroughly trustworthy scholar, whose statements should in every case be most carefully weighed. If the student will take our advice and imitate our example, he will follow Professor Robinson along the excellent map with which Dr. Kiepert, of Berlin, has enriched the volume, marking at the same time the different localities which he has identified, and he will thus be able at a glance to perceive how deeply indebted, even in this respect, we are to his researches.

Leaving Bêirût on the 5th of April, in company with Dr. Smith, the course of our travellers lay southwards, and at first rather along the western part of Palestine. It is of course impossible for us to give even an outline of their diary. We must be content to note a few of the more prominent and interesting

points. It is well known that—however despised Galilee and the Galileans may have been at an earlier stage of Jewish history, by the spiritual aristocracy of Judæa, who, while acknowledging their superior moral rectitude, affected to scorn their ignorance of traditionalism—this relation was reversed soon after the time of the Lord's appearance. The position of the northernmost province of Palestine must, indeed, always have given it great political importance. Here chiefly were the irruptions of an enemy to be dreaded, and his course of conquest to be resisted. Galilee must always have been the bulwark of Jewish independence. The hardy and numerous race which inhabited it were well qualified to sustain their part, and the configuration of the country afforded peculiar facilities for successful defence. Accordingly, we hold that the command entrusted to Josephus during the war under Titus, was the most important of all, just as afterwards, during the Bar Cochab rising, the northern line of forts—designed to guard the entrance to the land—was the position most important for the Jews to hold, or for the Romans to gain. The result in both cases is well known. We believe that after these positions had been stormed by the enemy, the subjugation of the land could only be regarded as a question of time. Not only in a political, but in a religious aspect also, Galilee became in later times the "chosen spot." Thither flocked the rabbins and their pupils—there, in Usha, Shafram and Tiberias, the patriarchs, who with a spiritual combined a temporal sway, held their court—there synagogues and academies multiplied—there also the huge system of traditionalism was fully elaborated—there Jewish sages and saints lived and taught, and there the last Palestinian Sanhedrim was closed. To this day, Tiberias and Safed are among the "holy places" of the Jews, and, like the tradition of the monks, that of the rabbins transports legendary accounts and fictitious burying-places, such as those of Hillel, Shammai, &c., to this sacred spot. Accordingly, at every stage of their progress, Professor Robinson and his companion came upon the remains of Jewish grandeur. Extensive ruins of synagogues, easily distinguishable by their peculiar architecture, are discovered by our travellers just where Talmudical accounts lead us to look for the remains of former splendour. Thus, at Keifr Birim—a place celebrated by the Jews as containing the tombs of Barak and of Obadiah—extensive ruins of what must have been two splendid synagogues are traced. These ruins had formerly been partly described and sketched by the deputation of the Church of Scotland in 1839, and an account of them will be found in their "Narrative" (one of the most valuable works on Palestine), under date July 11th. Similar ruins are again

found at Meiron—the Mero of Josephus, fortified by that leader along with Giscala, the present el-Jish—at Irbid, at Tell Hum, at Kedes, and in other ancient Galilean towns. In an out-of-the-way Druse village—Bukei'a—some few Jewish families are even described as the only representatives of those who had lived in the same place since before the Christian era. The seclusion of the spot had apparently protected them from the vicissitudes of their co-religionists in other localities. Very distinct traces are also discovered by our travellers both of the places celebrated during the campaign under Josephus, and during the Bar Cochab war. Of the cities in Upper Galilee fortified by the former, we may mention Giscala, Seph, Jamnith, Meroth, and the rock of Achabari. All these, with the exception of Jamnith, have been identified, and are represented by the modern el-Jish, Safed, Meirôn, and 'Akbarah. Near this, sweeps from the sea, in a south-easterly direction, the mountain ridge above Râmeh—the Ramah of Naphtali—from which one of the finest views in Palestine is got, extending from the Bay of Akka to Lake Tiberias. This ridge divided Upper from Lower Galilee. With this a Talmudical passage (Shev. ix. 2) agrees remarkably. “Upper Galilee commences at the village of Chananjah” (the present Kefr Anân, immediately below Rameh), “where sycamores no longer grow; south of this village is Lower Galilee, where sycamores grow.” In *Lower Galilee* we recognize the *Selamis* of Josephus in Khirbet Sellamêh; *Araba* in the present 'Arrâbeh; *Sagam* in the present Sûkhûm; *Gabara* in the present Kubarah; *Chabolo* in the present Kabûl; *Jotapata* in the modern Jefât; *Ruma* in Rumêh; *Sepphoris* in Seffûrieh; *Simonias* and *Gabatha* in Semmûnieh and Jepâtha, &c. The readers of Josephus must be well acquainted with all these localities. Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Gabara were the principal cities of Galilee. Sepphoris was the centre of the Roman party; the horrors of the capture of Gabara and of Jotapat are fresh in our memory. It will readily be gathered how much light the identification and description of these places must throw on this part of history. In still later Jewish history, especially in the Bar Cochab war, the three forts of Cabul, Shichin, and Magdala, formed the northernmost line of Jewish defence (v. Dr. Edersheim's “History of the Jewish Nation,” p. 220, *et seq.*). These strong places we recognize in the modern Kabûl, Sukhûm (the *Sogam* of Josephus), and el-Mejdel. Nor can there be much difficulty in identifying the battle-field of Rimmon (Edersheim, *u. s.* p. 222). Among the Biblical localities marked by Professor Robinson, we may call special attention to Khirbet Kâna, which, despite De Saulcy's objections, we hold to be the “Cana of Galilee,” and

Dothan (which still bears that name), where the sons of Jacob sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites. We cannot, however, entirely admit either Professor Robinson's or Mr. Van de Velde's claim to the discovery of the latter place, "overlooked by all modern travellers," and only noted by "R. Parchi in the fourteenth century." At p. 133 of his work, and in his map, Rabbi Schwarz correctly points it out. Indeed, we may take this opportunity of expressing regret that the learned American should not have dealt more full justice to the labours of the Rabbi. He had known his book, but has given it no place in his very full catalogue of writers on Palestine. Yet whatever the demerits of the work, Rabbi Schwarz has identified a very *large* number of places; some of them the same which were afterwards pointed out by Robinson. Occasionally, as, for example, with reference to Modin (the place renowned as the residence of the Maccabees) and Bether, the Jerusalem of the Bar Cochab war, we must express our preference for the views of Rabbi Schwarz. The former place Robinson finds in Lâtron, while Schwarz (p. 68) speaks of it as a mountain named Midian, and still covered with ruins. To this both the name and the distance mentioned by the Talmud (Pes. xciii. 6), as fifteen Mil, or one and a half hours from Jerusalem, correspond (*v. Schwarz, u. s.*). With reference to Bether, Professor Robinson's suggestion—and he only mentions it as a *suggestion* (p. 270)—that Bethel and Bether may be identical, will not stand a moment's inspection. Rabbinical writers, who if on any such question, may be trusted on this with which they *must* have been so intimately conversant, describe Bether as four miles from the sea. Without doubt it must be the place of that name north of Kefr Sabá, or Antipatris. In the face of such evidence, the vague statement of Eusebius—not always well informed on Jewish matters—that Bether was "not very far from Jerusalem" (H. E. iv. 6), can be of comparatively little value. Indeed, the details of the siege given by Jewish authorities (*comp. Edersheim, p. 224*) can leave no doubt as to the locality.

If Professor Robinson's description of Galilee is specially interesting and instructive, we have to bear similar testimony about his account of ancient Jerusalem. We would advise a careful study of that section. Read along with Josephus or an intelligent historian such as Salvador ("Gesch. der Römerher. in Pal.," vol. ii.), it will enable us to realize the progress of that ever memorable siege. Not that on all points—such as the extent of Antonia—we are *quite* satisfied, but that the *general* features of the description must carry conviction to every candid inquirer. The arrangement of the hills may be said to be now almost settled. Indeed, it is difficult to



conceive on what grounds the view of our author, which, by the way, had for centuries been universally entertained, was called in question. The same approbation, although in a more modified way, must be accorded to his plan of the fortifications of ancient Jerusalem. It is difficult to know in what manner to treat Mr. Wortabet's remarks on this subject, whether as to their import or their tone. We wish he could be brought to understand the wholesome warning, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam* ! Of the various travellers whose books are under review, Mr. Wortabet was, however, the only one to visit the famous mosque which now occupies the site of the Temple; but, from the peculiar circumstances of the visit, he is unable to give more than a very general description of it. Before leaving Jerusalem, we may as well remark that Professor Robinson holds that the mounds of ashes outside the Damascus gate, which have lately been described as connected with the sacrifices of the Temple, are merely accumulations of refuse from soap-works. We cannot say that the Professor has quite convinced us on this point.

The third important section of Professor Robinson's investigations is that which treats of the valley of the Jordan. The popular idea which makes the whole Ghôr (or Jordan valley) a desert, is fallacious. This description can only apply to its southern portion, extending to about Kûrn Sûrtabeh. North of this spot, and up to the Lake of Tiberias, we have "luxuriant fertility," and "an abundance of water." The two main purposes of Professor Robinson in this part of his excursion, were to investigate the Salim and Aenon, where John baptized, and the site of Pella. In the latter he succeeded, the former he missed. We are the more sorry that the situation of Salim was not ascertained, as the Professor speaks of a *Salim*, with the river *Faria*, at an hour's distance, and watercourses at hand, such as may well have borne the name of *Aenon* (springs). We are confirmed in this view by finding that Schwarz (p. 127), in referring to this Salim, describes a plain and a watercourse, which the Talmud very curiously designates as *En Cushith*, the *Cushite* spring, an adjective which, as every Talmudical student knows, commonly applies to foreign religions, and perhaps, especially to the Christian. It were curious, if it could be ascertained, that the springs by Salim where John baptized, had afterwards been stigmatized by the Rabbinites as those "of idolatry," or, rather of "Anti-Judaic heresy." The subject, at any rate, deserves investigation. Probably one of the most interesting parts of the volume before us, is our traveller's description of Pella, the modern Fahil. The *special* interest of that city, as our readers know, attaches to the fact that thither the Christian Israelites retired from the doomed city, previous

to its capture by Titus, and that there, probably the full separation between the church and the synagogue was completed. Fâhil had been visited by Irby and Mangles in 1818, but the honour of identifying it must lie between Drs. Robinson and Kiepert; as that of having explored it belongs no doubt to the former of these *savants*. To examine it and Jabesh-Gilead, the present Judeita, our travellers forded the Jordan a little above the ancient Succoth (the modern Sakâl). Unfortunately, the ignorance of their Arab guides made them miss Jabesh, even as their impatience had almost deprived them of an inspection of Pella. But here happily the determination of the explorers prevailed. They found extensive ruins; among others, the remains of what they judge to have been a church and a temple. A rude Greek inscription "Thomas" seemed to be "a later scrawl."

Recrossing Jordan, near Beth-Shean, or Scythopolis, our travellers pursued their course to Lake Tiberias. Without entering into a discussion of the questions involved, we may here express our acquiescence in Professor Robinson's views concerning the sites of Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida, and that, notwithstanding Mr. Wortabet's objections. Farther than that, to the sources of Jordan, to Damascus, to Baalbec, and over the ranges of Lebanon, we may not follow our learned guides, though their diary during that part of their journey also, is well deserving of the most careful study. So much only shall we say in laying aside this volume, that if every reader who wishes to have a vivid picture of Palestine, and the chief events of which it was the scene, must possess himself of Mr. Stanley's book, no person should attempt an expedition to the Holy Land without having made careful study and making constant reference to Professor Robinson's volumes. It is the standard work on the subject, and as such, must find its place in every properly furnished library.

From what we have already said of Rabbi Schwarz's work, the reader will have no difficulty in forming an opinion of its character and merits. It gives not only an account of the land, but also attempts to identify the various localities mentioned in the Bible, and in later Jewish writings, and to describe the *physical* features of Palestine, its history, and the present state of its Jewish inhabitants. The many inaccuracies which disfigure it, and which have necessitated corrections by the *savant* to whom the revision of the press seems to have been entrusted, and to which, curiously enough, Rabbi Schwarz replies somewhat acrimoniously in an appendix; the contracted Jewish stand-point of the author which necessitates a rigid adherence to what often are manifestly Rabbinical fables, and the arrogance



of its tone and strictures on other writers, render it unworthy the honour of translation; still, the investigations are so minute, the Rabbinical learning of the author is so accurate, and the information which so lengthened a residence enables him to communicate so important, that his work should be consulted by every scholar and subsequent writer on Palestine.

Mr. Wortabet's volumes, apart from the occasional flippancy (we had almost called it by a worse name) of its tone, communicate much that is interesting on the manners, the social condition, and the state of Syria. Had the author dispensed with digressions and with discussions on subjects which we think he is not very competent to handle; had he confined himself to an account of his own country and people; in a word, had he compressed his two volumes into *one*, he might have produced, not only an instructive, but a fascinating book. As it is, most readers will, with us, enjoy some parts of his work, skip others, and be disappointed or displeased with some.

Of the volumes of Messrs. Ritchie and Aveling, we have only to say, that they are fair specimens of the accounts of ordinary travellers. *Valeant tantum quantum*. The reader will not look for discoveries, for profound observation, or new information in them. Perhaps it would be unkind to enter on a detailed criticism. On such a subject every person may almost be allowed to give his own impressions. It may be added that their accounts will afford agreeable and useful hours of reading to those who only wish for a general idea of the results of a visit to the Holy Land upon the minds of devout and intelligent clergymen. Perhaps we could have wished that Mr. Ritchie's book had been less in the religiously-declamatory—the interjection strain, and Mr. Aveling's less in the elementary style. The *character* and *propriety* of their remarks we leave, in each case, to the reader of their respective volumes. Nothing more than a mention of Rabbi Petachia's tractate is requisite. It is of the ordinary character of these compositions, but conveys, if not always trustworthy, at least curious and interesting information. The translation is accurate and elegant, and reflects considerable credit on Dr. Benisch; the notes by Mr. Ainsworth are good and useful.

Now that the reader has followed us so long and so patiently in our survey of the Land of Promise, and in our references to the events which it witnessed, we would fain have a parting word, could we only hope to communicate our feelings in the few lines which are still left us. All history, especially all religious and Palestinian history, centres in, and points to CHRIST. He is the sun of that land, and of its history, even as He is the sun of all history, of the church, and of the world.

All these localities are hallowed by their reference to Him, and to the great facts of which He is the centre. Yet, in studying the history of the land, or in rising from a perusal of the descriptions of the most sacred spots, how true, and how apt do we feel the sentences with which Mr. Stanley closes his account of Judæa and Jerusalem:—

“These localities have, indeed, no real connexion with Him. It is true that they bring the scene vividly before us; that in many instances they illustrate His words and works in detail. But the more we gaze at them, the more do we feel that this interest and instruction are secondary, not primary; their value is imaginative and historical, not religious. The desolation and degradation which have so often left on those who visit Jerusalem, the impression of an accursed city, read in this sense a true lesson: ‘He is not here: He is risen.’”—P. 193.

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## ART. II.—THE NEUFCHATEL QUESTION.

1. *Neufchatel and the Treaties and Conventions of 1815.* (*Neufchâtel devant les Traités et Conventions de 1815*). Geneva: 1856.
2. *History of the Helvetic Confederacy.* By Johannes von Müller; continued by Glutz-Blotzheim and Hottinger. Leipsic: 1806—8; Zurich: 1816, and 1815—29.
3. *The Protocols of the Vienna Congress of 1814 and 1815.* (*Akten des Wiener Congresses*). By J. L. Klüber. Erlangen: 1815—16.
4. *The New Federal Constitution of Switzerland.* Published 1848.
5. *The London Protocol concerning Neufchatel, of May 24th, 1852.*
6. *Six Original Letters of Frederick-William I. of Prussia.* Republished at Berne: 1856.

DESPITE the checks offered by temporary reaction, the epoch we live in is one of popular progress and popular emancipation. The times are changed since nations were “born with saddles on their backs,” and princes “with spurs to ride them.” The times have long since departed when kings could gravely assert, without fear of ridicule, that the people were their personal property, and that the lives and substance of thousands of their fellow-beings were destined for the sole use and benefit of a despotic royalty. The ideas of national dignity prevailing in modern society have happily attained a somewhat higher standard. Princes, now-a-days, find a difficulty in maintaining the rare old doctrine that their best claim to dominion is the musty antiquity

of their pedigree. A nation, in these our days, has fortunately become a being of some import and some self-esteem; it no longer slavishly acknowledges the pretensions of any absolute ruler who, in virtue of some successful usurpation of his ancestors, claims for his dynasty the privilege of holding in thralldom, to the end of time, a civilized community. In fact, an enlightened people of this our epoch, consider themselves the best judges of their own wants. They assert the right of providing constitutions for themselves. They claim a voice in making those laws they are called upon to obey. They maintain the prerogative of organizing themselves after their own ideas,—of establishing the commonwealth in this or that sense, according to the political, moral, and social conditions in which they are placed.

The intellectual progress of our age has raised this theory beyond dispute, except by the very ultras of dynastic reaction. And, if we dip into the records of the past, we see that even in former ages this principle of self-constitution, although not publicly acknowledged, has generally been acted upon by the nations of the world. The chronicles of this country afford the most ample proof of the fact. England, from the earliest times of her history, has repeatedly taken the liberty of changing her constitutional system. In the seventeenth century, her people did not even shrink from deposing a dynasty, and erecting, in its stead, a commonwealth on a republican basis. Afterwards, it is true, this country again reverted to the purely monarchic form—only, however, to dismiss it, in its turn, for some new principle which was established by another constitutional change. Thus the people of England have always maintained the political maxim, that the special dynasty and given constitution of the country are not institutions to be necessarily preserved for ever in the same form, but, on the contrary, that it is desirable and imperative, at times, to entirely alter these forms of government in order to adapt them to the spirit and the wants of the age.

With these historical precedents, which we might further enlarge upon by pointing to the United States, and with the enlightened political ideas that are accepted by the modern world, it will not be difficult for any truth-seeking man to arrive at a just verdict in the cause pending, at this moment, between the free Helvetic Confederation and the despotic pretensions of the House of Hohenzollern. However, as the advocates of the Prussian Court daily endeavour to mislead public opinion, the Federal authorities of Switzerland have themselves published a short *résumé* which must sufficiently render apparent the hollowness of the Prussian pretensions to exercise sovereignty over Neufchatel. It may be as well to

state here, that the Swiss government, in their memorandum, have not even taken full advantage of the arguments that might be advanced in favour of the new constitution of the Canton. Enlisting history as their guide, and founding their case on diplomatic documents, they might, indeed, have produced evidence—first, that Neufchatel, though placed at different times under various suzerainties, was, from early ages—in fact, from the sixteenth century—a member of the Swiss Confederation. Secondly, that in 1707, when the last reigning family had died out, and the country intended constituting itself as a republic, a new feudal tenure was established for the House of Hohenzollern, by the most shameless bribery and a slavish expenditure of its gold among those families at Neufchatel who were able at the time to influence the destinies of the state. Thirdly, that this new suzerainty, even supposing its foundation to be recognized as valid, has been lost *de jure*, in 1806, by a gross act of constitutional perjury committed by the Prussian King. Fourthly, that in 1814 Neufchatel was brought back under Prussian dominion, not through the desire of the people, but through an aristocratic plot. Fifthly, that this re-establishment of Prussian suzerainty was moreover viewed, in 1814, with considerable jealousy by the different great powers of Europe. Sixthly, that those international treaties which are binding for the Swiss Confederation, contain not a syllable of acknowledgment of the pretended rights of the House of Hohenzollern. Seventhly, that Prussia, as late as 1833, herself explicitly recognized the unstable and undefined foundation of her claims. Eighthly, that since 1707, the Neufchatel patriots have endeavoured no less than five times to obtain a constitution harmonizing with the general law of Switzerland. Ninthly, that the republican constitution which was finally established, in 1848, without the sacrifice of a drop of blood, received the sanction of the people of Neufchatel, the unanimous approval of all the Swiss Cantons, and the implied acknowledgment—with the sole exception of Prussia—of all the great European powers; and tenthly, that any foreign intervention for the sake of re-enforcing the pretensions of the King of Prussia can neither be founded on the basis of the treaties of 1815, nor defended on the plea of sound and honest policy.

The first of these ten propositions carries us back to the mediæval history of Neufchatel. In turning over its pages, we meet at once a circumstance that cannot escape our attention: it is the striking fact, that, from the earliest times, the country has been connected by intimate ties with the Helvetic Confederation. So far back as the fifteenth century, Neufchatel appears as allied to Berne, Soleure, and other Swiss Cantons.

A little later, in 1512, we find her a member of the Swiss Leagues; and this connexion with the republican confederacy of Switzerland has continued, under some shape or other, almost without interruption, up to the present day. Judging from these historical evidences, it may safely be said, that a "Swiss heart" has always animated the people of Neufchatel.

Meanwhile the internal organization of the country has undergone repeated changes. From the eleventh to the sixteenth century we find Neufchatel, first under the domination of a family of counts, who took their title from the name of the town, and afterwards under that of the Counts of Friburg and Baden-Hochberg, equally acting as suzerains. During the same epoch, in consequence of different feudal transactions, which it would be too long and tedious to explain here, the tenure of Neufchatel passed, for a time, into the hands of the French seigneurs of Châlons, a family claiming descent from the blood-royal of Bourgogne. In the sixteenth century, Neufchatel for a certain period was handed over to the Swiss Cantons, and placed under the baillage of the patricians of Berne—a proceeding which met with no protest from the seigneurs of Châlons. In 1528, at the request of the King of France, Switzerland allowed Jeanne, widow of Louis d'Orleans, to re-establish a suzerainty over the country; but, at the same time, more intimate relations were entered into between Neufchatel and the Helvetic League. In 1591, at the Treaty of Vervins, Neufchatel was declared "a free and sovereign state;" and the national independence of the country, and its intimate alliance with the Swiss Bund, was henceforth frequently acknowledged in public acts. The former suzerainty of the Châlons, in any case, was considered as definitively abolished, null, and void.

Towards the eighteenth century, the House of Orleans-Longueville, which had enjoyed for some time the lordship of Neufchatel, became extinct by the death of Princess Mary of Nemours. Whereupon a host of pretenders, not less than fourteen in number, and consisting of princes, marquises, barons, and other titled individuals, started up at once and laid claim to the inheritance. Amongst the pretenders were to be found the Count de Montbeliard, Madame la Marquise de Mailly, the King of Prussia, the Count of Nassau, the Marquis d'Allègre, and Madame Juliane Catherine Damont, dame de Sergis. These six pretended to derive their claims from the House of Châlons; though, as we have just remarked, that family itself had long before waived its pretensions on Neufchatel. Besides, there were eight further claimants in the persons of the Duchess of Lesdiguières, the Count de Matignon, the Prince Carignan, the Prince Conti, Madame

de Neufchâtel, widow of the Chevalier de Soissons, the Margrave of Baden-Durlach, the Prince of Fürstenberg, and the Baron de Montjoie. These founded their claims on an assumed relationship with the House of Orleans-Longueville. This whole legion of pretenders was clamorous in asserting their respective rights for governing—or rather misgoverning—unfortunate Neufchatel. Lastly came the Swiss Canton of Uri, which, at the cession of the country to Jeanne d'Orleans, had protested against that procedure, and now also entered a claim of sovereignty over the disputed province. This took place in 1707.

It was in the natural order of things that the conflict of so many feudal parties encouraged the patriotic and free-minded part of the people to attempt throwing off altogether dynastic rule, and organizing themselves as a free commonwealth similar to the other Swiss Cantons. A Republican party consequently sprung up at Neufchatel. Its programme, it is true, appears to have been of a rather aristocratic and oligarchic aspect. Such, however, as it was, it corresponded with the character of the times; and, in any case, it worked for the good cause of establishing an independent canton. The project was, to constitute the country after the manner of Berne or Friburg, and to create it a "fourteenth republican member" of the Helvetic League. No doubt this project would have been crowned with success had it not been for the jealousy fostered between the "communes" and the "bourgeoisies" of Neufchatel; and, before all, had not the King of Prussia unscrupulously employed every means of corruption for winning over the influential families of the country.

Unfortunately the golden arguments made use of so lavishly by the House of Hohenzollern proved but too persuasive. The rouleaus of louis-d'ors that found their way into the itching palms of the petty nobles, converted many a wavering conscience. Thus it came to pass, that when the day for deciding the future constitution of Neufchatel arrived, the twelve representatives of the nobility, the magistrature, and the bourgeoisie were found zealous for the King of Prussia. The people, properly so speaking, had not even been allowed to make their voice heard. We may safely conclude, that if the country had been polled, the suzerainty of the House of Hohenzollern would even then, in 1707, have been rejected. At least, we see from some curious old records, that the population of the valley of Travers expressed loudly its indignation at this dynastic traffic, and that the deputies of the bourgeoisie of Landeron appeared at Neufchatel on the very day of the so-called "election," to protest against bartering over the country to the Prussian despot. The High-Advocate to the Parliament himself had maintained in his



pleadings that, of all the pretenders, he of Prussia had certainly the least title.

As it was, however, the twelve representatives had it all their own way; and they, bought by Prussian gold, handed over Neufchatel to the tender mercies of Frederick I. The very selling price of the conscience of some of these men is known almost to a ducat. The means of corruption employed by the then Prussian minister, M. de Metternich, were in fact of the most open and shameless kind, and, in some instances, gave rise to rather ridiculous *quid pro quos*. Thus M. de Metternich, for instance, once sent to one of the petty seigneurs of Neufchatel, whose vote was necessary, the somewhat undignified bribe of a pair of geese! True to his instinct, the magnanimous noble ordered one of them to be sold to realize a profit. Scarcely, however, had the bird passed into other hands when it was discovered that the one left at home contained the savoury stuffing of a rouleau of a hundred louis-d'ors! Great was the chagrin of the worthy senator at the loss of the other precious bird, and in hot haste he dispatched his messenger to repurchase the goose with the golden eggs. In the meanwhile it had been sold and resold; and the bribe it carried in its breast for the betrayal of the country became the perquisite of, let us hope, an honester man than the traitor it was intended for. We only give this graphic anecdote in order to exhibit a specimen of the means employed by the Court of Berlin. On this "legitimate basis"—on geese stuffed with louis-d'ors—rests the right of the House of Hohenzollern to the sovereignty over Neufchatel.

We have seen somewhere a calculation that the sum of money employed in corruption surpassed even the value of the whole country of Neufchatel and Valangin. This will sufficiently explain the docile submission of the leading families there to Prussian dominion. The Neufchatel aristocracy had, besides, another solid reason for desiring as suzerain a prince residing in a country far away from the frontiers of Switzerland. The distance between Neufchatel and Berlin rendered the feudal privileges of the aristocracy more important and lucrative, as it did away with any apprehension of the people bringing their complaints against exaction before such a distant tribunal as the far-off capital of Prussia. With a suzerain some hundred miles off, the petty noble considered himself the absolute lord of the miserable clodhopper,—of the *gens taillable et corvéable à merci*. The result of course was, that feudalism flourished in its rankest luxuriance at Neufchatel, even long after it had been deemed advisable by the kings of Prussia to relieve, in their own proper dominions, at least some of the mediæval burdens from the shoulders of their subjects.

In order to render even more apparent the fact of wholesale bribery employed by the Court of Berlin, we will refer here to the "Six Royal Letters" which have recently been exhumed from the Swiss archives. It is Frederick-William I., father of Frederick II., writing to his minister De Lubières, and directing him to use every effort for securing a certain document in which the particulars of the barter of 1707 are fully and authentically described. The Letters are highly interesting and historically most important, giving a deep insight, as they do, into the unfair character of the Prussian transaction. We will, however, pass over the Royal Letters themselves, and only transcribe an authentic report annexed to them, and which is to the following effect :—

"Count Metternich, having been obliged, during his Neufchatel negotiation, to come to an understanding with the judges, *several of whom sold themselves to the highest bidder*, wished, when he had obtained the investiture, and it became necessary to make his report to the Court, that MM. de Stanian, de St. Saphorin, Runckel, &c., to whom he had communicated everything during the progress of the negotiation, should sign the said report.

"Two duplicates were made, one in cipher, which was sent to the Court by post, and the other written in the usual way, which Count Metternich kept among his other papers. Both these duplicates were signed by the three gentlemen above-named; and if that which was sent to the Court still exists, it will be found to contain particulars of all those to whom it was necessary to make promises before the judgment was given; of the motives which led Count Metternich to promise *the special reward marked for each one*; and how the highest of the judges gave their decision in favour of the King of Prussia, less in consequence of his good right than *from the bribes they received*.

"The document retained by Count Metternich was afterwards stolen from him; and the person who took it was actually on his way to France, probably designing to sell it to some of the French pretenders, from whom he might think he would get a handsome sum, *as the document would radically upset the sentence given in favour of the King of Prussia, being an authentic proof against the judges,—made, as it was, in the name of Count Metternich, and confirmed by the three ministers who signed it.*

"Fortunately, a certain M. Tillier, of Berne, the then Bailiff of Aubonne, and now Bailiff of Könitz, happening to be at Neufchatel, and having gone to the house of the person who had taken the document, to look at some other papers, saw this one; and, at once comprehending its importance, used his authority to seize it, without meeting any opposition from the other person, whose conscience smote him for what he had done.

"M. Tillier has never consented to mention the name of the person from whom he took the document; but from various indications it



was M. Abistal, who is now in the service of the Duke of Mecklenburg, and in whom Count Metternich reposed great confidence. Since the matter happened in 1713, and as the said M. Abistal came from Berlin to Neufchatel, Count Metternich can himself give information respecting the person he suspects of having taken this document from him.

“As M. Tillier is a man of good principles, there is every reason to hope he will not make a dangerous use of this document. Nevertheless, as he is not rich and has a large family, the safest plan would be to get it out of his hands; the more so because, if he were to die, there is no saying what might be done with it by his children; and the nature of the document is such that, no matter at what time, the French would only have to get hold of it, *and the sentence in favour of his Majesty of Prussia would be infallibly upset.*”

From this authentic document it will be seen how the Court of Prussia itself acknowledged (in a secret paper which it never thought would come to light) that any proof, produced in public, of the bribery of 1707, “would radically upset the sentence given in favour of the King of Prussia.” We think there are very few persons who, after the perusal of the “Six Royal Letters,” and the report joined thereto, will not arrive at the same conclusion.

Having thus exposed the corrupt basis of the Prussian pretensions, we now proceed to prove that, even if their validity were conceded, still they have been forfeited by a gross violation of law.

No greater amount of audacity could well be imagined than to require the people of Neufchatel to submit their liberties to the yoke of Hohenzollern, for no better reason than because some profligate men, a century and a half ago, bartered away their country to a foreign power. But, even were we to acknowledge that base sale of 1707 as affording a legitimate foundation for Prussian claims,—even were we to acknowledge that Prussia once possessed a title to the dominion of Neufchatel,—still the people of that Canton might come forward with a document with which to confound, even on that ground, the despotic pretender. The document we allude to is the parchment containing the constitutional oath every Prussian king, at his accession, solemnly swore to observe as Prince of Neufchatel. A short quotation will at once throw ample light on this subject. When, in 1707, Frederick I. assumed the suzerainty, he was made to swear by the Neufchatelese that he would “maintain the principality in all its independence, *inalienability*, and *indivisibility*; and that he would not confer the said principality as an appanage to any younger prince, or as a fief or arrier-fief to any whatever; *nor to dispose of it in any other way.*” This oath which was

l by all the successors of Frederick I., entailed upon the f Prussia a distinct duty, to forsake and violate which em *eo ipso* incapable of governing. Now the Prussian has violated this oath.

the battle of Austerlitz, in 1806, the King of Prussia, d a craving for the possession of certain provinces of rn Germany, entered into secret negotiations with in order to bespeak a new territorial arrangement. It reed in these negotiations that Prussia should receive r in exchange for the Duchy of Cleves and the Princi- f Neufchatel,—these latter to be ceded to the French em- y consenting to this arrangement, Frederick-William III., alpably broke the oath he had taken on his accession rve the “inalienability” of the country. The reasons he l for his conduct, in announcing the exchange to the ouncil of Neufchatel, rendered even more flagrant his n of the trust reposed in him. With unblushing effrontery ared that, “from due regard to *the interests of the Prussian ly*,” he deemed it fit to make the said territorial exchange; moreover, that the “geographical distance of Neufchatel ie Prussian dominions” rendered it desirable that the nent of the country should pass into other hands. Thus ng, by his own words, held the interest of Prussia so unt over his constitutional oath that he handed over his nship to the first successful bidder. Can the descendant royal huckster now wonder that the insulted population fchatel hold their national independence higher than an ice to a dynasty so forgetful of its engagements? It be alleged as an excuse that the King of Prussia was a pressure from without when he ceded to France his nty. Had he simply been driven to this act, he would ad no necessity for making the cession of Neufchatel the n of a paltry traffic. But he *sold* the country in further- f his own dynastic views, by which scandalous act he d himself. His successors must abide by the consequences he constitutional law provides.

a the foregoing it will not be surprising that “the e” which the King of Prussia, in 1806, had declared between Neufchatel and his dominions proper, was rth also to be found between the sympathies of the atel people and their former lord. The faithlessness ick the Court of Berlin had chattered away the country, indeed deep disgust among a great part of the popula- When, therefore, the French empire was overthrown in nd Marshal Berthier, the Prince of Neufchatel, was to fly before the Allied troops, a similar project to the

one of 1707 was brought forward by a number of patriots: that is, it was once more projected to constitute the country as an independent, sovereign, and *republican* member of the Swiss Confederacy.

With this view the State Council of the Principality sent one of its members, Mr. de Rougemont, to Berne, where the civil and military authorities of the Allied belligerent powers were assembled. Mr. de Rougemont, it is true, was far from being a republican in the sense now attached to that denomination. His propensities were rather of an oligarchic nature. He inclined towards a constitution such as the aristocratic Canton of Berne and others possessed. But even this moderate demand obtained no favour with some of the despotic powers; and Mr. de Rougemont was compelled to withdraw from the Allied headquarters, leaving the field to M. Chambrier d'Oleyres, an intriguing and influential partisan of the Prussian dynasty. This latter, without any authority, had appointed himself representative of Neufchatel; and in this self-assumed quality he treated with the military commanders and the diplomatists of the Allied powers, as though he possessed a natural right to decide the fate of the country.

However, the State Council of Neufchatel by no means thought fit to commit the fate of the principality to such a self-elected and irresponsible proxy. Consequently a new deputation was dispatched, in which Mr. de Rougemont, the representative of the "Swiss party," figured again; but in order to render him more acceptable, he was accompanied, this time, by two colleagues whose monarchic principles were undoubted—the one, M. de Pourtalès, for the Prussian party; the other, M. de Montmollin, as the advocate of the French interest. Unfortunately, by an intrigue, which we have no doubt was concocted between M. de Pourtalès and M. de Chambrier, this deputation never arrived to carry out its proposals: *M. de Pourtalès feigning indisposition*, the departure of the deputies was unduly retarded. Meanwhile the Prussian agent, Chambrier, availing himself of the influence he had acquired by his ceaseless activity, regulated with his own hand the whole affair. When the deputation at last arrived at Basle, Chambrier was able to announce to it: first, that the King of Prussia claimed the state of Neufchatel; secondly, that the suzerainty would be re-established as it had existed previous to 1806; and thirdly, that he, Chambrier, had been nominated Governor of the Principality, and had already dispatched to the State Council a commissioner to organize the country on that footing. A proclamation was also forthwith addressed to the people of Neufchatel, in which this *fait accompli*

was formally announced. (*Vide* Address of the self-styled Governor, De Chambrier, D.D. January 25, 1814.) The deputation, thunderstruck at the news, could do nothing more than retire. It did so under a formal protest on the part of MM. de Rougemont and de Montmollin, who refused to be treated as Prussian subjects.

Thus it will be seen that the Prussian domination, which had been lost *de jure*, by the perjury of 1806, was only re-established through a clever sleight of hand.

It remains for us now to prove that the claim of the House of Hohenzollern to the dominion over Neufchatel, although re-assumed *de facto*, was far from receiving the full and hearty consent of all the European powers.

And here we will first allude to a most noteworthy circumstance with regard to Prussia herself—viz., to the fact, that the re-assumption of government at Neufchatel, as may well be conceived by any one giving himself the trouble to peruse the diplomatic documents of the time, was *not* made by Prussia in virtue of “ancient dynastic rights,” but merely by virtue of a success of arms. So little did the Court of Berlin calculate on any longer possessing “rights,” or “legal titles,” at Neufchatel, that we do not find any allusion of that kind in any document of the period. The bargain Frederick-William III. had made with Berthier, was too fresh in men’s memory to allow even the audacious diplomatists of Prussia a chance of talking about the “rights” of the House of Hohenzollern. Thus, in the above-quoted proclamation of Chambrier, and in the charter octroyed by the king, no allusion of that kind is to be discovered. The Prussian sovereign contented himself with saying, that he once more counts the Neufchatelese as his subjects, and once more will exert himself to promote their welfare.

This reserved and prudent language was, however, quite in keeping with the sentiments prevailing at the time among several of the European governments. In fact, Austria and Russia, though far from amiably disposed towards the Helvetic Confederation, looked with a jealous eye upon the influence Prussia was endeavouring to acquire on the Swiss frontier. The courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, therefore, at once began somewhat to counteract the ambitious schemes of Frederick-William III. In the first instance, it was the wish of Prussia to incorporate Neufchatel with her own dominions, and to make it a member of the German Bund. This design was forthwith prohibited by the Russian government. Prussia then declared her intention of isolating Neufchatel from any political contact with the Swiss Confederation. But Austria and Russia replied, that Neufchatel for centuries had been an integral part

of the Swiss League, and that the country, therefore, should be made a member of the Helvetic Bund. The King of Prussia, driven to extremities, lastly proposed then to ally himself, in his quality as suzerain of Neufchatel, to the Canton of Berne. The other powers raised the objection, that this half-measure would be incompatible with the new centralized constitution of Switzerland; and that no other alternative remained, but "to join Neufchatel to Switzerland as another canton." Whatever may have been the secret motives which influenced Austria and Russia in these procedures, certain it is that the Prussian pretensions were viewed with considerable jealousy by these powers.

France, on her part, in 1815, looked with still greater mistrust upon the establishment of Prussia at Neufchatel. The neighbourhood of Prussian military forces, on the Jura frontier of France, displeased even the government of the Restoration. A protest was consequently made, on the part of the court of the Tuileries, against the validity of the Prussian claims. The Bourbons of France maintained that they, too, had at least an equal, if not a better right, to the possession of Neufchatel, through their connexion with the house of Orleans-Nemours. They added, besides, that Frederick-William III. had ceded the state of Neufchatel to France, by a formal treaty, the stipulations of which had been faithfully observed by France. The Court of Berlin, in order to pacify these complaints and protests on the part of Louis XVIII., proposed a *mezzo termine*, by promising that, in any future matter of dispute between the canton and the prince—i.e., between the Swiss Federal and the Prussian dynastic interests—the Helvetic Diet alone should have the right of deciding the case. The government of France, however, was not fully satisfied, even with this promise. It never acknowledged explicitly the Prussian pretensions. It only tacitly recognized the existing state of things; but with the special proviso, that *no armed Prussian intervention could ever be allowed in the event of any change at Neufchatel.*

This short historical recapitulation will have demonstrated the value of the assertions of those Prussian Court advocates, who now would have us believe that the European powers, in 1815, enthusiastically welcomed the re-establishment of Prussian dominion.

We will now proceed to take a glance at the different European treaties which are binding for the Helvetic Confederation, and which our readers will find in the careful collection made, some forty years ago, by that eminent author on international law, Johann Ludwig Klüber. We will prove

from these treaties that there is not a single document binding Switzerland to recognize the suzerainty of Prussia.

In order that a public engagement should be obligatory for any power, it is necessary that the power in question should have subscribed to the engagement. This axiom is almost too simple to require explanation. Moreover, the contracting powers of the Vienna Congress themselves, in the preamble to the declaration which refers to Switzerland, have acknowledged this principle. Well, putting this test to the various treaties, we firmly contend that all the public conventions or declarations which the Helvetic Bund has subscribed to, do not contain a single word by which Switzerland is required to recognize the House of Hohenzollern as the lord of a Swiss Canton! On the contrary, these same documents contain several express stipulations from which it might rather be contended that the suzerainty of Prussia has been carefully excluded from recognition. There are, in fact, only three documents of 1815 binding Switzerland, to wit: first, the Declaration of the Congress of Vienna concerning Swiss Affairs, bearing date March 20, 1815; and the Counter-Declaration of the Swiss Diet of May 27, 1815; secondly, the document concerning the admission of the State of Neufchatel as a canton in the Swiss Confederation, D. D. May 19, 1815; and, thirdly, the document which acknowledges and guarantees the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland, and the inviolability of her territory. This latter document is dated November 20, 1815.

In none of these diplomatic deeds can the champions of Prussia find a single title or allusion to the so-called rights of Prussia! There is in them no stipulation made in favour of the claims of any prince. In the Declaration of the Vienna Congress of March 20, 1815, it is simply said that the nineteen ancient cantons, constituted as republics, "are acknowledged as the basis of the Helvetic system" (Art. I.); and that the Valais, Geneva, and Neufchatel "are incorporated with Switzerland in order to form three new cantons." Of the Prussian suzerainty we see not a word!

In the same manner, in the Counter-Declaration by which the Swiss Confederacy accedes to the Vienna Declaration of March 20, 1815, and promises that the stipulations of this act shall be faithfully observed, not a syllable is to be discovered respecting the House of Hohenzollern. In document No. 2, concerning the admission of Neufchatel as a canton, there is, on the contrary, a stipulation which the antagonists of Prussia might quote with advantage. It is there said: "Article I. The *sovereign* state of Neufchatel is admitted in the Swiss Bund in the quality of a canton. This admission takes place with the



express condition that the fulfilment of all the engagements contracted by the state of Neufchatel as a member of the Helvetic Confederation—viz., the power of participating in the deliberation on the general affairs of Switzerland, of ratifying and executing the decrees of the Swiss Diet—*exclusively* concerns the government residing at Neufchatel, *without any ulterior ratification or sanction being required.* Any fair rendering of this clause must make it obvious that, in this paragraph, the sovereignty of Neufchatel is clearly recognized, whereas the claims of Prussia are evidently excluded from recognition.

Article II. of the same document adds still more weight to this interpretation. That article says: "The Canton of Neufchatel *accedes to all the dispositions of the Federal Compact*, which it will be called upon to swear to in the same manner as the other Swiss states." Now it must be well known that the Federal Pact, here referred to, declares all Swiss Cantons to be on an equal political footing, and equal political rights to be the birthright of all Swiss subjects, to the exclusion of any governmental privileges in favour of any class or caste. It is difficult, we opine, in the face of this paragraph, which is obligatory for Neufchatel, to support the so-called hereditary rights of the dynastic caste of Hohenzollern.

Lastly, the third document which we have above quoted, viz., the Public Act of Nov. 20, 1815, is worded in the following manner: "The powers which signed the Declaration of March 20, 1815, acknowledge by the present act, that the neutrality and inviolability of Switzerland, and *her independence from all foreign influence*, are essential to the political interests of all Europe." This paragraph also might be quoted as tending to invalidate the Prussian claim. The more so, as in this document, as well as in the two others which are alone binding for Switzerland, not an iota is contained in favour of the rights of the House of Hohenzollern.

It will thus be seen that the central powers of Switzerland have nowhere pledged themselves to a recognition of Prussian suzerainship. Whatever claims the Court of Berlin may, therefore, bring forward from other documents which have emanated from the Vienna Congress, the response to them simply is—that they do not concern Switzerland, not having been recognized by her.

It might be asked perhaps, why, in spite of the treaties and of the Federal Pact we have quoted, Prussia has been suffered to exercise authority at Neufchatel from 1814 to 1848? To this we reply that the state of general reaction, which was established by the Northern powers after 1814, did not allow

Switzerland to assert her rights apparent ;—the less so as even within the different Cantons of the Helvetic Bund, a reactionary spirit became prevalent among the most influential classes of the population. In other words, the enlightened portion of the Swiss people being held down by aristocratic and ultramontane intrigue, no course of truly national policy was attempted. Still we must again repeat, that the Helvetic authorities,—though from 1814 to 1848 they achieved nothing towards the overthrow of Prussian dominion,—never at least took any active measure or pronounced even a single decision expressing in any way a sanction of the claims of the Berlin Court. How little the King of Prussia felt himself recognized by the Helvetic Bund, may be seen from a most telling fact. When, in 1833, the so-called League of Sarnen was concluded among several Swiss Cantons, Frederick-William III. cautioned the State Council of Neufchatel to be careful in all its decisions,—alleging, as a reason for prudence, “that the Neufchatel question, in like manner with many others, was *still far from being definitively settled!*” Evidently the King did not think the treaties of 1815 so unmistakeably clear in his favour as his successor would now pretend.

Our next task will be to show that, while the Swiss Federal authorities never recognized the pretensions of Prussia, the people of Neufchatel repeatedly attempted to disown their connexion with Prussia by making frequent efforts to obtain a full national independence: the last of which efforts has been crowned with the desired success.

In 1707, we have stated above, a patriotic party at Neufchatel worked for the establishment of a republic. Prussian gold defeated this project, and the country was knocked down to the highest bidder. The recollection of that mean traffic, naturally enough, rankled for a long time in the memory of the population who were made its victims. The nobles, it is true, stanchly adhered to the new dynasty, which signified to them the continuance of every feudal abuse; but for the people at large, the satisfaction experienced by their aristocratic oppressors was only a reason the more for popular abhorrence. No wonder, therefore, that during the great political commotion which overthrew the monarchic system of France at the close of the last century, the Neufchatel people, encouraged by the example given on their frontier, also rose to assert their independence. Unfortunately the only result was a relentless royalist persecution, and the banishment of nearly a thousand industrial people from Neufchatel. It was at that period that 800 Neufchatel republicans fled to France, where they established, at Besançon, the manufacture of watches which has so flourished since then in that town.



In 1814, at the fall of the despot Napoleon and his satellite Marshal Berthier, the patriotic "Swiss party" at Neufchatel strove anew after national emancipation. But the sword of Prussia, Austria, and Russia, whose troops already stood on Swiss territory, was then too powerful to allow an open expression of the sentiments of the country. In 1831, the people of the canton made another democratic effort under the leadership of Bourgin, a lieutenant of carabineers. This revolution was on the point of being successfully accomplished without shedding a drop of blood. Unhappily, however, the commissaries of the Swiss Diet itself made common cause with Prussian reaction! Thus the people were again reduced to the yoke of Prussia and of a Prussianized aristocracy, by the intervention of Helvetic battalions. After a civil war of nearly two months, a number of patriots were thrown into the dungeons of Neufchatel and Spandau, and others driven into exile.

In 1840, at the time Frederick-William IV. mounted the throne, several deputies of the legislative power of Neufchatel refused to swear the oath of allegiance to him. A few years later, when the King travelled through the Canton, numbers of addresses were handed to him, setting forth the desire that the hybrid and abnormal position of the country should at last be abolished. In 1847, political agitation became universal throughout Neufchatel. It was the time of the Sonderbund, when Switzerland was menaced with disruption, in consequence of a plot hatched by united Rome and Austria. The Helvetic Diet, it will be remembered, proclaimed at that time war against the rebellious cantons, and consequently commanded Neufchatel to furnish its military contingent. But the *Protestant* king, Frederick-William IV., forbade the government of the Canton to take part in the contest against the *Jesuit* conspiracy. In thus disobeying the decrees of the Swiss Diet, the king not only broke the Helvetic law to which he was amenable in his capacity of Prince of Neufchatel, but also violated the Protestant and liberal feelings of the people. This roused against him great indignation; and the free-minded majority of the Neufchatelese did not think fit to submit to the royal orders, but showed their real sympathies by forcibly stopping the supplies coming from France through Neufchatel for the support of the Sonderbund. Many also enlisted, in defiance of the prohibition of Frederick-William, as volunteers in the Federal army. Moreover, a subscription was made in furtherance of the Federal war, and the sum it produced was an important one, considering the smallness of the canton.

In November, 1847, the indignation of the Neufchatel people reached its height, when the King of Prussia informed them by

a note, that he had proposed to the European governments to *make the town of Neufchatel the place of meeting for the representatives of the different powers to deliberate respecting an intervention in the internal affairs of Switzerland.* So audacious a threat alienated from Prussia a number of her former adherents. No sooner did the occasion present itself, in 1848, for definitively severing the bonds of allegiance, than the people eagerly availed themselves of the opportunity. On March 1, 1848, the country declared itself a free and independent republican member of the Helvetic Bund. Although the Prussian government had made all its preparations at Neufchatel, it did not dare to show fight; and the republican constitution was initiated without any appeal to arms. The sovereignty of the people was at last re-established, and the vile hucksters' bartering of 1707 and 1806 reversed. There can be no doubt, even among the most zealous adherents of the monarchic creed, that if the corrupt Council of Neufchatel in 1707 had a right of adjudging the country to Prussia, the people of Neufchatel with much better right had the power of deciding in 1848 upon a full and unreserved union with the Swiss Confederacy.

The republican constitution of Neufchatel, established in 1848, was subsequently accepted by the majority of the people. It is a remarkable fact, also, that in all subsequent elections—whether for the commune, the canton, or the General Confederation—the royalists never obtained a preponderance. Though the republican authorities exhibited an almost incredible remissness, the royalists were unable to regain any political influence. Their cowardly midnight insurrection of September 3, 1856, was suppressed within a few hours, and the legal order re-established by the unaided efforts of the volunteers of the Canton. No Federal troops were engaged in this affair. The unassisted determination of a few hastily collected battalions of volunteers fully sufficed. An additional proof of the sentiments of the population was furnished in the result of the new communal elections which have taken place since then. Everywhere the republican candidates have been returned, their royalist competitors scarcely obtaining more than a hundred votes,

The republican constitution of Neufchatel has further received the sanction of the Federal government of Berne and of the people of Switzerland in general. The laws of the country were submitted to the decision of all the Cantons, and were unanimously ratified by the entirety of the Swiss countries. Lastly, the different European powers, with the sole exception of Prussia, recognized the altered order of things at Neufchatel, *by acknowledging the new Helvetic Constitution of September, 1848,* and accrediting ambassadors to the new Federal authorities.

Thus the republican constitution of Neufchatel has received the triple sanction of the majority of the Neufchatel people, of the Federal authorities of Switzerland, and of the various European governments.

It is true, after the European powers had thus recognized, in 1848, the new Swiss constitution, they were induced by the King of Prussia, in 1852, to retract their consent, and to acknowledge, by the famous London Protocol, the pretended claims of the latter to the dominion over Neufchatel and Valangin. We will not inquire here into the motives which may have induced European diplomatists thus to act. We will simply observe, that the distinct recognition given in 1848, cannot, according to the international code of Europe, be reversed by any after-consideration.

Besides, what is it the King of Prussia now requires? He wishes to coerce Switzerland by means of united Europe, in order to bring back the Neufchatel people to an order of things which the majority have eagerly rejected. Grave would be the consequences if this demand was conceded to Prussia! "Legitimate Reaction" would never cease to convulse Europe with similar claims resting on similar foundations. Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Norway, and a number of other nations, might, one after the other, be dragged before the reactionary Areopagus, there to receive some iron mandate as to the mode in which they must constitute themselves. The King of Belgium would figure there as a rebel against the House of Orange; Isabella be arraigned as a usurper of the rights of the male branch of Bourbon; Pedro V. of Portugal be declared an illegitimate upstart; the Bernadottes be cast out as robbers of the house of Wasa. A general crusade of legitimacy would have to be commenced to re-establish Henri V., Montemolin, and the other champions of the "right divine." Nay, at last the Jesuit propaganda might even come forward with their Stuart Pretender, whom they keep ready in America for the throne of the United Kingdom!

There is another point to be pressed on public attention. Why, we ask, should Prussia alone advance a claim to the possession of some portion of Swiss territory? Why should not Austria, too, come forward, and claim, not a section, but the whole of the Helvetic Confederation as her inheritance? Let it be remembered, the House of Hohenzollern can only produce a title to Neufchatel dating from 1707, whereas the House of Hapsburg, which has its very family castle on Swiss territory, has in the olden times ruled as suzerain over almost all Switzerland! There is no reason, therefore, for Austria showing any diffidence in starting claims on her own account likewise; and

who knows but that there are some zealous plotters in the Imperial Burg at Vienna who would fain remodel the map of Europe after that fashion!

We might even go further in our suppositions. We might ask why Prussia herself should not be brought to recognize the force of ancient stipulations? In past ages, when Neufchatel already was allied by the closest ties to the Cantons of Berne, Soleure, and others, the dynasty of Hohenzollern, which to-day rules over Prussia, held no higher rank than that of a simple, and very inferior vassal of the German emperors. It was by a series of what cannot be called other than successful rebellions, that the petty burgraves, whose descendant now sits enthroned at Berlin, emancipated themselves from their fealty to the kaiser, and established the present Prussian kingdom. If "ancient rights" are to become the only valid title in European law, why, then, should not the House of Hohenzollern be called upon to return to its former allegiance?

Let us make a few more remarks on the treaties of 1815. In the Treaty of Alliance and Friendship, signed in Paris on November 20, 1815, Prussia bound herself to execute, in its entirety, the treaty of 1814, by which Napoleon Buonaparte and his family have been for ever excluded from supreme power in France; "which exclusion," the treaty says, "the contracting parties bind themselves, by the present act, to maintain in full vigour; and, should it be necessary, with the whole of their forces." Will Frederick-William IV. stand by this engagement? As far as we know, neither the election of Louis Buonaparte as President in 1848, nor his *coup d'état*, nor his so-called election for ten years, nor the restoration of the Empire, nor the assumption of number III. in the title as Emperor of the Napoleonic dynasty, were followed by an appeal from Prussia to the contracting powers to bring about the proper fulfilment of the treaty. Nor has any other step been taken by the Prussian government in that direction.

And further, in the Additional Treaty relative to Cracow—a treaty entered into by Prussia in conjunction with Austria and Russia—it was declared that "Cracow, with its territory, should be henceforth considered as a free, independent, and strictly neutral city under the protectorate of the high contracting powers." Yet Austria, Prussia, and Russia overthrew this republic; and its territory, with the consent of Frederick-William IV., was ceded to the Emperor Ferdinand! It would appear, then, that Frederick-William IV. holds the fulfilling of public treaties an obligation only to be observed when his own interests profit thereby? With what appearance of equity can he adduce the "treaties of 1815" in his favour, when he

has been himself one of the most active agents to render them null and void?

One word more to the despots of Europe. Let them beware of devising means of coercion against the people of Switzerland. The chronicles of the House of Hapsburg sufficiently prove that it is an easier task for an invading army to get *into* Switzerland than *out* of it; and if the House of Hohenzollern be mad enough to try its hand at that dangerous game, it will have to record a similar experience. All the instances history furnishes demonstrate that an attack against the republican Confederacy has always eventually brought misfortune and disaster on its originators. We are confident the same will again happen if a struggle were now to spring up between a league of kings and the Helvetic Bund. Small as is the Swiss territory in comparison with the empires around it, it is yet strong by natural position, by the gallantry of its people, and the freedom of its institutions. In their easily defended mountain fastnesses, with a population trained from childhood to the use of the rifle, and with a national army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, numbering in its ranks the most formidable marksmen of Europe, the Swiss could well hold their own against the unwieldly armies of neighbouring despots, if ever these latter were so rash as to venture in such a hornet's nest as free Switzerland would prove for them.

Moreover, in such a struggle the sympathies of all the oppressed nations would be on the side of the Swiss. The military skill of a host of exiled defenders of freedom would be secured to the Helvetic Confederation; and while kings were employing their legions in attacking Republicanism abroad, Revolution might again break out at their own palace-gates, and their disaffected populations rise once more in arms. To the King of Prussia especially, such a prospect would be no novelty. In 1847, he was daring enough to summon a diplomatic conference to Neufchatel, there to resolve on an intervention in the affairs of Switzerland. But the conference had not held its first sitting before Revolution marched victoriously through Europe, rousing the German nation to an assertion of its liberty, and rendering proud Frederick-William IV. an abject and humble suppliant before his people at Berlin. Let Frederick-William IV. only now repeat his menacing policy against Switzerland, and the consequences—perhaps, somewhat graver ones than before—will in due time make their appearance.

To sum up: We cannot but acknowledge that the right inherent in every nation of making a constitution the most consonant to its wants and capabilities, has been properly exercised at Neufchatel. A country embarrassed by a hybrid position,

having resolved to be no longer the victim of continual "conflicts of duty," shook off, by its own free-will, the dubious state of semi-fealty, and rose into the clear atmosphere of national emancipation. If the people of England are now true to themselves, they have no other course but to acknowledge this fact, and to see that no despotic power presume to attack a country which has thus asserted its liberty, and exercised one of the most undoubted privileges of civilized man. One of the conservative statesmen of England, George Canning, has laid down as a maxim, that "every nation has the exclusive right to select its own form of government, and to regulate its own domestic affairs; that no foreign power whatever is entitled to interfere with that right or to control it; and that Great Britain, desiring to see this right respected *as much for the weak* as for the strong, is equally prepared to recognize republics as to recognize monarchies!" These are words full of good sense and justice. Unless England intends becoming a party to a new Holy Alliance, she must abide by this maxim of Canning, and throw the broad shield of her power and influence over the threatened liberties of the Swiss Confederation.

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### ART. III.—REYNARD THE FOX.

1. *Reynard the Fox: a renowned Apologue of the Middle Age, reproduced in Rhyme.* 8vo., pp. 55, ccli. London: Longmans. 1845.
2. *Reineke Fuchs. In Zwölf Gesängen, von Goethe.* 8vo., pp. 234. Stuttgart und Tübingen: J. G. Cotta'sher Verlag. 1851.
3. *The Story of Reynard the Fox. A New Version, by David Vedder; Illustrated by Gustav Canton, of Munich.* 2nd Edition, 4to. Edinburgh: Schenk and Macfarlane. 1857.

"FOR upwards of five centuries has the world-renowned history of Reynard the Fox, in one or other of its various forms, succeeded in winning golden opinions from all classes of society; its homely wit and quaint humour proving as delightful to the 'lewd people,' as its truthful pictures of every-day life, and its masterly impersonation of worldly wisdom, have rendered it to the scholar and the philosopher. In Germany, its popularity has been unbounded, far excelling even that which has been bestowed upon its great rival, the 'Merry Jests of Tyll Eulenspiegel.'" Such are the terms in which Mr. Thoms, the editor for the Percy Society of Caxton's Old English version of



Reynard, correctly characterizes the reputation of the story in hand. This learned gentleman was at no loss for testimonials to support his assertion, for, not to mention older admirers, Herder, Lachmann, Jacob Grimm, and Goethe, in recent days, together with countless modern translators and annotators, declare trumpet-tongued the merit and fascination of this "true world's book." As every neophyte in German literature appeared to think it necessary a few years back to record the era of his Teuton tyro-hood, by attempting to versify Goethe's "Faust," so seem we to see symptoms imminent just now of a Fox-succeeding-the-Faust-mania; a healthier hallucination, if we may so say, a merrier kind of madness, an every-way-to-be-preferred type of literary lunacy and dementation. The sentimental and glaring wickedness of the "Faust," we venture to affirm, never did any mortal being good,—its world-weariness, its scorn of humanity, its reckless pleasure-chase, its fatal close; but show us the household who were not the better for acquaintance with the craft and cajolery, the merry misdoings, and funny *finesse* of that Sisyphus of subtlety, and Machiavel of manœuvre, sly-boots the Fox. The laugh which modest maidens have accorded to his successful wiles, has spoken no approval of his unscrupulous policy, nor left the poison of impurity behind it to taint their thoughts; while the shriek of jocularly wherewith the younger fry hail his pinning the Bear by the snout in a log, or freezing the Wolf by her tail in the ice, teaches them no lesson of inhumanity, initiates them in no first lines of wily diplomacy or sharp practice. From the oldest to the youngest,—the hoary-headed senior to the infant of days, our fiction is regarded as a capital *jeu d'esprit*, while Reynard himself has no more importance in their esteem than that of the clever jack-pudding, the quick-witted Scaramouch, the pranksome *pulcinello* and merry mime of the hour. Mere sheer fun and frolic never yet did moral injury to any child of humanity, and in this light is regarded, from the nursery schoolroom to the library of the recluse, the mirth-moving Epos of Reynard the Fox.

We cannot do better than quote the pregnant sentences in which Carlyle has conveyed his sense of this characteristic of the poem: "Cunningly constructed, and not without a true poetic life, we must admit it to be: great power of conception and invention, great pictorial fidelity, a warm sunny tone of colouring, are manifest enough. It is full of broad rustic mirth; inexhaustible in comic devices; a World-Saturnalia, where Wolves tonsured into monks and nigh starved by short commons, Foxes pilgriming to Rome for absolution, Cocks pleading at the judgment-bar, make strange mummary. Nor is this wild parody of human life without its meaning and moral: it is an

air-pageant from Fancy's dream-grotto, yet Wisdom lurks in it; as we gaze the vision becomes poetic and prophetic. A true Irony must have dwelt in the poet's heart and head: here under grotesque shadows he gives us the saddest picture of Reality; yet for us without sadness; his figures mask themselves in uncouth, bestial vizards, and enact gambolling: their Tragedy dissolves into sardonic grins. He has a deep artful Humour, sporting with the world and its evils in kind mockery: this is the poetic soul, round which the outward material has fashioned itself into living coherence. . . . The contrast between Object and Effort, where the passions of men develop themselves on the interests of animals, and the whole is huddled together in chaotic mockery, is a main charm of the picture. For the rest, we should rather say, these bestial characters were moderately well sustained: the vehement futile vociferation of Chanticleer; the hysterical promptitude and earnest protestation of poor Lampe the Hare; the thick-headed ferocity of Isegrim; the sluggish, gluttonous rapacity of Bruin; above all, the craft, the tact, and inexhaustible knavish adroitness of Reineke himself, are in strict accuracy of costume. Often also their situations and occupations are bestial enough. What quantities of bacon and other proviant do Isegrim and Reineke forage; Reineke contributing the scheme,—for the two were then in partnership,—and Isegrim paying the shot in broken bones! What more characteristic than the fate of Bruin, when ill-counselled he introduces his stupid head into Rustefill's half-split log; has the wedges whisked away, and stands clutched there, as in a vice, and uselessly roaring, disappointed of honey, sure only of a beating without parallel! Not to forget the Mare, whom, addressing her by the title of Good-wife, with all politeness, Isegrim, sore-pinched with hunger, asks whether she will sell her foal; she answers that the price is written in her hinder hoof: which document the intending purchaser, being an "Erfurt Graduate," declares his full ability to read; but finds there no writing or print, save only the print of six horse-nails on his own mauled visage; and abundance of the like, sufficient to excuse an old Epos on this head, or altogether justify it." (*For. Quar. Review*, No. XVI.)

But editors and commentators are not contented with such a simple deliverance as this on the design had in view by the original compiler of the Reynardian romance. Pynson's title-page, 1550, which is very nearly a duplicate of part of Caxton's preface, states, "Here begynneth the Booke of Raynarde the Foxe, conteining divers goodly hystories and parables, with others dyvers pointes necessarye for al men to be marked, by the which pointes, men may lerne to come unto the subtyll



knowledge of suche things, as daily ben used and had, in y<sup>e</sup> counseyles of lordes and prelates, both ghostely and worldely, and also among marchauntes, and comen people." Here is loud enough pleading for its didactic purpose, the which is followed up with still greater zeal and effect in Schopper's Latin *De admirabili fallaciâ et astutiâ Vulpeculæ Reinikes*, A.D. 1556, wherein, while the whole work comprises 456 pages, fully three-fourths of these are dedicated to a dull moralising commentary on the sprightly and tripping text. There is clearly a satirical and preceptive vein running through the latter half of this production of Middle-Age genius, and he would be singularly blind indeed whose observation its course could escape; at the same time we must avow our belief that the principal drift of the original poem was entertainment and pastime, and that its recitation or perusal has never received more appropriate welcome than when it was hailed with certain genial convulsions of the midriff, and involuntary twitchings of the facial muscles. Such certainly is its reception with unsophisticated natures still; and the truest test of its intention, as well as the highest tribute to its worth is the roar of laughter of schoolboy Tom over the pranks of larky Reynard, and the hardly-suppressed titter of little lady Edith in the nursery, who is too well-bred to laugh outright, but is sorely tempted to defy her governess and spoil her pretty behaviour by an honest natural outburst of mirth. With these diminutive men and women who have not long bid adieu to their swaddling-clothes, Reynard is simply merry, and not a whit moral,—and we much question whether their judgment on the matter is not the correct one, and that down to this day in our more elaborate and perfect Fox Epos, the simply diverting element is not the prevailing one throughout, while we are sure that in its earlier stages amusement was the exclusive aim. In the pronounciation of this judgment, we fully recognize the altering phase which time imposes upon fictitious compositions, making the simple complex, the gnome an essay, the parable an Epos. Nor do we conceal from ourselves what the vulpine cycle of fable has become in apt hands and under the influence of a lynx-eyed partisanship of application. We can easily conceive what a rare handle the civic spirit of the Middle Ages could make of its supposed apocalypse of the doings of the court, the miry ways, the crooked corridors, the skeleton closets of the mansions of kings—nor, indeed, do we well see how the men of that day could escape some such application of it, in the form which the completed romance assumed through the plastic skill of its final elaborator. As it has come down to our times, the prose poem is broadly satirical, although we must still contend that the satire is subordinate to the main drift of entertainment—

is general and not particular, and is further incidental and inferential, not direct and intended. It deals with classes, not individuals, and is cosmopolitan, not provincial, in its search after victims. Yet are its arrows barbed with the most biting wit, and luminous with undeniable genius. It blazes as it flies, like the shaft of Acestes :

“ Volans liquidis in nubibus arsit arundo,  
Signavit que viam flammis.”

But it is now time to say a word or two about the probable date of the composition of our poem. In the shape in which we have it now, the story certainly existed for two hundred years before the Reformation, and may be presumed to be a product of the thirteenth century at least. We are constrained to concede to its separate fables and incidents an indefinitely remote antiquity of origin, but see in the completed work the masterpiece of some Middle-Age satirist, the apocalypse of a burgher spirit, half democrat, half reformer. It certainly sprang out of the bosom of the Romish church, but like the squibs of Signor Pasquino, dealt somewhat irreverently with the pretensions of priestly men,—the cowl, the tonsure, the fast, the pilgrimage, being the target for its most piercing and pertinent gibes. This topic, however, is incidental, the court coming in for the larger moiety of the lash which the author so impartially handles. Could we have entertained any doubt of its prevailing onslaught on palatial conditions and surroundings, it would be dispelled by the title to Schopper's Latin translation. That learned seventeenth century interpreter of our old fabulist, calls the story on which he wrought, *Speculum vitæ aulicæ*, and a very unflattering mirror it is. The revelations of the gentleman-dog, in Burns' most pungent satire of the “Twa Dogs,” find their counterpart in the free-spoken licence of vituperation in which the author of Reynard indulges. From the credulous and sometimes coarse King Lion, down to the silly crow and conceited hare, there are blemishes observed in the character of every servant of the crown—some of these intellectual, however, rather than moral,—while even the hero, himself, whose talent and quickness of wit win him our sympathy, is simply represented as a thorough rascal and model courtier. We, therefore, look upon the satire as a protest against the ways and morals of the followers of kings—a literary insurrection against the predominance of classes in the community which were marked out for respectful observance by no special pre-eminence of virtue—a tocsin which foreboded the downfall in the fulness of the time of much which prestige had hallowed, but of which experience had demonstrated the worthlessness.

Morhof in his *Polyhistor*, iii. 1, 5, assigns the fable a satiric and moral purpose: "There are certain books," he says, "*qui poetico modo, per fictiones et fabulas, ethicam doctrinam tradiderunt. . . . Adde fabulam de Vulpeculâ, Saxoniam, sub Apologis istis multum moralis et civilis rei complectentem.*"

Waiving, however, for the nonce, the consideration of this topic, to which we shall return, bringing with us our due modicum of *exempli-gratiâ*'s, we shall at present content ourselves with adducing a few of those notes concerning the history of our world-renowned book, which the readers of this article have a right to expect at our hands. Wonderful research has been bestowed on this subject by several minds in modern Europe whose studies have taken an antiquarian direction, but while, like the disinterrers of buried Nineveh, they have succeeded in bringing much of the past into the light of day, they have only whetted, and not satisfied curiosity; they have clearly left much yet to be gleaned for the perfect elucidation of the Reynardian epic. Jacob Grimm, who had previously published a ponderous work on "Reynard the Fox," issued in the year 1838, in Göttingen, in conjunction with Schmeller, a collection of Latin poems of the tenth and eleventh centuries, containing one in leonine verse, extending to 1229 lines, on the "Sick Lion and the absent Fox," the affair ending in the discomfiture of the slanderous Wolf, and the triumphant re-institution of Reynard in royal favour. This is the very incident of our romance in all its details, and is ascribed to a date no later than the middle of the tenth century. This MS. is from the *Bibliothèque Royale*, at Brussels. Grimm also prints for the first time from the Berlin Library another Latin poem called "*Isengrimus*," versifying the same incident, and adding the "*Pilgrimage of the Goat*." It is comprised in 688 capital elegiacs, and belongs most probably to the early part of the twelfth century:—

"Contigit arreptum forti languore leonem,  
Nil dormire, nihil sumere posse cibi."

(Once on a time the king fell ill,  
Of Beasts, beyond the Leech's skill;  
Mid other loss, his appetite  
Was lost, nor could he sleep at night.)

This poem belongs to a more extensive work, the "*Reinardus Vulpes*," published by Mone, 1832. This is the first of the Vulpine fables to which we can assign an unhesitating date: two dignitaries of the church in Flanders, who lived within 1150 and 1160, being apostrophized by the author, who in turn, is supposed to have been one Nivardus, a Benedictine of Ghent. The poem versifies, with a competent scholarship, the tricks

played by Reinardus on Isengrimus; and from the abrupt introduction of these two poetical designations of the Wolf and the Fox, without one explanatory word of the reasons for thus naming them, we naturally conclude that they were the current names for these worthies in brute romances, or at least in separate anecdotes, already in existence. It is quite certain, reasoning from the facts, that a set of polished elegiacs, running to the amount of nearly seven thousand verses, was not the original form of the composition: that these were rather the *délassement* of the learned leisure of some monastic scholar setting in a frame of classic elegance tales which had already been honoured with the approval of the common people. The statue presumes the block, and the ballad unquestionably preceded the epopee.

From such triflings of the learned upon the theme of Reynard, the relics of which are abundant, we hasten on to note the earliest traces of our epic in the vernacular tongues. A mere shred of an old German poem on Reinhart, presumed to be the original text, was discovered in the year 1839, in the binding of a book; which relic was published by Grimm, in 1840, in a letter to his friend Charles Lachmann.\* This fragment cannot be of later date than the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. The portion of text which it supplies is too infinitesimal to contribute any serious amount to the sum of our information: it adds, nevertheless, a very minute link to our chain of calculation. This brings us near the epoch of the Flemish "Reinaert de Vos," which is ascribed to Willem de Matoc, or the Monk, according to Grimm, but claimed for Willem van Utenhoven by J. F. Willems, its most voluminous and recent editor. This poem, which contains upwards of three thousand lines, was first printed by Gräter in 1817, and contains the adventures of the first part of our modern Reynard up to his acquittal and escape from hanging for his misdeeds, and his safe return home. The second part of our Reynard must be regarded by every reader as a supplementary poem, being in its main features a mere repetition of the order of incidents in the preceding portion, viz., a gathering at the palace of the Lion—the absence of Reynard—accusations by sundry of his violence—the appearance of Reynard at court—his confession repeated by the way to the Brock—his defence and acquittal—only varied by his duel with Isegrim at the close. This is evidently the work of quite a different craftsman, and discloses the design on the part of its author to be as comprehensive and didactic as possible. He incorporates Æsop with his story, and thereby diverts attention from the hero, while he retards the

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\* Sendschrieben an Karl Lachmann von Jacob Grimm ueber Reinhart Fuchs. Leipsic: 1840.

action of the tale. This part labours under the prevailing fault of continuations; that it lacks interest, is feeble in incident, smacks as much of the pedant as the genius, and drags persistently but rather heavily along. Such is our' deliberate verdict of the piece, judging simply from the internal evidence, that both parts do not proceed from the same author; while at the same time we would add, that for five hundred years at least, the world of students has had no choice except to receive both as one, all translations and imitations giving us the full Reynard as we have it now. The fusion has been complete in popular estimation; no other Fox-epic being in general circulation except this, in which he repeats "with damnable iteration," his rogueries, plausibilities, fibs, and "hair-breadth 'scapes." The incongruity between the two parts is partially lost sight of in the common prose version of the story, which has superseded the Flemish poem, and which boldly assumes their original connexion, and fusion in the laboratory of the one creative mind. Reflecting readers, however, will see reason to endorse our opinion, and will perceive in the continuator a want of constructive skill and dramatic invention, together with a further want of that tripping grace and sprightly *cerce* which give the first part of the poem a unique and exclusive charm.

The Low German Prose into which Matoc's or Utenhoven's poem had been rendered, is the original which Caxton translated, and which, we may add, in that permanent prose form has permeated all Europe, and in every country and language entirely supplanted the elder and rhyming legends. The author of this prose story is yet to be discovered—one of the *desideranda* of bibliography. His work is one of the earliest which was printed, having been published at Gouda in Holland, in the year 1470, in 4to., by Gheraert Leeu, under the title of "Die Historie van Reinaert die Vos." Again was the same version printed at the same place, in 1485, and there is every reason to conclude that edition after edition poured from the press to meet the popular craving for their old favourite in this completed and attractive shape. Its immense and rapid popularity are bespoke by the circumstance of its being selected by Caxton for introduction into England, among his earliest productions—a choice which the verdict of his readers and the sentence of time have approved. The musty moralities of the worthy printer and the superannuated books of the Sapience, we can easily afford to forget in the lumber room of the past; but Reynard is a bird of quite another feather, which the world will not "willingly let die." With the Mantuan bard Reynardus may sing:

Non ego . . . . obibo  
Nec Stygiâ cohibebor undâ.

Hence in inconceivably cheap chap-books, printed on inconceivably dingy paper, has it been our lot to see Reynard figure upon many a stall in many a market-place until a very recent date; while in child's books, adorned with cuts of every quality and stained with colours of every hue, he still maintains a prominent place. There is something charmingly Chaucerish in the proem, or, as it is styled by Caxton, the "capitolo primo" of "Thystorye of Reynard the Foxe:" and this we shall quote from his simple and racy version at once, as a specimen of the translator's style, and as an evidence of the essential unity of the work in all translations. The chapter is headed—"How the Lyon, kyng of alle bestis, sente out his mandementis that alle beestis sholde come to his feest and court."

"It was about the tyme of Penthecoste or Whytsontyde, that the wodes comynly be lusty and gladsom, and the trees clad with levys and blossome, and the ground with herbes and flowris swete-smellyng, and also the fowles and byrdes syngen melodyously in theyr armourye, that the Lyon, the noble kyng of all-beestis wolde in the holy dayes of thys feest holde an open court at Stade, whyche he dyde to know over alle in his land, and commanded by strayte commyssyons and maundements that every beest shold come thyder, in suche wyse that alle the beestis grete and smale cam to the courte, sauf Reynard the Foxe, for he knewe hymself fawty and gylty in many thynges agenst many beestis that thyder sholde comen, that he durste not aventure to go thyder. Whan the kyng of alle beestis had assembled alle his court, ther was none of them alle but that he had complayned sore on Reynart the Foxe."

How closely throughout the whole of his English version Caxton followed his original, we take his closing declaration as positive evidence: "Now who that said to you of the Foxe, more or lesse, than ye have herd or red, I holde it for lesynge. But this that ye have herd or red, that may ye believe wel." . . . . "I have not added, ne mynussed, but have followed as nyghe as I can, my cople, whyche was in Dutche, and by me William Caxton translated into this rude and symple Englyssh, in thabbey of Westmestre." (1481.)

The description of spring in Caxton has been rendered into as charming verse by Mr. Naylor, of whose translation more anon:—

"Now Pentecost, the Feast, by some  
Called 'merry Whitsuntide,' was come!  
The fields showed brave, with kingcups dight,  
And hawthorns kercheft were in white:  
Her low-breathed lute the fresh'ning rill  
Unto the wakened woods 'gan trill;



Whilst, hid in leafy bower remote,  
 The cuckoo tuned his herald-note:  
 The meads were pranked in gold and green,  
 And 'leetel fowles' of liveried sheen,  
 Their pipes with *Jubilate!* swelling,  
 From bush and spray were philomelling.  
 The breeze came balmy from the west,  
 And April, harnessed in her best,  
 The laughing sun led forth to see—  
 When Noble (Lion-king was he,  
 And sceptre swayed o'er bird and beast)  
 Held ancient ways, and kept the Feast."

Pynson followed in the wake of Caxton, with a folio "Reynard," of which impression only one imperfect copy is known to exist, that in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. In 1550, Thomas Gaultier printed the same translation in duodecimo, very slightly altered here and there by the exclusion of an obsolete word. Editions, no doubt, of all sorts and sizes were common, as it was a work just suited to the calibre and comprehension of the common people; was intensely popular with children, and had its patrons besides among men of learning and wit. But no edition, presenting any peculiarity, occurs until that of 1650, which, in addition to the text, professes to be "augmented and enlarged with sundry excellent morals and expositions upon every several chapters." This was printed by J. Bell, London.

Come we, however, now, to the rhyming versions of our delectable history, which have been numerous already, and threaten to be even more so ere long. The "prentice-hand" of the poet or poetaster is likely enough to break a lance on this its maiden field, and be satisfied with the huntsman's guerdon for its pains—the Fox's brush. Whether our prophet-eye deceive us as to the future or no, we have several attempts of the kind on the part of the sons of song to record up to the present date. The first, which is by John Shurley, exhibits the pretentious and somewhat amusing title of "The most delightful History of Reynard the Fox, in heroic verse, much illustrated, and adorned with allegorical phrases and refined English, containing much wisdom and policies of state, under the fabling discourse between Birds and Beasts, with a moral explanation of each hard and doubtful place or part, being not only pleasant but profitable, as well to the learned of the age as others. The like never published to the world before." (1681, 4to.) The simplicity of the poet-author, whose exploit has not enrolled him in the list of English poets, in hoping to rise to immortality by "allegorical phrases and refined English" is worthy

of all admiration, inasmuch as if anything was in its own nature calculated to swamp, and utterly sink out of sight a simple work of imagination like our "Reynard," it would be this garniture of refined phrase, and fardel of "moral explanation." Of his heavy heroics we present one quatrain as a sample. It is the argument of the first chapter:—

"How first the princely Lyon did proclaim  
A solemn feast, to which in numbers came  
All Beasts, except the Fox, who did refrain,  
Against whom the Hound and Wolf do much complain."

In our judgment this is tenfold more prosaic than Caxton's prose, which reads: "In the first how the kynge of alle bestes the Lyon helde his court. How Isegrim the Wolf complainyng first on the Foxe. The complaint of Curtoys the the Hound and of the Catte Tybert." Another heroic version followed this at the interval of half a century, which competes with its predecessor in the heaviness of its measure, although not in the absolute dulness of its sense. It is anonymous; is called "The Crafty Courtier," and is dated 1706. It professes to be rendered from the Latin of Schopper. We are far from certain that it does not come from the pen of the author of "The Hind and the Panther,"—the modernizer of Chaucer, and rhymester of Boccaccio. There is certainly more of "glorious John" in the versification than of any contemporary poet of the commencement of the eighteenth century. Until we shall see evidence to the contrary, we must confess ourselves disposed to father this respectable version upon Dryden. Mark how the author signalizes the Hind in italics, but of course a different Hind from Dryden's:—

"Now in her glory did the Spring appear  
And the glad *Hind* beheld the coming year;  
Leaves clothe the Trees, and Flowers the Fields adorn,  
And chearful Birds salute the rosie Morn."

But the gravity of the epic metre unfits it for a vehicle of droll narration. Our approval, therefore, accompanies more entirely those modern authors who have made the Hudibrastic measure their English garb for the rogueries of Reynard. Of these we have to name, strange to say, a native German, first upon our list. A Mr. Soltau has published, at Hamburg, a very respectable doggrel version of the gestes of our hero; the measure being what our German neighbours designate *knittel-versen*. This gentleman published his very meritorious and remarkable translation in 1826.

The most spirited version, by long odds, which it has been



our fortune to meet with, is that from the pen of a Templar, Samuel Naylor, Esq., published by Longman and Co., in 1845, in all the luxury of print, paper, and binding, with the title which stands at the head of this article. This version is made from the low German "Rynke de Vos" of Heinrich von Alkmar, and is marked by the most desirable characteristics. It is ushered in by a learned and lively preface,—a fitting ante-chamber to so fair a structure. It has all the freedom of an original work, and deviates from its foreign exemplar at will; the author professing to take Alkmar only as his model, not his mould, by substituting an arrangement into books styled Fyttes, of which there are ten, for the numerous divisions of the foreign copy. That happy fate, therefore, befalls Mr. Naylor's ingenious doggrel, which Dr. H. F. H. Geyder ascribes to all the versions of the immortal Reynard: "So imperishable is the truth of the old Netherlandish poem, so ineffaceable its beauty, that each succeeding paraphrase or remodelling of it actually appears as an original production, and is suggestive of some new delight. What has been at various times added to, or derived from, the work has been subjected to the controlling organism of its own excellence."

We must indulge ourselves with another extract from the Messrs. Longmans' exquisite publication, although mere fragments give but an imperfect notion of the beautiful whole:—

"The day was fixed, the notice framed,  
And festival and dance proclaimed:  
For pomp, the like was never seen  
Displayed, before or since I ween.  
Four-footed notables, and eke  
Variety of bill and beak,  
In concourse vast assembled there,  
To honour both the Wolf and Bear:  
The hall with pledge and troth resounded;  
Good fellowship and mirth abounded:  
Gavots, cotillons, minuets,  
Were danced with partners and in sets:  
Whilst lute, harp, bagpipe, and trombone  
Boomed, might and main, with twang and groan,  
From roof-tree down to paving stone.

\* \* \* \*

'Twere out of measure hard to mention  
How fleetly tripp'd the winged hours  
With wit and wine in beauty's bowers;  
How mirth and music, dance and glee  
Brought night about right jollily;  
How crested knights, apparelled brave,  
Surged to and fro, like wave on wave,

With plum'd retainers mid the throng,  
 Whilst bards of fame their deeds in song  
 Recounted, with poetic fire,  
 By aid of harp and minstrel quire."

The effect of all this is sufficiently droll, when it is borne in mind that sheer brute beasts are the enactors of the parts in this high festivity. The one fault we find with the volume is the expensive style in which it claims our appreciation with its vermillioned initial letters so prettily arabesqued, and so distinctly recalling the art of the illuminator about the period of its birth. We can pay Mr. Naylor no higher compliment than to say that in the shape of a neat half-crown volume, we should like to see his poem lining the portmanteau of every school-boy, returning to his *plagosus Orbilius* after the Christmas holidays, to wile him out of his home-sickness over the merry pages which record the *supercheries* and subtleties of Reynard the Fox.

More recently has been given to the world another rhyming translation from the pen of Thomas James Arnold, Esq., who takes the epic measure and German rendering of Goethe for his model, incited thereto possibly by the eulogium of Carlyle: "For poetical use infinitely the best, like some copy of an ancient be-dimmed, half-obliterated woodcut, but new done on steel, on India paper, and with all manner of graceful and appropriate appendages." "Reineke Fuchs in 12 Gesängen, von G. Wolfg. von Goethe" (Berlin: Unger, 1794, 8vo.) The copy of Goethe before us is the common Stuttgart impression, 1851, and begins thus in stately hexameters:—

"Pfingsten, das liebliche Fest, war gekommen; es grünten und blühten  
 Feld und Wald; auf Hügeln und Höhn, in Büschen und Hecken  
 Lebten ein fröhliches Lied die Neuermunterten Vögel;  
 Jede Wiese sprossete von Blumen in duftenden Gründen,  
 Festlich heiter glänzte der Himmel und farbig die Erde."

Arnold's translation of this poem appeared last year, and has several features of merit, notwithstanding its lumbering length of line which clogs the sense. It is adorned with admirable engravings from the pictures of a German artist, Joseph Wolff. Nothing can exceed the cleverness of these drawings of brute life, which very far surpass in beauty and truth of animal delineation the illustrations by older painters. An exquisite characteristic of Wolff's pictures is, that they so clearly seem to portray men under the disguise of animals, so that the brute form directly before the eye is relieved of its mere brutishness by the air of human intelligence peering through the out-

ward investiture. This it will be observed is in perfect keeping with the text itself, where much which is done appears simply a masquerading of men in the disguise of beasts. There is far more of soul thrown into these illustrations than into any which have hitherto fallen under our notice: the cunning eye of the Fox, as monk, his glee ascending in the bucket from the well, and the galliard grace of Leopard, as marshal of the lists, are inimitably fine for force and humanity of expression.

In their own way, however, that is, taking their conditions into account,—the age, the scanty size, the imperfect development of art, and the coarse material,—few things can be finer than the old woodcuts of Virgilius Solis and Jost Ammon, decorating Schopper's iambics. Their proportions are two inches by one-and-a-half; consequently, the figures are very minute. Nevertheless, it would not be easy to exceed among the productions of modern art the rude expressiveness of these unpolished gems. Take, for instance, that of the Bear receiving his commission from the king of beasts to bring Reynard to court. The brute, a compound of fussy importance and real stupidity, stands on his two hinder legs, hat in hand, respectfully inclining to his majesty, evidently very conceited of his employment, and protesting his perfect competency for the mission. The blundering beast's crass Bœotianism is intimated in his sword being hung on the wrong side. Another very expressive cut is that in which Reynard is led off to be hanged, clutched very securely between his guards, the Wolf and Bear, while the Cat posts by their side with all the briskness imaginable, bearing the rope slung over his shoulder by means of which his ancient enemy is to be done to death. Martin, the Ape, bound for Rome, taking leave of the Fox, is a characteristic picture from its spirit and costume; but perhaps one of the best, as indicating a close observation of animal nature, is that illustrating the fable of the Donkey and the Lap-dog. The Donkey saluting his master, is represented in a state of high excitement,—the tail at right angles with the body, the ears erect, the lips apart in the act of braying its welcome, while its fore-legs are placed upon its master's side. The truest touch of nature is what might escape notice but that we point it out: the Lap-dog is under its master's arm, the arm farthest from the assault of the Donkey, and the Puppy pressed to its master's side has its fore-legs crossing each other, partly by reason of the pressure against its owner's side, and partly the effect of perfect *nonchalance*: we think this very striking and original. The human figures in these minute pictures are sketched with equal felicity and freedom.

But about these two sets of illustrations there may be said to

be an epic gravity in comparison with the amusing plates of Canton of Munich, so exquisitely rendered in lithograph by the Edinburgh printers: these are the quintessence of drollery—the *ne plus ultra* of graphic humour. The hanging scene, for instance, in which the Bear, with malicious promptitude, hands the farewell cup—the (cup) *de grace*—to the miserable convict; while the Lion occupies a seat in a howdah on an Elephant's back in one corner, the sorrowful Badger prays for the culprit in another, and the foreground is occupied by eager gossips in mob-caps, dowager Hens, Ducks, and Geese, exulting to see justice done on their common enemy.

Next to this may be specified the plate of the sick Lion, abounding in merry touches of the *outré*, while a perfect *abandon* of grotesque combination reigns in the picture of Reynard's triumphal procession. Would papa in each happy household inaugurate the new year with harmless merriment and uncontrollable laughter on the part of his darlings, he could not do better than lay before them Mr. Vedder's most captivating volume, which, it will be observed, has reached a second edition.

But we have probably expended observation quite enough, in proof of the antiquity of the Fox romances, and may devote our further space, with propriety, to an observation or two, more specially bearing upon the existing and best-known form of the story of Reynard.

If we look at Reynard as exhibited in the first part of the narrative, we obtain an idea of an incorrigible droll, whose element is mischief—with a merry bias, an irresistible propensity for practical jokes. So thoroughly is this idea wrought out, without the obtrusion of any moral purpose, that we look upon the first part as a complete whole, the product of one mind, the projection of one purpose. In that case, we should quarrel with Carlyle's qualifying phrase, applied to the whole work, which according to him demands abatement as “the product of poor humanity, from whose hands nothing, not even a ‘Reinecke de Vos,’ comes perfect.” The first part of the story appears to us to come as near perfection as human composition may be expected to attain,—natural characters, lively incidents, rapid action, an interesting hero, startling contrasts, lots of life, lots of fun, lots of nature, and all set in a frame which gives the completeness and unity of a drama to the extravaganza. We know nothing better, looked at as a work of art, and few things half so good. But when we come to the second part, we seem to encounter a feebler hand, with some change in our hero, who is given to prose out long moral speeches, and justifications of himself, which consist chiefly in criminating others, and these men,

not fellow-brutes : a very decided violation of the probabilities of the case. The human satirist comes out rather strongly here, with colours the most pronounced, and unmistakeable life-questionings and dampnations. There is nothing in all the latter moiety of the work which bears resemblance to the earlier, except the crowning incident of the *duello* of Reynard with the Wolf. There is in the pungent switching of the Wolf's eyes and twitching of his tail, in running away from him whose sore toes made running an ordeal like that of burning ploughshares, and in kicking up the dust in his face, in the coarse comfort he gives Isegrim when he tore his eye out, that he would not have the trouble of closing a second peeper when he went to sleep, and in the consummate hardihood and remorselessness of his closing device, whereby he sang *Io triumphe* over his antagonist,—there is here, indeed, a spice of that early humour which gave the first part its enchanting attraction. The person who interpolated the moralities, if we are correct in assigning it to a different author, was a person of undoubted ability, for this portion too is marked by the indubitable tokens of genius; but his purpose of moralizing is confessed throughout, and he sacrifices the interest of the story, and the consistency of the chief actor to the moral and satirical design he has in view.

There is really a fine passage in the second confession of Reynard to the Badger, describing the weakness of his nature and the strength of temptation, which we think too grave to be in perfect harmony with the spirit of merry mischief and wanton wickedness, which we hold to be the dominating idea of the former part. Unless we took it in the sense of grave banter and serious parody, with an underlurking sense of the ridiculous, we cannot receive it as part and parcel of the one epic purpose; and as we cannot do so, it strengthens our impression that the second moiety of the Epos has either been added by another hand, or has been submitted to serious interpolations and elongations. Our readers shall judge of the force of our objection, by reading for themselves the passage from Caxton's inimitable version : “The Fox said,—Who that will go through the world, this to hear, and that to see, and that other to tell, truly it may not clearly be done. How should any man handle honey, but if he licked his fingers. I am oftentimes roared and pricked in my conscience as to love God above all things, and mine even Christian as myself, as is to God well acceptable and according to his law. But how ween ye that reason within forth fighteth against the outward will; there stand me all still in myself, that me thinketh I have lost all my wits, and wote not what me aileth; I am then in such a thought; I have now all left my sins, and hate all things that be not good, and climb

in high contemplation above his commandments; but this special grace have I when I am alone; but in a short while after, when the world cometh in me, then find I in my way so many stones and the footspores that these loose prelates and rich priests go in, that I am anon taken again: then cometh the world and will have this; and the flesh will live pleasantly, which lay to force me so many things that I then lose all my good thoughts and purpose." Now all this is urged with a gravity and truth that might become the most serious Christian at an experience-meeting. But afterwards he becomes abusive, and says: "The leasings been most used in the Lord's courts; certainly lords, ladies, priests and clerks, make most leasings." To justify lying by necessity, he adds: "Who otherwise will now haunt and use the world, than devise a leasing in the fairest wise, and that he wimple with kerchiefs about in such wise that men take it for a truth, he is not run away from his master,"—that is he has still much to learn.

Of the extensive prevalence of a Fox epic in the Middle Ages, no further evidence will probably be required than that furnished by a canzonet, ascribed to the Lion-Hearted Richard of England, which must have been composed before A.D. 1199, in which that royal *trouvere* sings:—

"E vos jouastes et moi  
E men portastes tiel foi  
Com Isengris a Reinaert."

(The troth you plighted fair to me,  
You kept, like—Reynard's Isengris.)

This doleful ditty rung in our ears as we floated down the broad Danube some seven years ago; and, fixing our eye upon the cragged keep of Dürrenstein, we could almost imagine the kingly prisoner solacing his durance therewith; applying his satire to the imperial craft of the Fox-man, which caught and kept him, the Lion-man, in thrall. And in contemporary chronicle and calendar do allusions occur to the history of the Fox, making it clear as proof of Holy Writ, that nothing was better known, more currently spread, and more highly relished, as far back as the eleventh century, than the delectable history of Reynard the Fox.

In order to give a spice of the severity of Reynard's satire, we present a free version of his apology for his own misdoings founded on the evil life of others, addressed to his nephew, the Badger:—

"Answer'd the Fox with utmost frankness:  
However, sire! you blame the rankness

Of my misdeeds, and loud abhor 'em,  
 Myself is not so sorry for 'em ;—  
 That is, I mean I cannot view them  
 In the same dreadful light you do them.

Just sift the lives of all our brothers,  
 And you won't find me worse than others.  
 Few folks that meddle with affairs  
 Ought to exhibit purist airs!—  
 I something know about back-stairs,  
 And could, like Hamlet's Ghost, "a tale  
 Unfold" at which some cheeks would pale.  
 Among the sheep I own I'm not,  
 Ah, woe is me! without a spot,  
 But in the flock I can descry  
 A thousand more as black as I.  
 Let there but be a snug occasion,  
 And a sufficient strong temptation,  
 I fall of course : your virtuoso,  
 For all his talk, will likewise do so.  
 Nay, even yourself, my ghostly friend!  
 Have appetites that downward tend.

In sooth, dear Badger! crime's so common  
 Upon the part of man and woman,  
 That I, to prophecy attending,  
 Think that the world is nigh its ending :  
 So wax the loves of many cold  
 That I to recognize am bold  
 The final woes so long foretold.

For instance, at our Princes look,  
 Compare their doings with the Book ;  
 With any good their life is fraught not,  
 They live exactly as they ought not :  
 They lie, steal, cozen, and oppress,  
 And yield the wretched no redress ;  
 Yea, consummate their villanies  
 By rampant scoffs against the skies,—  
 To those they rule an iron rod,  
 And bold blasphemers of their God.

If you will now extend your search  
 Beyond the Court, behold the Church.  
 The fellows with long faces there,  
 And priestly pride which snuffs the air,  
 With chokers tight, and surplice white,  
 And smirk and smile to left and right ;—  
 The fellows who mid glare of day  
 Without wax candles cannot pray,  
 Who worship rood-screens, love intoning,—  
 An imitation poor of groaning—  
 Their bowings altar-wards, their paces,  
 What are they but demure grimaces,  
 Meant merely to preserve their places ?



Their parishes are bought and sold,  
 And souls are marketed for gold :  
 Gold is so much their god—its name is  
 Herefrom called *auri sacra fames*,  
 As though no person, but a priest  
 In *sacred* garb, his flock so fleec'd.

Look too at their malignity—  
 Are they what Christians ought to be ?  
 How ignorant of all true knowledge !  
 You'd think they ne'er had been to college ;  
 In fact their only innocence  
 Is that of learning and of sense.

When they're at Court their mode evinces  
 Their practice bad as any Prince's :  
 Their principles they shrewdly cook,  
 As flexible as caoutchouc.  
 The Prince may drink, and dice, and swear,  
 And any wickedness may dare,  
 They will the royal conscience flatter, }  
 Compunctious visitings to scatter :— }  
 " My liege ! it is a venial matter." }  
 Their highest function thus betray—  
 See Bungener's story of Bossuet.

Amid such general perversion  
 You must not stare at my desertion  
 Of Moses' code, for sin's contagious,  
 Example's force, too, is outrageous.  
 O'er the whole world where Satan reigns,  
 'Tis hard for *one* to burst his chains ;  
 And Reynard owns as weak a nature  
 As any unresisting creature.  
 I'm no Quixotic knight who prances  
 Fearless against confronting lances ;  
 My disposition bids me swim,  
 In morals, ever with the stream."

One may easily conceive the perfect *haut goût* and high Germanic relish with which honest citizens and worthy burghers could suck in these satiric skits upon their natural enemies,—the nobility who taxed their earth, the clergy who levied contributions on their heaven. The merit of the satirist who dealt these obnoxious classes such telling blows, would they laud to the skies, and insatiate for further supplies of cates of the same quality, would cry out with the daughter of the horse-leech, "More, more." Now, whether our impartial author exactly met their expectations in his second Fytte, is problematical :—

" Yet must I still the Age arraign—  
 E'en Job, the patient, would complain.

Corruption from the Court doth spread  
 Like waters from their fountain-head ;  
 For Princes are—I will not name it—  
 Because 'tis dangerous to proclaim it.  
 Plung'd they must be in dark and deep ill,  
 Judging the Princes by the People.

For what are these ? A sorry set,  
 Intent on ill—in conclave met ;  
 Intent on ill—when quite alone ;  
 Intent on ill—a-field, a-town.  
 The chief amusement of their lives  
 Constuprating their neighbours' wives :  
 Concocting frauds design'd for plunder,  
 Which they accomplish to a wonder.  
 Where pigeons do not fall their trap in  
 They take to open force and rapine,  
 Nay, will not stick at bloody murther—  
 The black-list need I follow further ?

As, too, the natural law requires,  
 The sons resemble close their sires ;  
 As sires—so sons, are mark'd by bruteness,  
 As sires—so sons, by dissoluteness.  
 The evil of these evil times  
 Begets a progeny of crimes ;  
 Not one is temperate—not one good,  
 All sunk in lewdness, lies, and blood.

Yet should there be, like holy Lot,  
 One just, where all besides are naught,  
 His virtue is so great a rarity,  
 He's laugh'd at for his singularity ;  
 And scoff, and scomm, and jibes, and jeers,  
 Deride the saint when he appears :  
 Death must be welcome, when it comes,  
 From a such a life of martyrdoms.

The Mob too's made of curious mettle—  
 As say the Scots, "a kittle cattle."  
 Right ready they, if kings offend them,  
 To string their rulers up and end them ;  
 The Mob being just as much like kings  
 As apes are like immortal things.  
 But should a Mob's-man die by law,  
 Both judge and jury they will jaw,  
 And king and court affect with panic,  
 As arbitrary and tyrannic.

Now just take one brief glance again  
 At our tonsur'd and priestly men :  
 There is not one, however staid he  
 Be, that has not at home his lady ;  
 Who bears him children, and who sets  
 Him on to enrich his mis-begets.

Thus, from the bishop to the priest, }  
 Every man Jack of them is niec'd, }  
 And the poor flock is sorely fleec'd. }  
 All the hard moneys they can gather  
 Out of the estates of Holy Father,  
 For fees, and fasts, and penances,  
 For births, and deaths, and marriages,  
 For rescue of the loose fish lying  
 In Purgatory's pan a-frying,  
 And passing them through Peter's gate,  
 Are squander'd on some wanton mate.

Whate'er my faults, thank heav'n! sire! shun I }  
 Such modes of lavishing my money, }  
 Being bound in honest matrimony. }

Cries Badger: Reynard! what the deuce }  
 Are priests' or princes' morals to 's— }  
 Whether they be correct or loose? }  
 Their faults, or great or less, alone  
 Can we not leave, and cure our own?  
 Be this our sole incessant labour,  
*To do our duty to our neighbour:*  
 Never forgetting—which were odd—  
 Our higher *duty to our God.*

Suppose the priest neglects his duty,  
 Will he get off with all his booty?  
 Will not the plunder he may win  
 Be yet exacted of his skin?  
 Plead the priest's faults before the judge  
 As your excuse, and he'll cry—Fudge.  
 As lays the hangman on your back,  
 He will cry Fudge, with every whack.

Who earns the knocks must bear the knocks,  
 Or erring Priest, or erring Fox.

That the author who thus reprehended contemporary ill was not a mere leveller, but an earnest denouncer of palpable abuses, is clear from the respect he usually shows for king Lion, the supreme lay-ruler, and for the pope, as the head of ecclesiastical affairs. But every functionary and every office beneath these crowning dignities, he lashes with a genuine good-will, and with a stalwart vigour. So aptly does he touch up and scarify the backs of these offenders, that he draws blood at every stroke of the formidable nine-tailed cat; and yet so artistically does he do his work, that his very victims admire his skill while they suffer, and intermingle their bravos with their groans, just as the turtle is said to shriek its glee in the hands of Soyer or other great artists who know how to extract calipash and calipee with a discriminating anatomy from the unctuous brute. Thus Reynard is a favourite even with the faulty, and they own the correctness of his satire with a sardonic grin.

## ART. IV.—DOVE'S LOGIC OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH.

*The Logic of the Christian Faith.* By Patrick Edward Dove, Author of the "Theory of Human Progression," &c. Edinburgh: 1856.

IN these days of restlessness and strife, when the hearts of many wise and good men are filled with apprehension about what they imagine to be the increasing influence of Philosophy over Faith, and when multitudes of good men whom we cannot call wise, are haunted with the conviction that in the interior of the church, we are about to witness a disastrous apostacy from Christian truth; we do not think it generous or even just, for those who believe that there is reason for hopefulness and courage, to reply even to needless fears, with proud disdain and mocking contempt. The authors and propagators of iniquitous misrepresentations and cruel suspicions, we should sternly condemn. We may deeply regret that better men should cherish and diffuse feverish and altogether unnecessary apprehensions. But sincere alarm for the imperilled sovereignty of great central truths, has a claim on our sympathy. Even if altogether unfounded, it should not be scorned. Even if pernicious in its influence, and too reckless in its impeachments, it should be met, firmly indeed, but with wisdom and gentleness, instead of being roughly handled and violently trampled down.

We thought it possible that in Mr. Dove's book, there might be something to quiet and re-assure the minds of good men who, for years, have been distressed and dismayed at changes which they felt were passing on the outward forms of certain Christian verities,—changes they could not but discern, though they hardly understood. We thought such men might find in the "Logic of the Christian Faith," a just and scientific theory of the mutual relations between Faith and Philosophy,—relations not new and transient, but venerable and lasting, arising not from accident, but from abiding necessities in human nature. Nothing would be more easy than for a thoughtful scholar to show that the Philosophy and Logic of every age have determined the form of its Theology, even when its substance has been most honestly derived from the deepest and divinest sources; and, that a reorganization of theological systems, no more implies a destruction of those granite foundations, on which through centuries, the faith and hope of the church have rested, than a new theory of the formation of the unstratified rocks, implies chaos, earthquake, and volcanic convulsions. There was no re-scattering of the starry constellations over the abysses of

heaven,—no quenching of the glory of the sun's fiery throne, when astronomers gave to the world a new theory of the solar system. And Jesus Christ remains "God manifest in the flesh;" the atonement for human sin, burdened with penalty and heart-broken with grief, "the same yesterday, to day, and for ever;" though, as generation after generation comes near to His cross, and sits and watches His agonies, the outlines of their thoughts must vary, about some of the deeper questions involved in a theory of His sacrifice. Surely the time is coming when men will see that a firm line may be drawn between a divine fact and every human representation of its greatness and glory, which must be inadequate, and may be false,—between a divine work and every human account of its principles and process. And Protestant Nonconformists should not be the last to believe that those men may be prompted by a fervent loyalty and profound reverence for the Divine Author of our Faith, who are resolved to have one shelf for the Bible, and another for Calvin's Institutes,—to keep in the text only what is divine, and to put all that is human in the margin. Mr. Dove's title has probably suggested to many, that his singularly acute intellect had been investigating the history of what may be called the several orders of theological architecture; and that in the "Logic of the Christian Faith," there might be found a discussion of the various *methods*, distinct from each other as the method of Aristotle from that of Plato, or as the method of Locke from that of Descartes, by which the illustrious masters of theological science have been guided, consciously or unconsciously, in the determination, proof, and arrangement of their systems of Christian doctrine. But a *Novum Organum* for divines has yet to be written; and he who shall establish on a scientific basis, the principles and laws of a sound Christian logic, will confer on mankind a noble service, and win for himself a more glorious immortality than belongs even to the father of the inductive philosophy.

Though Mr. Dove's book has quite different aims from those which the title had led us to attribute to it, we have cordial pleasure in bearing testimony to the great acuteness and power he has manifested in the treatment of an important subject. His object is to investigate the scientific value, and the mutual relations of the several leading arguments which have been relied upon as proofs of the Divine existence. And though his phraseology is sometimes uncouth, and his philosophy sometimes false and sometimes obscure, there is so much admirable reasoning, keen criticism, and eloquent writing in the book, that we are justified in speaking of it as one of the most valuable contributions of this generation to the literature of natural theology.

We can imagine some of our more quiet and devout readers, and some even of those who are in the agony of the conflict with the world, the flesh, and the devil, in our great towns, asking with something like impatience, whether the muscle and sinew of Christian men are not greatly wasted in discussions about the Divine Existence, and whether it is not high time to take it for granted. It may be urged with great justice, that a fervent evangelist, like Whitfield, and a saint like Fletcher of Madeley, will do more, far more, to bring about a deep conviction that there is a God, and that He is near to every one of us, than all the Boyle lecturers of the last century whose sermons lie sepulchred in almost forgotten folios. And we think it will be the testimony of nearly all who have had practically to do with the ungodly masses of our working people, that even professed infidels and atheists—who, however, are much less numerous than some good men suppose—are commonly made wiser and devouter men, not by *a priori* or *a posteriori* demonstrations, but by fervent preaching about the Lord Jesus Christ. Mr. Dove recognizes the truth which such facts as these force us to believe. It is a fundamental principle with him, that the fact of the Divine Existence does not depend for its admission by man, on a demonstration that can be constructed or mastered by the human understanding, reduced to language, and justified by logic. If it were otherwise, how terrible would be the condition of vast numbers of mankind. Must we take Paley and Clarke to the miserable tribes we have heard of in Africa, who have lost the traditional faith of mankind in the being of a God? and must they master a system of natural theology before they can recover it? They have lost that faith though their intellectual and moral degradation; the *fact* of God's existence has disappeared from their belief through their loss of the intellectual and moral vigour by which the belief of it must be fed, just as a flame perishes in a close and exhausted chamber, or a plant withers in a soil too barren and worthless to nourish it. Can there then be power enough in their impoverished nature to appreciate and feel a mere human argument about the fact? Only where the entire intellectual and moral life has become enfeebled and deteriorated do we find tribes of atheists. If faith in God's existence depended upon the clear understanding of a demonstration of it, we should be in this miserable dilemma, that where the demonstration could be understood, it was not needed, and where it was needed, it could not be understood.

And look at that little child, philosophical reader, on the hearth-rug of your study, with its rosy cheeks, and bright eyes, and graceful gambols,—do you intend some day before long, to

open Mr. Dove's book, and make it understand that all existence must be either necessary or contingent; that all contingent existence must depend upon, and be derived from necessary existence; that if there be contingent existence, there must be necessary existence; that there is contingent existence, and that therefore, &c., &c., &c.? Must its little feet be cut and wearied by travelling over such a rocky, rugged road as this, before its young heart can be blessed with a vision of God's face,—filled with the deep joy of being loved by its Holy Father above? Or, turning to another page, will you try to stop its happy chattering for a time, while you show that every change must have a cause, and a cause of such quality and such quantity as to account for the change; that history, tradition, and geological science, combine to assure us that man appeared in the world only a few thousand years ago; quoting Lucretius in illustration of one division of your evidence ("Si nulla fuit, genitalis origo," &c.), and Sedgwick in confirmation of the other? And then will you ask your bewildered little disciple, whether it is not fully convinced that man never could have begun to exist unless there had existed previously a Being of infinite wisdom, power, and goodness? Or will you prefer to rely upon Dr. Bentley's famous demonstration, that in an infinite series of derived and dependent beings, the number of individuals already composing it, must be infinite; that if the human race never had a beginning, but consists of an infinite series of men, an infinite number of men must have already existed, and as there are two eyes, ten fingers, and thousands of hairs belonging to every individual man, there must have been, twice an infinite number of human eyes, ten times an infinite number of human fingers, and many thousand times an infinite number of human hairs: *quod est absurdum!*

You thank God that when its gentle mother sits by the little cot of an evening, and draws back the white curtains to talk in loving whispers to the little wakeful and wondering child within, about the God who made the flowers, and the stars, and sent Jesus Christ to tell us how He loves goodness and hates wrongdoing,—laws absolute and certain which are at work in its interior life, will ensure a belief in God's existence, more reverent, and, perhaps, more unfaltering, than Clarke, and Bentley, and Derham have brought to yourself.

The office of the writer on natural theology is rather to tell us how it is men come to believe in God, than to prove that they ought to believe in Him. He has to evolve the universal axioms which men are unconsciously embodying in their practical judgments. He is a discoverer, not an inventor. He has not to make a private road of his own for men to travel by, from



atheism to a faith in God's existence, but to map out the great highway of God's own making, along which the millions of men are thronging, in those dark and early hours in which the movements of our interior life are unheeded, and, therefore, soon forgotten. He has to tell us, through what processes our inner being passed, before it was made the object of painful analysis. He has not to burn bricks, and build up a tower of massive argument, whose top shall reach to heaven, and by which men may, if they please, ascend to the Divine Presence; but to tell us all he knows about that mysterious ladder from this world to the skies, by which, silently and suddenly, men are being brought perpetually face to face with God.

But, perhaps, our friends who complained of the uselessness, at any rate in this age, of these laboured demonstrations of the great first truths of religion, are exulting over our admissions, rather than persuaded of the honourableness and excellency of the cause we are advocating. If, say they, the end of these wearisome demonstrations is rather to show men how it is they come to believe, than to give them new reasons for belief, are they not, by their own confession, most idle and superfluous? We think not; and will venture to state, as briefly as possible, the reasons of our conviction.

First, then, it is the very noblest part of the philosophy of human nature, to account for man's recognition of the Divine Existence. Man's religious faith is the most illustrious attribute of his being; to investigate it is the most honourable function of a true philosophy. Our actual perception of the distances of visible objects from the eye may not be improved by the most ingenious and accurate analysis of the mental and organic processes by which that perception is arrived at. The man at the main-top, who never heard of "the inclination of the optic axes," sees quite as well, and probably much better, than Sir David Brewster himself, or the most accomplished disciple of Sir William Hamilton. And yet, while the divine thirst for knowledge remains in man, he will believe that the philosophy of sight is a nobler thing than sight itself; that it is a higher distinction to understand the laws of vision, than to possess the keenest eye that ever swept the ocean.

The illustration we have just used, however, suggests that the philosophy of a natural process may not only afford exquisite gratification to some of the highest elements of our nature, but may yield some important practical results. The theory that explains how it is that all men who are in a normal condition, acquire the perceptions that belong to sight, may enable us to correct the defective vision of those whose condition is abnormal. And our second plea, therefore, for the studies we

are defending, is, that the exhibition in detail, and in a scientific form, of the process by which men are naturally led to recognize God's existence, may be, and not unfrequently is, the means of restoring faith where it has been wholly lost, or strengthening it where it has begun to falter. We must not always trace to exclusively moral causes the gloomy darkness even of atheistic doubt; and where doubt has arisen from a jar and partial disturbance of the ordinary laws of thought and judgment, a scientific development of the primary principles of human belief in relation to the most tremendous of its objects, may restore the normal action of the intellect. If there are principles in human nature which predispose men to accept a declaration of God's existence,—principles so certain and general in their operation, that theoretical atheism is very rarely to be met with,—an argument for the Divine Existence which makes a formal appeal to those principles, may be the means of restoring a lost religious faith. And, finally, in an age of morbid self-consciousness and general controversy about the very foundations of belief, it is wise for those who have not even the least tendency to question the great results to which, by the laws of their nature, they have been unconsciously led, to verify the process; and so satisfy themselves that their faith is the outgrowth of divinely implanted principles, and not the creation of merely external and accidental influences.

It is high time, however, that we turned to the book which has suggested these general observations. Of the introductory chapter, "On the Nature and Scope of an Argument intended as a Proof of the Divine Existence," we have already spoken. Its great principle is, that such an argument has not to prove there is a God, as though His existence was a matter of doubt; but to show why we accept it.

The first two books are preliminary, and are intended, to use Mr. Dove's own words, "to assail two of the most subtle forms of philosophic scepticism. First, that which endeavours to establish that all our knowledge is *subjective*; and secondly, Pantheism,—the two forms which would obliterate the possibility of a faith." The third and fourth books investigate the logical structure and results of *a priori*, and *a posteriori* arguments; the fifth, of the intuitional or composite argument, of which we shall speak fully presently; the sixth, discusses Revelation. It would be impossible within the most ample limits that can be allowed to this article, to follow Mr. Dove over the broad territory of his religious and philosophical principles as exhibited in this volume: we must be satisfied with asking our readers to examine with us a few of his most prominent and important doctrines.

The first book we cannot accept as satisfactory. Mr. Dove thinks that the sceptical philosophy is tenable to the extent of some of its major propositions, so long as only *one* man is taken into consideration ; but that as regards two men it is false ; and as regards the race, it is so utterly false that it can only be maintained by shutting out the idea of the existence of the race. (P. 73.) We have quoted his own words. We will quote him again :—

“I shall consider that I alone exist—that there is no *other* man with whom I can communicate. I behold nature, and I have a multitude of diverse impressions. I see images, I hear sounds, I smell perfumes, I feel cold and heat. The universe is to me an image, I think it *not myself*. I reflect on what I know, and now I discover that what I am conscious of is *a change in my own condition*. I am a sceptic : beyond myself I know nothing.

“All the phenomena of which I can be conscious in my solitude, are phenomena of my own conditions ; beyond myself I cannot go : I long to pierce the mystery of my existence, but I cannot overstep the inevitable condition of my nature ; I shriek for knowledge ; I am Prometheus bound—at the mercy of the vultures. But, again, I live in two worlds ; one that seems in its main features the same to-day that it was yesterday, but even it changes ; the other that seems to be *another* world, the world of day and wakefulness, the world of night and sleep. What are these visions I see in my dreams ? Why do they ever vary, and do not return ? I cannot know : the question is insoluble.

“But again. I sleep by a marsh ; I awake anxious, fearful, tremulous ; I wish life to be gone for ever. I am in the first stage of *fever*. I sleep again, and again I am in a new world,—a fiery world of tumultuous life ; vision after vision coursing headlong before my consciousness. I see them palpably ; I feel them, they strike me ; I cannot move ; I am overcome with terror ; whither can I flee ? Again, I sleep ; I awake to the old world, which to me seems only an old memory ; I am feeble from my combat of the *other* world. What were those visions I saw ? They are no more, but *where* are they ? I know not. Wretch that I am, I know *nothing*. I am, I must be a sceptic.

“Such is, indeed, the method of scepticism ; taught us, however, not in this plain style, but with many sounding words, and great appearance of wisdom. It is true, that if only *one* man had been, he never could have *known* what was real and what was ideal,—out of the circle of his own impressions he could not go.

“Let us now, however, suppose, that instead of one man there were twenty men, and that they had a language in which to communicate. At first, when they *see* each other, each is only a phenomenon of the other's sensation. They hear each other's voices,—still only sensation. But a light breaks on them ; they *understand* the meaning of the words. *Now*, the problem is to be solved. What do you see ?

What do *you* feel? What do *you* know? These run rapidly through the assembled men, and gradually truth begins to dawn upon all. 'I thought,' says one, 'you were a phenomenon of my consciousness.' 'Nay,' replies the other, 'I thought *you* were a phenomenon of my consciousness.' And so with all. Each had thought that the nineteen were phenomena of his mental condition; but each of the nineteen claims a personal existence, and will, by no means, allow himself to be obliterated by the sceptical doctrines of the others. What do they believe now? They believe that each is a man, a mind, a person similar to themselves. But now for the dreams. One sleeps, the others watch. The sleeper sees his visions, the others see nothing but the stable nature common to them all. The sleeper awakes, and asks if they had seen his vision. Not at all. It was, and he *now* believes it, only a phantom of his own. Another sleeps, and the last sleeper watches. He now learns for himself that no vision is to be seen, although his companion on waking describes his experience of the dream. One takes fever, and sees the drama of delirium. The nineteen watch and see none of it. He recovers, and though no image is more vivid or more certainly apparent to our consciousness than the illusion of delirium, the convalescent acknowledges that it was a phantom quite distinguished from the stable rocks, rivers, and trees that *all* can see. Scepticism disappears, until some philosopher arises, who thinks to enlighten himself by attempting to darken all other men."

Mr. Dove adds, immediately afterwards, that *perhaps* too much has been conceded to scepticism in allowing that an individual man could not attain to a certain knowledge of the objective existence of the outward world. Most of his readers will be disposed to say that there are two excellent reasons which place it beyond all doubt that "too much has been conceded;" the first being, that the concession was altogether unnecessary; the second, that it carries with it nearly the whole theory of scepticism, and renders confutation impossible. The main part of Mr. Dove's reply we have given at length that our readers may judge for themselves of its force; to us it seems utterly worthless. How can I know that there are other men in the world on the hypothesis that, "all of which I can be conscious in solitude are phenomena of my own consciousness," and that direct knowledge of the external world is impossible? My knowledge of the existence of other men is precisely of the same order as my knowledge of the existence of rocks and rivers. The men too, with their intelligible speech, according to the hypothesis, may be "phenomena of my own consciousness." If scepticism is true in solitude, it is true in society; if I cannot get "beyond myself" when alone, I cannot get "beyond myself" when with other men. To believe that there are "other men," which is the first step according to Mr.

Dove, out of the wide bog of universal doubt on to firm ground, is not a whit less difficult than to believe that the sun and moon have an objective existence independent of my perception of them.

The concluding paragraphs of Mr. Dove's polemic are equally wide of the mark. He argues that because scepticism will not *work*, therefore, it is not true; that a negation of scepticism is implied in the very acceptance "from Hegel and the German philosophers of the doctrine of subjective scepticism;" for he who accepts it "in the first place accepts the fact that Hegel is only a mental phenomenon of his (this man's) own thinking; and secondly, he accepts the doctrine that he himself does not exist at all as a person, but only as a consecutive series of thoughts. But no man *can* accept from another his own obliteration; and, consequently, it is not possible for any man to accept, consistently, the sceptical philosophy." This is very clever and keen, but such blows inflict no harm on the shadowy forms at which they are aimed. The phantoms of scepticism, like Satan and his hosts, are "spirits that live throughout,—vital in every part," and their "liquid texture can receive no mortal wound" from such attacks as these, "no more than can the fluid air." It is the triumph of the sceptical philosophy that it demonstrates the impracticability of speculation. Show that the only theory of the universe which can be accepted by the understanding is practically worthless, and you prove the impossibility of philosophy, or, in other words, of anything deeper and better than a knowledge of mere phenomena. The students of Sir William Hamilton will remember how frequently he recurs to this important principle in order to correct Reid's criticisms of Hume. Reid makes much of Hume's concession that he ceased to doubt when he left his study, and that, however little reason there might be for believing in the existence of the material world, we are obliged to act as though it were real. Reid did not see that scepticism can inflict no more fatal blow on all that is vigorous and noble in human life and character, than to demonstrate that the laws and facts we must practically recognize, have no foundations that can stand a just and keen criticism.

Mr. Dove is equally unfortunate in his previous discussion of the initial falsehood of scepticism about the subjectivity of all our knowledge. In consequence of an ambiguity in the use of the words *subjective* and *objective*, he first misses the force of the sceptical objection to the possibility of our receiving trustworthy tidings from without, and then, of course, fails to crush it. The doctrine of scepticism is—I am conscious of nothing except the phenomena of my own mind,—these only I can reach; if there be an earth

a heaven,—if there be other men beside myself, if there be  
 od, between all these and myself there is an impassable gulf;  
 yond myself I cannot go;” my knowledge is not of objective  
 ities, but of subjective experiences, which I know must mislead  
 often, and may mislead me always. And so scepticism calls  
 knowledge subjective, and has incurable doubts about the  
 ability of certainty on adequate, philosophical grounds, in  
 rence to the reality of an external universe and a God.  
 ; the word *object* is often used to denote not that which is  
 ernal to the mind, but that about which knowledge is con-  
 sant; and our own mental phenomena may be the *object* of  
 ight, as well as the contents of the external world. Mr.  
 ve insists strongly on this, and imagines that he has annihilated  
 significance, of the distinction of which scepticism has  
 le so much, between subjective and objective knowledge, by  
 wing that, *logically*, the thoughts of our mind and the facts  
 he external universe, when investigated and analyzed, are  
 e *objective*. But what is this to the purpose? He was on  
 edge of a clear discovery of the juggle by which he had  
 oosed upon himself, when he wrote that, by “what the mind  
 ceives to be external to the intellect,” he meant “not local,  
 logical externality.” Scepticism does not mean that; and,  
 refore, his polemic is powerless.

Mr. Dove's philosophy is feeble when he attacks scepticism;  
 his demolition of Pantheism is vigorous and total. Not-  
 hstanding the somewhat cumbrous form in which he has  
 ed his argument—a form which gives no additional clearness  
 cogency, but makes the reasoning unnecessarily wearisome  
 repulsive—his second book is very admirable. His eye is  
 n keen as an eagle's; and though he himself probably  
 ches a higher value to his logical, than to his intuitional  
 vers, we imagine the judgment of his readers will be very  
 ically the exact reverse of his own. He wastes no shot on  
 se defences of Pantheism which he knows to be impregnable.  
 confesses their strength frankly and cheerfully. The strong-  
 d of the Pantheists has always been the material universe:  
 . Dove leaves them in possession of it. He permits them to  
 ieve that the infinitely varied phenomena which meet the  
 ward senses, are under the dominion of absolute law, and  
 the outgrowth and visible revelation of one mighty and  
 ndless Presence. We are all Pantheists in childhood, if we  
 orize about the universe at all. We are conscious that  
 oughout our own physical nature, one sentient life pene-  
 tes; and the only explanation of the visible universe which  
 urs to us, is founded on the analogy of our own being. And



long afterwards, when surrounded by the splendour, the majesty, and the regal pomp of material things, we often feel—

“ A Presence that disturbs us with the joy  
Of elevated thoughts, a sense sublime,  
Of something far more deeply interfused ;  
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,  
And the round ocean, and the living air,  
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man ;  
A motion and a spirit that impels,  
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,  
And rolls through all things.”

But it is only when the mountains and the woods, the growing corn and the glory of the heavens are about us, that we thus lose sight of the infinite distinction between the Creator and the fairest, grandest regions of His creation. It is not mid the din of towns and cities, into which Wordsworth tells us the memory of Tintern followed him, that we dream of a Pantheistic theory of “the mind of man.” In the actual tumult and struggle of our stirring life, the firm and definite recognition of the independent and separate personality of the men, whom we are honouring and scorning, loving and hating, is forced upon us. When God’s own works are around us, we may listen to Spinoza, and for a time half believe that while there are many existing things there is only one existence—many forms but only one substance ; but when we take up the *Times*, and read of a terrible murder committed yesterday,—when we suddenly discover that we are penniless through the deliberate villany of some hypocrite in whose integrity his religious profession had led us to place implicit confidence,—when we are among the dens of infamy, the hovels of wretchedness, the haunts of crime, which lie close to the thronged thoroughfares and marshalled palaces of our great towns,—and when Spinoza tells us that men too, are but forms of God’s thought, manifestations of His life—that He only is, and that we and all men are but modes of His existence—our whole nature recoils : the entire theory perishes in the flames of a righteous indignation. All moral distinctions, all moral law, all honourable esteem of excellence, all cursing of iniquity, become meaningless, if the explanation of the universe given by Pantheism is held satisfactory. A vigorous moral nature, loyal to truth, inflexibly just, with a healthy hatred of evil, is the most powerful antagonist of this theory. And hence we see in the uprightness of British rule, and the multiplication of British residents, in India, one of the mightiest influences for destroying the Pantheistic faith of her emasculated populations. The Anglo-Saxon has strong convictions about the very real difference between a



truth and a lie, an honest man and a knave; and a very firm consciousness of his own personality. And as the people of India are brought under the more perfect control of our moral nature, as well as of our arms and our policy, and learn more perfectly what they have already begun to discover, that at the bar of British tribunals, dishonesty and uprightness are separated by impassable barriers, they will recover their lost faith in the reality and authority of righteousness,—will feel again the pressure of moral responsibilities; and then Pantheism will disappear.

Mr. Dove's whole strength is directed to the dislodgment of Pantheism from the region of moral life. He sees that there, and there only is her influence very pernicious, and that if she is driven thence, she will not long maintain her power anywhere.

We have now finished our discussion—and a rather tedious one we fear it will be thought, in these days of “run and read” libraries—of Mr. Dove's introductory books. His analysis and exhibition of the logical structure of the threefold argument for the existence of an eternal, almighty, and omniscient moral Ruler, need not occupy us so long.

The antagonism which some writers have endeavoured to maintain between the *a priori* and *a posteriori* arguments, he justly denies. The following observations are so admirable that we cannot but think our readers will thank us for extracting them:—

“It is a vain question to ask, whether the *à posteriori* argument be *better* than the *à priori* argument. The term *better* cannot here refer to logical conclusiveness, if the two arguments require to be combined before the argument is really complete. It can only refer to the quality which makes either argument more impressive for certain minds, which may be cast in a mould to receive the one and neglect the other, or to overlook the merits which belong to a special train of reasoning which has no attractions for the particular form of their understanding. Thus, the metaphysician, who dwells habitually amid high abstractions, will attach most importance to the *à priori* scheme, which involves the idea of *necessary* existence and of *infinity*, when time and space are taken into consideration. Nothing less than infinity will satisfy the requirements of his intellect, and he perceives (or imagines that he perceives) that an induction from the objective universe can never reach infinity. On the contrary, the man of less subtle habit—who dwells rather in the region of the understanding, or whose powerful imagination requires some apprehension of reality, that it may compass the wisdom, beauty, harmony, and order of nature—will naturally endeavour to apprehend, not so much the fact of God's existence and infinity (truths which he does not deny, although he reflects not how they came to his mind), as the *character* of the Divine Being displaying itself in the wonderful

works of creation. He *knows* that God is ; but he wishes, by tracing God's hand, to make himself acquainted with the manner in which God orders the economy of the universe, and thence to infer the attributes of God from a special study of his works. He finds that thus, and thus only, does the presence of God assume a full and vital reality. God not only *is*, but is *everywhere*, ordering all events in the natural universe ; reigning as the universal sovereign, creating all things by His power, and ruling all things by His wisdom. In every phenomenon of nature, therefore, he perceives the attributes of God ; and, from the character of the phenomena, he refers to some extent the character of the attributes, and hence the character of the Divine Being. And, as in every portion of his knowledge of nature, he finds two elements, namely, the objective element, or facts, and the subjective element, or reasoning, he concludes that the very same God who made *nature* made also his *reason* ; and, consequently, that the God of nature is one with the God of his intuition ; and thus he unites the two regions into one, regarding them both as the productions of the same Divine hand, and as the correlatives of each other."

The tendency of late years has been to undervalue—as it was in the last century to exaggerate—the importance of the *a priori* argument. This is owing partly, no doubt, to the extravagant estimate of its worth and conclusiveness as a separate and independent demonstration, with which the earlier theological writers are chargeable ; but partly, also, to the growing indifference of the English people to abstract speculation. They have lost faith in the metaphysicians. Mr. Macaulay, who is the very type of the modern English mind, can see no great use even in the analysis of the inductive process exhibited in the "*Novum Organum*," and thinks that science would have prospered nearly as well without the help of Lord Bacon's logic of induction ; that, although it is well that we should have clearly pointed out to us what we are to seek in scientific investigation, the philosophy of the method of search is of slight importance. We fear that the apparent revival of philosophical studies in England during the last twenty or thirty years is no trustworthy indication that the ascetic intellectual habits of the earlier colonists of the most rocky but grandest region of human thought are again becoming common among us. Our modern philosophy is not "o'erlaid with black, staid wisdom's hue ;" but wears "singing robes," and crowns herself with flowers ; and her disciples are not men that live in the wilderness, with raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle round their loins ; capable of long fasting and severe endurance, while searching out divine mysteries ; but dainty gallants, who care more for beauty than for strength, and more for brilliance than for truth. No wonder, then, that the mass of the people refuse to

be led along the cold, rugged, mountainous *a priori* road; but prefer the easy and sheltered paths winding through scenery of exquisite loveliness and ever-changing beauty, that have been laid out with such consummate skill by Paley and his successors. The only argument about the Divine Existence which the great mass of the English people will listen to, is that which is illuminated with the splendour of astonishing scientific discoveries.

Mr. Dove might be expected, from the characteristics of his intellectual nature, not to sympathize with the popular indifference to the loftier reasonings; it is a proof of his clear-sightedness that he has not attached to them a worth they cannot claim, nor sought from them results they cannot yield. In its purest and simplest expression, the *a priori* argument can yield only the form, not the substance, of a belief about God. If an argument starts with abstractions, there must have been some foul play in its progress, if it professes to yield anything else at its close. By no lawful mystery or allowable logical magic can your conclusions belong to a higher category than your premises. The interior machinery of the intellect may re-shape and re-form the material they work upon; but they cannot evolve from mere abstract being, or from the formal laws of human belief, or from our ideas of time and space—a Divine Personality. We are not, however, about to inflict on our readers a full criticism of the *a priori* argument in its numerous and very varied forms; we must be satisfied with stating what seems to us to be its true function and value. And in doing this we shall also be able to define the relative positions and separate results of the two other branches of the great theistical demonstration; and so bring this article to a close.

To any conception of God worthy of the name, the idea of personality is absolutely indispensable; it is the very heart and source of all the moral power that belongs to a belief in the Divine Existence. An indefinite and impersonal energy that—

“Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,  
Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees;”

does not, cannot, control that which is highest in man, nor be the object of those profoundly reverent sentiments, full of awe as well as wonder, of fear as well as love, of prostrate submission as well as perfect trust, of self-abnegation as well as rapturous praise,—which constitute worship. Nor have we found God when we have discovered a mighty architect of the universe, or Great First Cause. The God of such a nature as ours, must be a PERSON, and a Person infinitely above ourselves, in all moral perfection. Whence, then, do these ideas of God spring? As a matter of fact, they are generally suggested, no doubt, by human

teaching; and, even in the beginning, Adam's belief in a Personal Deity was not the natural result of the innate laws of his intellectual and moral being, but of a special and external divine revelation. God came to him in the garden: therefore, he believed in God. But it may also be said that even the elementary truths of the mathematical sciences are communicated to most of us by our teachers; and yet there are intellectual faculties to which the original discovery of the properties of figures and numbers belongs, and which enable most men to follow the steps of their discoverers, and a young genius like Pascal, unaided, to re-discover them for himself. And our acquaintance with the first principles of ethical science is generally derived from the teaching of our parents and friends; and yet there are moral faculties which account for the origin and permanence of moral distinctions. And, so there are elements in man which silently guide him towards a belief in the Divine Existence, even before it is known; and which lead him to grasp it with superhuman energy as soon as it is revealed. What, then, is that in our nature which welcomes the revelation of the Divine Personality in our earliest years; and which, when our powers are more fully developed, confirms and justifies our early belief in it? The very statement of the question implies the answer. The conviction that there is a Personal God, must spring from that region of our being in which our own personality resides. The human conscience, which gives the deepest significance and the firmest strength to the belief of our own independent and separate personal existence, is the true origin of our belief in a Divine Person. Closely associated with the idea of *right*, inwoven into the very texture of all the thoughts and sentiments necessarily associated with it, is the idea of a Being, whose will is the law of righteousness, whose character is its glorious illustration, and whose function it is to sustain through all ages and all worlds the majesty of moral law. The sense of moral responsibility binds me eternally to a person who has a right to require of me moral perfection. And, that I am responsible to him, implies that he himself is morally perfect. From our moral nature, then, arises the intuition of a perfect Moral Ruler.

Passing out of the interior regions of our own personal life into the external universe, we discover a thousand indications of a wise, a powerful, and a bountiful Creator. The wild dream of the possibility of a natural development of such a world as this from chaotic mud, the evasive theory of the existence of an eternal series of the living beings we see around us, are alike untenable. The very science which, at first, good men most feared as antichristian, which infidelity relied upon as a faithful

and irresistible ally, has brought the crowning proofs of direct and supernatural interferences in the history of the earth. New forms of life have begun to be, at certain epochs in the boundless past; and these new effects must have had a cause, and a cause equal to the production of them.

But the proofs of design in a finite universe cannot fairly be made to yield an infinite wisdom; and the inference from the revelations of power must fall short of absolute omnipotence. Wonderful as the universe is, we cannot but believe that a universe more wonderful still, might be planned by the omniscient mind, and created by the all-powerful hand. God has not exhausted himself in His works. These are but parts of His ways. He is still a God that hideth himself. From the universe we can only infer a wisdom and a power equal to the production of it; but, if God could bring into being a grander and more glorious universe than this, it is clear there must be wisdom and power with Him greater than He has yet revealed; and equally plain that the works He has made, did not require for their creation, and do not permit us to infer, absolute omniscience and omnipotence. And, since the organized universe does not date from eternity, but had its origin in Time, all that we can conclude from it, is that when it began to be, there existed a being who was able to create it.

But here comes into action the principle of our intellectual nature, which is developed in the *a priori* argument. Our minds are so constituted, that the idea of the finite implies the idea of the infinite; the finite in time, the eternal; finite space, boundless extension. And, hence, by the action of laws that decline the jurisdiction of syllogistic logic, the mind of man infers from a finite universe an infinite God. The inference may be called illogical, but men are driven to it; and when the process is analyzed, it is justified by the authority of principles which are their own evidence;—the finite is impossible apart from the infinite.

Mr. Dove does not limit himself to an analysis of this threefold argument for God's being and character, but investigates all the contents of natural theology; and he finds that, instead of satisfying the reason and the conscience, and giving man a deep and permanent peace, the investigation only proves how much man needs a Divine revelation, and that it is probable God will grant it him.

We have left ourselves no space for referring to several points of great interest, that we had intended to comment upon. We think Mr. Dove is right in his conviction, that the mere existence of matter is no proof of a creator; it is the organization of matter that demonstrates His power and wisdom.

There is very much, too, that is worth thinking of, in what is said about the impossibility of inferring, with anything like absolute certainty, the moral perfection of the Creator from the moral constitution of the world; though we are not quite sure whether Mr. Dove is right. It is true, no doubt, that in the wild confusion and disorder of man's present life, the operation of the highest laws seems to be strangely hindered and crossed; external nature herself, seeming to take little heed of moral distinctions, but often confounding the evil and the good in one common catastrophe; suffering of all kinds being separated perpetually from any visible or conceivable guilt; and joy and triumph crowning—and often crowning—the brow of villany. But, although this confusion shows, according to Mr. Dove's alternative, either "that the CAUSE of the moral world is imperfect in power or intention," or that "some vast catastrophe has occurred whereby the primeval harmony has been disordered," the indications of overwhelming strength on the side of goodness, and the proofs that on the whole, and in the long run, it is well with the righteous, ought to leave us in no great doubt, as to which side of the alternative we should accept.

The sixth book, on Revelation, we must leave altogether. On one or two of its more prominent doctrines, we hope shortly to have an opportunity of speaking with more fulness than would be possible in a mere postscript to an article already too long.

Mr. Dove has our best thanks for his laborious and valuable work. Among its best elements is the courageous hopefulness with which he anticipates the issue of the battle between the Christian church and the manifold forms of sceptical antagonism, by which she is now confronted; even when fought on purely philosophical grounds. Most true and most important are the words with which he closes his introduction, and with which we shall bid him and our readers farewell:—

"The church can have nothing to fear from Germany, France, America, or even Britain, if she will bend her strength to the contest. Let her grasp scepticism in its most powerful form of philosophic subtlety, or in its wildest aspects of learned aberration. Let her not flinch or retreat; but, meeting subtlety with subtlety more profound, and learning with equal erudition, let her proclaim to the assembled world, that she knows herself to be right, and the world to be wrong; and that, surely convinced of this truth, she will admit all that philosophy can show to be true, and all that learned research can show to be true, and *yet*, that she can maintain her ground, and point out to the world the more excellent way."



## ART. V.—BURGESS'S EDITION OF KITTO'S BIBLICAL CYCLOPÆDIA.

*A Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature.* Edited by John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A., Editor of the "Pictorial Bible," Author of the "History and Physical Geography of Palestine," &c., &c. A New Edition, carefully revised by the Rev. Henry Burgess, LL.D., Ph.D., M.R.S.L., Editor of the "Journal of Sacred Literature," and Curate of Clifton-Reynes. Two Vols. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1856.

A CORRECTED edition of Kitto's Cyclopædia, there can be no doubt, was a very desirable thing. Dr. Kitto himself was engaged in making arrangements for such an edition when his plans and labours were broken off by the serious attacks which eventually proved fatal to him. In these circumstances it was, perhaps, not unnatural that the publishers should entrust the revision to the editor whose name appears in the title. Dr. Burgess had succeeded to the conduct of the Journal which his predecessor had laboured so indefatigably to establish, and thus seemed to be pointed out as Dr. Kitto's successor in this work also. The character of a man, however, cannot always be determined by the character of his father, nor is the fitness of a writer for a given task assured to us by his being the successor of one whose fitness has been tried. The choice of the publishers was, perhaps, natural, but it was a most unfortunate one.

It is from no wish to deal hardly with Dr. Burgess that we say this. In some respects our task would be easier if the name of the editor was one we had never heard of before. Our censures may be misunderstood—may be falsely supposed to proceed from this or that concealed motive; but honesty demands a fair judgment at our hands, and we shall not be deterred from endeavouring to give such a judgment by the possible insinuation of prejudice. We know nothing of Dr. Burgess on this occasion, and as far as the present article is concerned, except what we gather from the book before us,—and we feel constrained to express our deep regret that the editorship of it has fallen into his hands. That we may furnish our readers, as far as we can, with the means of forming their own judgment, we place before them, in the first instance, the whole of Dr. Burgess's preface, which is as follows:—

"But few words will be necessary to state what has been contemplated in a new and revised edition of a work which has gained a European reputation, and the success of which has fully justified the wisdom and foresight of those who originally planned its execution. It is little more than ten years ago since the lamented editor, Dr. Kitto, put his name to the preface of the first edition, and the



writers of the separate articles are still living;—two circumstances which rendered the labour of revision comparatively light. In so short a period but little could have been added, of importance, to the materials of Biblical science; while the fact that the authors of the separate articles of the Cyclopædia are men of reputation in the various departments of learning which they have illustrated, made it manifestly improper for a stranger to alter or re-arrange their materials in any serious degree. It was felt, both by the proprietors of the work and by the present editor, that it was sufficiently excellent in its substance, and that all that was demanded was some improvement and finish in its minor details.

“Some thousands of corrections have been made, with great and long-continued labour; many of a minute nature, not capable of being pointed out, and yet conferring a much higher value on the work itself; while others have a more marked and prominent character, aiming as they do at a more complete exhibition of the literature of the separate subjects. A great number of works, principally by English authors, have appeared during the last ten years, and these have been located in their proper positions; some expressions or opinions, which appeared to the editor to border on an objectionable heterodoxy, have been softened down or excluded, and the life of David has been entirely re-written, by the pen of Dr. Kitto. About one hundred pages of the first volume were revised by the same hand, prevented by death from completing the task. To render the whole more available to the general reader, as well as to the scholar, an index of matters not to be found in the alphabetical arrangement has been compiled with great care, and will be found, it is not doubted, a most useful addition to the work. That the care bestowed on this edition has not rendered it perfect;—that some things will be thought still wanting, and others superfluous, seems inevitable from the very nature of such an undertaking. In works of this kind, referring to subjects the study of which is never complete, the observance of the Horatian rule will be attempted by all competent and ingenuous critics:—

“*Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis  
Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,  
Aut humana parum cavit natura.*”

Dr. Burgess adds, by way of note, that “some corrections were made in the article on SYRIAC VERSIONS from an inspection of the MSS. in the British Museum; but the editor regrets that, from an oversight, they were omitted.” We may just suggest in passing that it would have been more satisfactory if the corrections themselves had been inserted in the blank half-page at the end of the preface, instead of this note, which serves no other purpose than to assure us of Dr. Burgess’s knowledge of Syriac. But we proceed to the examination of the book itself.

Let us ask what was the first and simplest duty of the editor. Surely, it was the careful examination of the whole work, and the

removal of manifest errors, whether of typography or arrangement. This duty Dr. Burgess professes to have discharged; the title declares the work to be "carefully revised," the preface speaks of "great and long-continued labour" in making these corrections. Yet we unhesitatingly affirm that there has been no careful revision, that there are indications neither of great nor of long-continued labour. The minute corrections may have numbered thousands, but they have not been made carefully or systematically, and they are very far from complete.

In regard to typographical errata, the few Syriac words which occur seem to be the only part of the work in which anything like systematic correction has been attempted, and even here the corrections are not complete. It would occupy too much of our time and space to give a list of the typographical errors we have noted which remain uncorrected.

One instance of Dr. Burgess's incompetence as a corrector in this respect will suffice. The article *Hook* occupying a little more than a page, happens to be very incorrectly printed in the original edition. We have noticed at least fifteen errata. Dr. Burgess sets himself to correct it—eight of the errors he does not seem to have observed. Of the seven corrections made, four are wrong, and in making them he has not only disfigured the book by employing a very different Greek type—here, unfortunately, ending in the middle of the word,—but has introduced an erratum by taking away from the word its accent. It is true that some of the errors left uncorrected are small, relating also to Greek accents, and we should not have thought of holding Dr. Burgess responsible for these if one of his own attempted corrections had not been of this very kind; half of them, however, are more conspicuous and more important. The Hebrew word which Dr. Burgess thought it worth while to correct in one instance, occurs, and is printed in precisely the same manner three times in the course of ten lines; in the other two instances it is left uncorrected. It is not, moreover, so slight an error as would be likely to escape the eye of a careful reader (וְיָהּ instead of וְיָה). One would have thought the difference must have been observed. The more we consider the errors of this article, and the mode of their correction, the more strongly do we suspect that these corrections, after all, are not due to Dr. Burgess; they are just such as any one might make who happened cursorily to notice errata in the course of reading—just such as Dr. Kitto might have put down in his own copy of the Cyclopædia, in order to guide him when he came to revise the article; but, that one who was professedly revising the book should light upon one error here and another there in this fashion, and miss similar errors, to which his

attention must have been called in reading the article through, passes our comprehension. This instance furnishes, as far as we can judge, a fair specimen of the mode of correction throughout, and we must say that we entertain very strong doubts whether corrections of this kind have been made by Dr. Burgess at all. But, then, does he not in the preface assert that he has made "some thousands of corrections with great and long-continued labour?" The simple reader may understand him so, and he *may* have intended to say so; but this is not what he asserts,—look at the sentence again, "some thousands of corrections *have been made*." Perhaps, as we proceed, the reader may suspect with us, that it was some other reason than mere modesty that led to the adoption of the passive form.

We must, however, proceed to more important matters. It was, to some degree, excusable—perhaps inevitable—in the original work, published as it was in parts, that the references made in the earlier portion of the alphabet should not be exact—that, occasionally, the article so referred to should be forgotten, or the subject be treated of under still another name. In point of fact, such errors are numerous in the original edition. Scarcely any of these false references have been corrected throughout the work. Yet, surely, this was one of the simplest duties of a "careful reviser." Moreover, in the few instances where corrections have been attempted, the very attempt shows the opposite of care. As a specimen of corrections unattempted we give the following list of false references, which occur alike in the old and the new editions in the letter B alone: "BALADAN [MERODACH BALADAN]," "BALANCE [WEIGHING]," "BEAN [PHUL]," "BERODACH BALADAN [MERODACH BALADAN]," "BIRD-CATCHING [FOWLING]," "BOND, BONDAGE [SLAVERY]," "BOOTY [SPOIL]," "BOUNDARIES [LANDMARKS]." This list would be greatly increased by enumerating the false references which occur in the course of articles; the cases we have cited are those in which merely the word is inserted and reference is made to an article which was to be given further on, but was subsequently forgotten. Indeed, not only is the information not given under the word promised, but, in the majority of these instances, we know not where to look for it at all. The most venial error is the reference of *Bondage* to the article *Slavery* instead of *Slave*. But, surely, a careful reviser would have corrected even such an error as this. It is, however, abundantly manifest that there has been not even an attempt at revision of this kind. The word *Bean*, mentioned above, will serve as an illustration. We are referred from *Bean* to *Phul*; now, the word *Phul* does occur in its place, thus, "PHUL, [PUL]." We turn on then to *Pul*, and

find, "PUL, king of Assyria [ASSYRIA];" but where has our search led us, and what have beans to do with Assyria or its kings? Fortunately, the word immediately succeeding to the king of Assyria, in whose company we find ourselves so unexpectedly, may possibly catch the eye of the inquirer, and set him right; it is this, "PULSE [POL]." Turn then to *Pol*, and your labour is at length rewarded by reading, "POL occurs twice in Scripture, and, no doubt, signifies 'beans,' as translated, &c." We were not, however, happy enough to find our way out of this bewilderment so easily; the king of Assyria misled us; we were ready to imagine that BEAN meant, not the edible, but a proper name, connected somehow with the Assyrian monarch; and, finding no clue to this name, we gave up the matter in despair, till we accidentally noticed in the index, added by Dr. Burgess, the line, "Beans, POL." After all, then, we are indebted to Dr. Burgess for information as to where in the Cyclopædia we might find anything about beans; but, surely, this information might have been given less circuitously—all that was needed was in the book itself to correct the first error, PHUL, into POL. Of course, we do not mean that Dr. Burgess is answerable for the original blunders, but we do hold him accountable for their perpetuation. Let it not be thought that this is a solitary instance of carelessness: it is a fair sample of the manner in which the so-called "revision" is conducted throughout, in this particular. As we are writing, our attention is attracted by the word *Ethun*, which we had marked down. Turning to the article, we find that it concludes thus, "[v. COTTON and LINEN]." Turning first to the latter, all we find is "LINEN [BAD];" turning to that word, we find, "BAD [Byssus]," and, at length, under *Byssus*, we obtain some information, but are referred for further particulars to the articles COTTON, FLAX, HEMP, SILK, WOOL. The only one of these five articles which contains any information is *Cotton*. Under the word *Flax*, we are merely referred to *Pishteh*; under *Pishtah* (the spelling not the same), we are told, "Reference was made to this article from FLAX; but, as it is desirable to consider it in connexion with SHESH, both substances will be treated of under that head;" and there, accordingly, we at length find the information. The next word, *Hemp*, is not in,—the information is found under the word already referred to, *Shesh*; the word *Silk* is not in. Under the word *Wool* we are merely referred to *Sheep*; and, last of all, under *Sheep* there is no account of *Wool*; so that in the two latter instances our search is utterly fruitless, and in neither of them does the index help us. We have already intimated that such errors were pardonable in the original publication. But how can that be called a revision

which has left almost all of them uncorrected? and what claim has he to the character of a "careful" reviser, who does not appear even to have noticed their existence?

But, after all, perhaps it is well that he has not, since judging from the few specimens of attempted correction, we may conclude that alterations would but have introduced new errors. Thus, the article OREB (willow), in the new edition ends with the following information—"but there is another word, which is also supposed to denote one of these willows."—And here we are left in the dark. One is curious to know why this other word should be so mysteriously referred to,—why it is not given,—or, if it ought not to be given, why our curiosity should be raised by being informed of its existence. Turning to the old edition, we find the missing word, and the sentence is complete by the addition of it in such a form as to refer us to an expected article upon it, viz., ZAPHZAPHAH. There is, however, no such article; and Dr. Burgess, therefore, strikes out the word, though the omission of it renders the sentence to which it belonged unmeaning. But was he not right here? Is not this a proof of "careful" revision? Alas! no; even when he endeavours to correct he does but show his carelessness. The article referred to is in the Cyclopædia, but the "careful" reviser does not know it. Turn to *Tzaphizapha*, and there you will find a full account, and, moreover, a pictorial representation of this nameless willow; the correction wanted was merely the omission of the final H, and the prefixing of the letter T to each of the two Z's. Again, in the old edition, we find "GALBANUM [CHALBANEH]," an error, doubtless—for, in this instance again, the word referred to is not found in its place. The new editor, therefore, again undertakes the task of correction, and, instead of the reference, gives us the following information,—“GALBANUM, a sweet-smelling resin, an ingredient of the sacred incense (Exod. xxx. 34).” The information is small, but better than a false reference. But, surely, there must be some fatality about Dr. Burgess's corrections,—he has again blundered; there is a long article on this very substance, occupying nearly two columns, of the existence of which Dr. Burgess is clearly in profound ignorance. The only correction wanted, was the change of the vowels in the original reference, for CHALBANEH read CHELBENAH; the article is found under this latter word from the pen of Dr. Royle, and we find from that article that the reviser's ignorance extended further than to the fact of the account being already in the Cyclopædia. He has misinformed us as to this same "sweet-smelling resin," for "its odour is strong and balsamic, but disagreeable," if we may believe Dr. Royle.

We have seen how little the present editor can be depended

on in his corrections "of a minute nature." Other corrections, however, he informs us, "have a more marked and prominent character, aiming as they do at a more complete exhibition of the literature of the separate subjects." To this class we suppose we may refer, first, the new articles inserted, and, secondly, the alterations made in old articles. The new articles are nearly all names of places, and occur, with scarcely an exception, near the beginning of the book. Most of them are very brief, —principally taken from Winer's "Biblisches Realwörterbuch." They have all the appearance of notes hastily put down, in order to furnish materials for articles; and thus they are not only imperfect, but frequently erroneous. Judging from their internal character, we should unhesitatingly conclude that they were not intended for the press, and that the editor into whose hands they had unfortunately fallen, had printed them without examination. Dr. Burgess, throughout the work, shows no such acquaintance with German as to render it at all likely that he has himself taken them from Winer. They are more probably the rough and uncorrected notes of Dr. Kitto. Thus, under the word **BEESHTERAH**, we find "Winer thinks it is a contraction of . . . **בֵּהְשֵׁתֶרָא**." It is evident that the writer of the note, to save time, left the Hebrew unwritten, but the editor does not perceive the incompleteness. Again, the information given of **BEOR**, the father of Balaam, is precisely and only this, "The father of Balaam (Num. xiii. 5), &c.; Gesenius"—evidently a mere note (in this instance not taken from Winer); for, what can be meant by the conclusion, except it be a hasty memorandum to remind the writer from what source he intended to complete the account? The article *Beth-Haram*, which is new, must be given entire. "**BETH-HARAM** or **BETH-HARAN** **בֵּית חָרָם** or **בֵּית חָרָן**—), a town in the tribe of Gad (Num. xxxii. 36; Josh. xiii. 27). It is called in the Syr. **ܒܝܬ ܚܪܡܐ** *Bethramphtha*, as also in the Talmud; and Eusebius mentions **Βηθραμφθα** as the later Syriac name. He says that Herod had called it *Livias*, in honour of his wife *Augusta*. Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 2. 1, 2) calls it *Julias*, and makes Herod Antipas give it this name in honour of *Julia* the wife of *Augustus*." Notice, first, the mere typographical errata—the omission of the mark of parenthesis, two mistakes in the Hebrew, **חָרָ** for **חָרָא**, and, in the Greek, the accent wanting on the final syllable; again, Dr. Burgess prides himself on his knowledge of Syriac, yet we have "*Bethramphtha*" following the Syriac words, instead of "*Bethramtha*." But what is meant by Herod calling the town *Livias* in honour of his wife *Augusta*? Who was she? Herod the Great (and it would seem as though he were intended) had five wives, but we never before heard that the



name of any one of them was Augusta. And, even if it were, what reason does that furnish for his calling the town *Livias*? But Josephus, it is said, "makes Herod Antipas give it the name of *Julias*, in honour of Julia, the wife of Augustus." That is more intelligible. But what has the one account to do with the other? Nothing, of course. Are they not contrasted? Did not Herod call the town after his *own* wife, and Herod Antipas, after Julia, the wife of Augustus? It seems that Dr. Burgess thought so, and was not aware that the name of the wife of Augustus was Livia, though she is by Josephus called Julia; or, if he knew it, he did not concern himself about it,—did not even recognize that he was (we do not say writing, for there is good reason to think the mistake did not originate with himself, but) editing nonsense. It is a very simple blunder—whoever translated from Winer, by some strange oversight, or stranger ignorance, took the phrase "*zu Ehren der Gemahlin Augusts*," to mean, "in honour of his wife Augusta," instead of "in honour of the wife of Augustus," that is, Livia. Winer's meaning is, that the town received a name in honour of the wife of Augustus. Jerome (not Eusebius—so Winer) calls this name *Livias*, Josephus calls it *Julias*. Eusebius, as far as we can ascertain from authorities at hand, says nothing about the name given by Herod; this mistake arose from Winer's mentioning Eusebius in connexion with Jerome, as an authority for the Syriac name. Once more: two new articles, *Beth-Shittah* and *Beth-Tappuah*, are inserted in the middle of another article—*Beth-Shemesh*—so as to cut that article in two, and join the latter half of it to the second of these. But we have already occupied enough space with additions of this kind, though our materials are still ample.

We come now to the additions made to already existing articles. Dr. Burgess especially mentions, as a prominent point in these additions, "a more complete exhibition of the literature of the separate subjects." In the next sentence he informs us that the works which have appeared during the last ten years, are "principally by English authors." It was necessary, of course, that some reason should be given for not citing foreign, and especially German works, and it would scarcely have been appropriate in the editor of such a book as this, to give the real reason—his want of acquaintance with foreign literature. We have no desire to speak slightingly of English scholarship, and we gladly take the opportunity of avowing our belief that a greater number of valuable works have appeared in England on subjects connected with Biblical science during the last ten or twelve years, than during any equal period of the present century. We might assert even more than this in respect to



the rapid advance of Biblical studies amongst us. But let us not, on this account, ignore the labours of Continental scholars, to whom, either directly or indirectly, all the best English writers are so largely indebted. Germany has not been less active. By way of illustration, turn to Mr. Alford's list of books quoted in the recently-published third volume of his Greek Testament, and you will find of English writers whose works have appeared during this interval, four names—Davidson, Eadie, Ellicott, Jowett; of German writers, eight names—Baur, Bispin, Hoffmann, Meyer, Lünemann, Huther, Stier, Usteri. We must, however, take the editor on his own ground, and will, therefore, confine our attention to those writers of whom he may be presumed to have some knowledge. In a large class of articles, nothing more was to be expected than a notice of recent publications. No very laborious work, this, but it required to be done thoroughly and systematically. Dr. Burgess, on the contrary, has done it partially and at random. As we are writing, we have turned to three or four articles, by way of illustration, as the writers' names occurred to us, and this is our result: Bunsen is not mentioned under *Egypt*, Westcott is not mentioned under *Canon*, Lynch is not mentioned under *Sea, Dead*, Williams is not mentioned under *Jerusalem*. Nearly all that is attempted in any such case is to leave out the reference to some one or two older works, in order to make room for the insertion of the titles of one or two English books that have appeared during the last ten years—an odd mode, certainly, of rendering the exhibition of the literature of the subject more *complete*.

Passing by such alterations, let us turn to those articles which, on various grounds, required revision or addition. It would have been strange, if the recent Assyrian discoveries had been wholly omitted. We have, therefore, an addition of two pages under the article *Nineveh*—the only addition that can pretend to any importance in the whole book. Of this account, we have merely to say, that it is, in reality, of very small value, and not suited to the character of the work. The first part of it is very readable, and would be in place as a slight and popular sketch of the discoveries on the site of Nineveh; but it does not pretend to investigate the subject. A judicious account of the various works mentioned at the end of this addition, and a careful judgment of them, would have been far more valuable; but, though it might have occupied much less space, it would have cost incomparably more labour. This addendum, however, is respectable, compared with the valueless information tacked on to the article *Assyria*, which is as follows:—

"The researches which are now being prosecuted to decipher the cruciform [*sic*] character, by Col. Rawlinson, Dr. Hinckes [name mis-spelt], and others, promise the most successful results, although they have not yet gone far enough to give the Assyrian language a scientific basis. (See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*), *passim* [*sic*]."

— Or, again, the addendum to the article *Babylonia* :—

"More recently, Layard's *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylonia*. [title misquoted] London, 1853; and various (in the *Athenæum*, and other literary journals) papers detailing the researches of Colonel Rawlinson, have thrown much light on the language and antiquities of this remarkable region. But there is yet wanting the *lucidus ordo* to give to these abundant materials the historic and scientific value they are doubtless destined to attain."

One cannot help feeling vexed at such slipshod criticism as this, given forth by one who has not even taken the trouble to note down where the information is to be found, which he so glibly pronounces to be at present destitute of "scientific basis," and of "*lucidus ordo*." Think of referring to the *Asiatic Society's Journal*, *passim*—and, still worse, to the *Athenæum* at large, and "other literary journals!" Surely, some few of these sources of information might have been distinctly named. If the omission were for want of space, we could willingly have dispensed with the judgment so authoritatively given, to make room for such really useful information; and, let us add, that a careful enumeration of the sources of information, would have shown the opposite of what these off-hand remarks do show,—that the editor had really examined the subject.

But, perhaps, Dr. Burgess is more at home on subjects of Biblical criticism. Let us see. Turning to the article *Criticism, Biblical*, we find the unfortunate misprint of "Scholz" for "Schulz," the editor of Griesbach, remains uncorrected, and the date 1843 remains unaltered to the remark that the second volume of his edition has not yet appeared. Tischendorf's second Leipsic edition of the New Testament has been published since the article was written. A notice of it is accordingly inserted, and a bungling attempt is made to accommodate the remarks, which were intended for the first edition only, to both editions, thus :—

"Tischendorf exhibits a corrected text, taken from the most ancient and best MSS., with the principal various readings, together with the readings of the Elzevir, Knapp, Scholz, and Lachmann editions."

This sentence, though it has been wholly reprinted, is identi-

al, except in the first word, with that of the original edition. It was accurate, in respect to the book to which it was intended to apply, viz., Tischendorf's first edition; but in regard to the second, it errs, both by excess and defect, for in this Knapp's readings are *not* given, and, moreover, Griesbach's readings, which were not in the first edition, *are* given. A few lines below we read, "The Prolegomena, consisting of [ninety-six pages in the second edition] are exceedingly valuable." The words which we have enclosed in brackets are inserted by Dr. Burgess, instead of the words "85 pages," which, of course, referred to Tischendorf's first edition. The remark is true as it now stands, but it is clear the editor either does not know, or does not think it worth while to inform his readers, that the Prolegomena of the second edition, are not a mere enlargement of those of the first, but consist, for the most part, of new dissertations. In the same way, a reference to the title of the second volume of Lachmann's larger edition of the New Testament, which has appeared since the Cyclopædia was published, is inserted, though the remarks which follow are intended to apply only to the first volume; and so it was correctly stated that, "to the volume is prefixed a preface of 55 pages." Dr. Burgess appears never even to have seen the book, for he coolly alters the word "volume" into "volumes," leaving the number of pages as it was—utterly ignorant, it would seem, that the second volume has a valuable preface of its own, extending to twenty-six pages. Is this what the editor means by the "improvement and finish in its minor details," which the work required?

We are really weary of the task we have undertaken. Instances of this kind of carelessness are so numerous, that we may as well stop at once in our enumeration of them. But the careless, and even reckless way, in which such alterations as these are made, is not the worst thing about them. There is yet another count in our indictment. Dr. Burgess has, of course, a full right to alter his own productions as he sees fit; or, when this work was committed to his revision, he might have given, according to his discretion, whatever additional information he thought needful, if he had given it as his own. But he has strangely misunderstood the duty of a reviser in supposing that he was authorized to curtail, at his pleasure, the writings of others; and, still more, in presuming to add to their articles whatever he chose, in their name, and in such form, as to make them appear responsible for his mistakes. As to curtailment, that, no doubt, was necessary, in order to make room for new matter, inasmuch as the work is printed from the old stereotype plates. But, surely, great care was needed even here; and, in important cases, the sanction of the

original writer should have been obtained. As to additions, it was perfectly practicable for Dr. Burgess to have added whatever he thought needful, retaining the initials of the writer at the end of the original article, and thus distinguishing that, for which alone he is responsible, from the new editor's additions. This has been done, in two cases, *Nineveh*, and *Inspiration*; and as far as we have observed, these are the only instances. All the alterations and additions we have already quoted, are made in such a way, as that they appear to proceed from the original writer. Thus, Mr. Morren is made responsible for the addition to *Assyria*, Dr. Beard for that to *Babylonia*, Dr. Davidson for the mistakes in *Biblical Criticism*. Indeed, Dr. Davidson fares worse, perhaps, than any other contributor. Thus, in the article *Commentary*, seven lines are omitted, relating to German commentators, in order to make room for an equal number respecting Barnes; and, consequently, the paragraph relating to the Germans is, as it now stands, one of unqualified censure, which certainly does not accord either with the view of the writer whose initials are subjoined, or with the truth; and, further, is inconsistent with the subsequent part of the article itself. The omitted lines end with a very emphatic qualification of the censure in the words: "But there are noble exceptions," which exceptions, accordingly, Dr. Davidson proceeds to specify. Further on, four lines are omitted to make room for a reference to Dr. Kitto's "Pictorial Bible," and "Daily Bible Illustrations." The insertions are in Dr. Burgess's usual style of commonplace. Of Barnes's books we are informed, that "they are principally compilations, and their extraordinary popularity is an indication of the Biblical tastes of the masses of the people." Of Dr. Kitto's: that it is a "kind of Biblical illustration now greatly patronized," and further, that they "have had a host of imitations." But the wrong done to the authors whose writings are thus interpolated, does not end here. Dates are frequently inserted in the additions, as late as 1855 or 1856, and the unwary reader is naturally led to suppose that the incompleteness of the information up to this date, is due to the writer of the article. Dr. Burgess had made him seem to be responsible alike for the vague generalities which he has chosen to insert, and for the apparent want of recent knowledge of the subject, which a well-informed reader will in many cases be sure to notice. The articles profess to be made complete to the present time, and the original writer appears to be responsible for the whole of them; the additions are entirely undistinguishable, except by comparison of the old and new editions, from the writer's own language. Dr. Burgess has the assurance in one instance, at least, even to personate the writer. This also, is in an article of Dr. Davidson. At the close of his very

elaborate account of the Book of the Revelation, in the middle of a sentence relating to works on its literature, four lines are interpolated thus : “ and the Introduction of the present writer in *An Introduction to the New Testament, containing an Examination of the most Important Questions, &c.*, with reference to the latest inquiries, London, 1848.” Now,—to say nothing of the awkwardness of the sentence itself; the absurd mode of giving the title so full, and yet so incomplete; the typographical error in regard to the last six words, which should have been printed as part of the title; the mistake in the date, which, as regards the matter in hand, is 1851;—we ask by what right does the editor thus personate the writer of the article, and represent this addition of his own as one made by Dr. Davidson? There is a special impropriety in this case, since, in the preface of the work referred to, Dr. Davidson says, “ It will be seen, that some of the observations on the Revelation are the same as have been already published in an article on the book, in Kitto’s ‘Cyclopædia’; others are very different. The writer has altered, modified, corrected, and enlarged what he had inserted there. Nor is he ashamed to avow his change of opinion on several points.” (Davidson’s Introd., vol. iii. p. vii.). Five years later than the time of his writing these words, Dr. Davidson is made to refer to his own book, in an article which reiterates these very opinions; though he has declared that he has changed them on several points.

Dr. Burgess avows in his preface, that “ the fact that the authors of the separate articles . . . are men of reputation . . . made it manifestly improper for a stranger to alter or re-arrange their materials in any serious degree.” But what right had he to alter them in any degree, if he retained their initials, and thus made them (as he has done), responsible for his alterations? It is not a question of reputation, nor a question of degree, it is a question of simple fact and honesty. Certain persons write on certain subjects,—their writings are included in one book, their initials only are given at the end of the papers they write, but their names are stated at full length in a table at the commencement of the work. Dr. Burgess’s writing is not their writing, and to represent it as theirs is simply untrue. If the articles are insufficient, let the editor add a supplement; if they are erroneous, let him expunge them; but, in the name of common honesty, let not a “stranger” tamper with the writings of other men in this style, and make them responsible for what he may choose to say; and, in the name of decent modesty, let him not set about altering and re-arranging the writings of “men of reputation,” and make them utter his judgments, with which after all it is possible that theirs may not agree.

Our remarks are already too long, but we must notice one thing more. Dr. Burgess informs us in his preface, that "the life of David has been entirely re-written by the pen of Dr. Kitto." How Dr. Burgess could make this assertion, we are utterly at a loss to understand. That it has been entirely *re-printed*, the difference of type shows, but not more than one-fourth of it has been rewritten. The original article consists of sixteen columns and a half. Of these, nearly three columns are omitted at the beginning of the article; and, in their stead, two columns of new matter are inserted at the end; besides these, several omissions and alterations of sentences occur in the course of the article, amounting in all to as much matter as would occupy a little more than a column,—the remainder amounting to fully twelve columns, is verbally identical with the original article—identical even in false references to subsequent articles. From the identity of the unaltered parts, we can entertain no doubt but that the present article was printed—not from manuscript copy, but from the original printed text, altered where necessary; and, if so, how can Dr. Burgess's statement be accounted for? Did he correct the press after all? One really feels in doubt about it. In any case, what becomes of his "careful" revision, when a fact thus patent to any one who examines the two editions even cursorily, as we have done, is unknown to him.

It is with great regret that we feel ourselves compelled to speak as we have done of a work so valuable as Dr. Kitto's Cyclopædia was. We say *was*, for in truth it is not so valuable now. We deeply regret that the publishers, misled by Dr. Burgess's connexion with Kitto, should have entrusted so delicate and difficult a task to such incompetent and careless hands. We regret too, that Dr. Burgess should have given such ample evidence of his making pretensions to scholarship beyond the reality. We have not been unmindful of the "Horatian rule" to which Dr. Burgess referred us; but we have not found it applicable: the blemishes are not few, and we have not found, as far as Dr. Burgess is concerned, that there are many things which shine. It has reminded us, however, of another piece of advice which Horace gives, and which we recommend to Dr. Burgess's serious attention:—

"Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, æquam  
Viribus, et versate diu, quid ferre recusent,  
Quid valeant humeri."

Would that all writers, and especially writers on matters connected with religion, seriously endeavoured to attain this self-knowledge before they ventured to appear in print! What a mass of error and sham learning would the world be spared!



## Brief Notices.

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**APOSTOLIC HYMNS; or, Passages of the New Testament in Verse. For Use in Churches.** By William Wrightson, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Wark. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter. 1856.

A **SOMEWHAT** pretentious preface is followed by a very mediocre attempt to turn a number of passages from the New Testament into verse. The Presbyterians of Scotland use for the purposes of praise in public worship a metrical version of the Psalms, and a number of beautiful paraphrases of selected passages from the Old and New Testament. Of late an attempt has been made to introduce a regular hymn-book into the Presbyterian churches in England. Mr. Wrightson, anxious to prevent this, and to confine the source of praise to inspired songs, has, in the little volume before us, attempted to add to the number of paraphrases. In our opinion he has failed. A number of passages are versified, which seem to us inadapated for that purpose—for not every passage of Scripture is adapted for praise, while the versification itself generally becomes *very* much to be desiderated. Along with some passages which are pretty well done, there are a good many which have no poetry at all about them. Again, passages—such as Eph. i.—which really partake of the character of the grandest hymns, have been passed over. On the general questions raised by Mr. Wrightson, we do not feel called to enter.

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**MEMOIR AND REMAINS OF THE LATE REV. JOHN GREGORY PIKE.** Edited by his Sons, John Baxter and James Carey Pike. London: Jarrold and Sons. 1855.

Few religious writers have at any time taken a deeper hold on the minds of their contemporaries than the excellent author of the "Persuasives to Early Piety," whose Memoir is now presented by his sons to the public. Deeply interesting as the career of such a man—a record of his inner and outer life—must prove to the serious of all classes, there are circumstances connected with it which render it even more than otherwise deserving of notice. It brings before us the history of a man who, as it were, found his way out of the mazes of a cold and barren Arianism into a warm and lively Evangelism—a man also, who combined unwearied ministerial diligence with an ever-increasing activity in the service of the church generally. Animated by cordial and simple allegiance to the Master, his success in every department in which he engaged was very great. John Deodatus Gregory Pike, born 6th April, 1784, was the eldest son of the Rev. Dr. Pike, who had seceded from the ministry of the Established Church to join the Arian party. He was early brought under religious impressions, although from the nature of the



instructions which he received, it will readily be inferred that there must have been, to say the least, considerable dimness, insufficiency, and error about them. In due course he became a student of the academy at Wymondley, which at that time was open to all classes of dissenters, orthodox and heterodox. But here intercourse with pious fellow-students and the influence of some of the tutors were made useful, while the affectionate and serious strain of his father's letters, who, to judge by Mr. Pike's statements, seems gradually to have attained clearer views, kept alive his religious *feelings*. In 1804, he became an Arian Baptist, and next year, on the completion of his twenty-first year, made a solemn dedication of himself to the Saviour, which is remarkable for its comprehensiveness and devoutness, especially when it is borne in mind that at the time his views were far from clear. At the completion of his studies, he for some time assisted in a school, preaching occasionally in villages,—a practice which to the end of his life he continued with evident delight in the occupation. Through the Bible Society he became acquainted with Mr. Hughes, of Battersea. Their intercourse resulted in Mr. Pike's becoming what is generally known as an Evangelical Baptist; though he could not see his way to joining Mr. Hughes's connexion, and was soon afterwards settled as pastor over the General Baptist Church at Derby. At first, worldly prospects were certainly not very encouraging there. The church at Brook Street Chapel offered their young pastor the liberal sum of £50 per annum. Mr. Pike accordingly was compelled to add the duties of teaching to those of preaching, in order to support himself and the family which soon sprang up around him. But the unwearied labours of a man who was few days without preaching, were owned from on high, and once and again had the chapel to be enlarged, until the church ultimately removed to another part of the town, where a new and elegant chapel and parsonage were built. But even there—and we designedly allude to it—if we mistake not, a membership of about 500, with as many more hearers, seem to have provided their devoted pastor with the liberal allowance of about £110! as we understand the statements of his biographers. It is surely high time that a different scale of remuneration—if that term may be employed—should be adopted for those who engage in the highest of callings, and that churches should learn that the cause of the Saviour and their own best interests, not to speak of the usefulness of the minister, are involved in the decent and sufficient maintenance of a properly educated ministry. From the unwearied ministerial labours of Mr. Pike, which became useful to so many, we turn to another department of his activity, only expressing, by the way, our regret that even such a ministry should, especially in the evening of Mr. Pike's days, not have been allowed to pass without congregational annoyances. From an early period Mr. Pike was deeply interested in the spiritual welfare of the heathen. By warm, truthful, and energetic appeals, he ultimately succeeded in calling the attention of his connexion to this subject, and in originating a missionary society among the General Baptists; of which, to the period of his death, he was the

devoted and untiring secretary. This indeed to our mind is one of the most interesting phases in his history. How his efforts were appreciated, appears in the letters of those who could best estimate them—the missionaries themselves, many of whom had been his pupils. Mr. Pike's popular religious writings are too generally known and prized, both in this country and in America, to require any particular notice or commendation at our hand. The subject of our Memoir departed this life, full of years and honours, on the 4th September, 1854. The day before, he had administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to his church, and nothing seemed to indicate that the fatal stroke was so near. He was found dead at his writing-table, before an unfinished note, pen in hand: so gently had he been removed. We need not say that there is much, very much in these Memoirs that must interest both the minister and layman. Mr. Pike's name is itself a sufficient guarantee for that; nor will any one feel disappointed in his expectations. From the time his views became really evangelical, there is manifest such deep-toned piety, lofty earnestness, warm fervour, and sound adherence to the truth, as must prove useful to all who can enter into the spirit of it. Little requires to be said of the manner in which the editors have done their work. If we may be allowed a suggestion, they would have succeeded better if for the time being they had forgotten the relation in which they stood to the late Mr. Pike. The book is too manifestly the work of sons. We could have wished that they had chosen a more general stand-point, which, from its greater range, would have secured more sympathy in their readers. They might have given more life and spirit, as well as breadth to the portraiture of Mr. Pike, if they had not written so much of him as their "venerated father." But we have, almost unconsciously, been betrayed into a strain of remarks different from that which we had wished to pursue. We hasten, therefore, to add, that the Memoir is written in the spirit of affection, with manifest truthfulness, and lively appreciation of the career of Mr. Pike. It is calculated to do much good, and, we have no doubt will, as it deserves, be extensively read. The public is under real obligations to Messrs. Pike for this biography of their father, whose memory will long live in all the churches.

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EARLY BALLADS: illustrative of History, Traditions, and Customs. Edited by Robert Bell. ("The Annotated Edition of the English Poets."). London: J. W. Parker.

POEMS OF ROBERT GREENE AND CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE. Ibid.

WE are glad to see in the volumes before us so pleasant a refutation of our fears that this excellent series had been prematurely brought to a close. The "Early Ballads" are full of that genuine poetry which shines through the mutilations, obscurities, and perversions of centuries, of oral tradition, and the most corrupt forms of record, whether written or typographical. Mr. Bell has, of course, been able to give only a selection from his materials, and we shall be glad to find that the popularity of the present volume may encourage him

to make a second. But the selection is made with admirable taste and judgment. There is not a poem in the volume which has not great merit, and most of them have great narrative interest. What a lovely opening is that tale of Robin Hood, for the first publication of which we are indebted to the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, and which Mr. Gutch considers as the oldest extant of the cycle of Robin Hood ballads:—

“In summer, when the shawes be shene,  
And leaves be large and long,  
It is full merry in fair forèst  
To hear the fowlè's song;

“To see the deer draw to the dale,  
And leave the hillès hee,  
And shadow them in the levès green,  
Under the greenwood tree.

“It befel on Whitsuntide,  
Early a May morning,  
The sun up fair did shine,  
And the birdès merry did sing.

“This is a merry morning, said Little John,  
By Him that died on tree;  
A more merry man than I am one,  
Lives not in Christiantè.”

Mr. Wright, a competent authority, attributes this ballad to the fourteenth century. It has the freshness and country atmosphere of Chaucer. These Robin Hood ballads, indeed, are nearly all of high merit. Nothing can be more touching than the narrative of the death and burial of the gallant outlaw. His trust in his treacherous cousin, the prioress of Kirkley, to whom he goes in his sickness, and who opens a vein in his arm, and leaves him to bleed to death; his blowing the three weak blasts to give notice of his strait to his followers, and his refusal to grant the boon which the indignant Little John begs, that he may

“Burn fair Kirkley Hall,  
And all their nunnery,”

because, as he says,

“I never hurt woman in all my life,  
Nor man in woman's company;  
I never hurt fair maid in all my time,  
Nor at my end shall it be,”

is all in the truest and most exalted feeling of poetry.

We are glad to find “the grand old ballad of Sir Patrick Spence,” as Coleridge called it, included in the collection; and that most capital contrast of the times of Queen Elizabeth and James I., “The Old and Young Courtier.” As we have said already, Mr. Bell has produced so agreeable a volume, that we hope he will be induced to

give us a second out of the abundant similar materials which we have no doubt he has at hand.

Mr. Dyce's excellent editions of the works of Greene and Marlowe include the Miscellaneous Poems of both authors; but this is the first time the latter have been published in a separate form. Moreover Mr. Bell's volume includes a poem by Greene, first reprinted by the Shakspeare Society, entitled, "A Maiden's Dreame upon the Death of Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight, late Lord Chancellor of England." It was discovered by Mr. James P. Reardon, having escaped the research of all preceding literary antiquaries, and is not therefore in Mr. Dyce's collection. Apart from their own merit, the Poems of Greene and Marlowe possess an interest as having certainly had the attention of Shakspeare, who pushed both authors from their stools. One of Greene's pamphlets, indeed, contains a very curious reference to the great dramatist. Mr. Bell has prefixed to each collection a very interesting and ample biography, and the volume is got up with the scholarly care which is the marked and valuable characteristic of this excellent collection.

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INA, AND OTHER POEMS. By Mary E. Leslie. London and Calcutta: G. C. Hay; Edinburgh: Blackwood.

WE have here a charming importation from India—a volume full of beauty. The imagery and scenery of these Poems are exceedingly rich, as we should expect in the productions of the native of a sunny land; but amongst the numerous lovely figures which crowd the pages, we see so many that belong to English landscape, and those for the most part so correct and vivid, that it is evident, if Miss Leslie has never visited the land of her fathers, she must be gifted with an imagination remarkably clear, to paint thus truly from descriptions she has read. The principal poem, from which the volume takes its title, is in the dramatic form, but cannot be said to possess a plot; it serves, however, as a vehicle for a series of elegant pictures and of poetic and noble sentiments. In "Lord Albyn and Ella," we find a graceful delineation of the affection between father and daughter, which must, if we mistake not, have been drawn from the writer's own life; and from the character of Ina we perceive that she has studied and rightly solved the problem of "woman's mission." If, as we think we may fairly conclude from the freshness of the poems, and from other indications that sorrow is at present known to the writer chiefly by the foreboding and second-sight which belong to every "poet-heart," the author is yet in her early youth, we may expect much from her hereafter, when the gift which she possesses in no ordinary degree shall be matured, and her powers more carefully concentrated. We had marked many passages for quotation, but must content ourselves with two or three, and those not the best, but the most easily detached from their connexion:—

"But richer, rarer than each glorious thing  
Which glows and glitters on this rounded earth,  
Is man's great, deathless soul. Therefore, the heart

Exulteth more at meeting of an heir  
 Of immortality, than at the sight  
 Of earth's most fair and beauty-lighted scenes :  
 Fields flushed with roses on a summer's morn,—  
 White lilies floating on a dark, deep pool,—  
 A herd of red deer in a forest's gloom,—  
 Long, western shadows in a wooded park,—  
 Stars shining near a mountain's white-snow'd peak,—  
 Palm-shaded islands in a sapphire sea,—  
 Pure springs encircled with green, mossy stones,—  
 And valleys among mountains rainbow-arched."

—Pp. 24, 25.

Here is a vivid and powerful image:—

"Shut sepulchres are often full of light,  
 And from unnoticed crevices stream forth  
 Strange gleams of brightness, glorifying life."—P. 111.

As a proof that the author well knows that "life is earnest," we may quote the following:—

"Thy life lies spread before thee as a sheet  
 Of music written by some gifted hand,  
 Unsounded yet to longing, listening hearts;  
 Translate its small, mysterious, silent notes  
 Into full thrilling chords of mighty power,  
 To gladden with fresh smiles the earth and sea;  
 Or let it slumber still, unheard, unknown,—  
 A God-gift flung aside with scornful hand."—P. 156.

Near the close of the poem there is an image of great beauty; the husband encourages the wife, after a glimpse onward to the close of their earthly life, by pointing to the life beyond; she replies—

"With thy words  
 Of hope and gladness echoing in my heart,  
 I feel strength springing for the clouded way:  
 My sight grows clearer now, the shadow seems  
 Tinged with a pale, dim radiance. Thou and I  
 Will walk beneath it, as brave travellers walk  
 Beneath the green waves of a water-fall,—  
 A rainbow ever shining at their side."—P. 187.

Miss Leslie has started on her poetic course from the right point and with the light of Christianity for her guide: she knows the poet's true aim, and will, we doubt not, realize it.

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GEMS FROM THE CORAL ISLANDS; or, Incidents of Contrast between the Savage and Christian Life of the South Sea Islanders. By the Rev. William Gill, Rarotonga. Vol. II., Eastern Polynesia, comprising the Rarotonga Group, Penrhyn Islands, and Savage Island. London: Ward and Co., Paternoster Row. 1856.

THE object of Mr. Gill in placing his two volumes before a Christian world, has been to give a concise and consecutive mission

history of each island of the Hervey, or Cook's Group, in Eastern Polynesia, and of those islands occupied by the "London Missionary Society," in some of the groups of Western Polynesia. This history, unlike the histories of ancient states, is no compilation from dubious documents, no harmonizing of contradictory statements, no inference from traditionary lore. It is the solid and substantial relation of facts, enacted in our own times; the result of the personal experience of the living; and the author may truly say, with the beloved disciple of old, "that which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you." Those who are familiar with the labours of Missionary Williams and others, amongst the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands—those lovely gardens of the Pacific—will be prepared to hear the triumphs of the Gospel in those distant parts. With indefatigable zeal, his coadjutors and successors have followed up the good work; and the fruit of so much toil, and danger, and deprivation, and prayer, and anxiety, is more than beginning to appear—it has already appeared in a rich and an abundant harvest.

Those who are anxious to learn how the Word has prospered,—how the Cross uplifted has broken down the groves and temples of idolatry, and been the rallying banner, around which thousands of benighted heathens, sunk in barbarism and sin, addicted to the grossest acts of cruelty, and only joyous when shedding blood, have gathered to find peace and security, and a new hope and a new happiness,—will do well to consult the pages of the present volume.

The group, around which the narrative of Mr. Gill has thrown such a halo of interest, consists of six islands. The smallest is but twelve miles in circumference, whilst the largest does not extend thirty miles. They lie below the equator, just above the tropic of Capricorn, and between the Friendly and Society Islands. A coral reef surrounds each of them, which makes the approach for canoes and boats difficult and dangerous, and for larger craft impossible. Sometimes, as in the case of Manūki, one of the Penrhyn Isles, it is a simple lagoon island—a circular, but hollow coral reef having risen above the sea, and enclosed a portion of it, thus forming a salt-water lake. All of these islands are fertile; the verdure is luxuriant, and rarely is a barren or unfruitful spot to be found. In Rarotonga, the largest of the Hervey Group, the mountains of the interior rise to the height of three or four thousand feet; whilst the coral rocks that hang perpendicularly over the sea, form a strong barrier several hundred feet high.

Aitutaki, the third island in the group in size and population, was the first to receive the message of Gospel-love. It was brought to the natives by Williams, in 1821, who left amongst them the devoted Papehia, and his companion Vahapata, to commence the work of teaching. These were the grand pioneers; and when the way had been efficiently prepared by this native agency, the Rev. H. Royle was sent amongst them to carry out and complete the work. The patience with which he laboured, the difficulties and persecutions he encountered, form an interesting and instructive portion of the volume before us, encouraging to future labourers in the same field,



since it is a lesson to them not to be disheartened by any untoward events, but to persevere, for that the victory may be given them in an hour they least expected—in an hour when their strength was exhausted, their hope gone, and their spirits cast down.

Rarotonga, however, has occupied more of Mr. Gill's volume, since it is the largest island, and because, we presume, it is the field of his own experience.

Papehia was the intrepid instrument of carrying the Gospel to the savages of Rarotonga. From the moment of his landing, he gave himself up without relaxation to his work. The novelty of the tidings he brought created a vast excitement throughout the islands; the news fled, with the speed with which strange news always flies; and from every quarter, men and women flocked unto him, to hear his message. Whether at home or abroad, whether at meals or at work, the curious and anxious were pressing around, eager to catch his words and know his new doctrine. What puzzled them most, was the invisibility of spirit. This to their limited intelligence was incomprehensible.

"A large and beautiful grove of cocoa-nut trees was selected for the temple," we are told; "and there in the midst of the wild multitude, the man of God, day by day, expounded the mystery of the *words* of His book. At first, scarcely anything excited more ridicule than his prayers; to *bow before nothing*, and to speak to a deity *not visible*, was, in their estimation, the climax of folly." "Does not your God visit the earth?" inquired some of the people. "He is everywhere present," replied the teacher, "presiding over all, and blessing all the works that He has made." "Ask Him to come down and show Himself," was then demanded. "He is a spirit, and a spirit only," was the answer. "What, a god without a body!" was the jeering retort; "who will believe that?" The teacher was unable to go beyond his first replies; and if he had had the ability, the persons taught had no power to receive it. But, adapted to his work, Papehia turned the discourse to something practical. "You and your fathers," he said, "believe that 'Tangaroa,' and 'Kongo,' and 'Oro,' are great gods of power, and that to injure their 'tiki' would be followed by death. Now, in the Tahitian Islands, these gods have been destroyed; they are no gods, they are a lie! Jehovah's the true God. He is a spirit, and cannot be seen." At these remarks, the excited natives concluded that the teacher was not only "nevena," a fool, but that he was "tangata pikikaa," a liar. "Why does he talk thus?" they said, "does he think that we are 'matapo,' blind? He says that his God cannot be seen, and yet look at him, he carries his God about with him. See how he talks to it, and what his God says to him, he tells us. Wherever he goes, he carries it; when he sleeps, he has it near him—that is his God." It was "his book" to which they referred. They for some time sincerely believed his book was his god, as much as Tangaroa was theirs. (P. 25.)

However, Papehia persevered in his good work; European missionaries came, when the ground had been properly broken up, to plant the true seeds, and behold the harvest. At a missionary prayer-



meeting, in allusion to this same book (several copies of the entire Bible, in the native language, had been distributed amongst the people), an aged disciple, addressing the congregation, said, "I have often spoken to you from texts out of other parts of the Bible than those which we had, but this is the first time we have *seen* the book of Job in our own language. It is a new book to us. When I received my Bible, I never slept until I had finished this book of Job. I read it all. Oh, what joy I have felt in the wonderful life of this good man! Let us read these new books—let us go to the missionary, and inquire into their meaning; let us be at his door before he rises; let us stop him when we meet him, that he may tell us about these new words;" and, lifting up his Bible before the whole congregation, he continued, "my brethren and sisters, this is my resolve: the dust shall never cover my Bible—the moth shall never eat it—the mildew shall never rot it! My light! my joy!" Such was the value these South Sea Islanders, but a few years before savages and cannibals, put upon the Word, printed in their own language. They prized it as the pearl of great price—as the real Koh-i-noor, the true mountain of light—as the only durable treasure.

Many curious anecdotes of the simplicity of the newly converted might be given, to show how slow the human heart is in throwing off the chains that have bound it, and comprehending the spiritual liberty which all true believers enjoy. In the Island of Mangaia, many, who had renounced idolatry and heathenism, and were thirsting after the waters of life, would come with such questions as: "Is it a sin to eat raw fish?" "We are very fond of half-cooked pork, is it wrong to eat it?" "Does the Bible command wives to sit at meals with their husbands?" and not a few would inquire if they were at liberty to eat rats. These questions were natural, and to them all important.

The duties of a missionary are many and various. The simple confidence and familiarity of his flock, their ignorance and inexperience, their curiosity and desire for knowledge, call forth all his exertions, and put his abilities to the test every moment; leaving him little leisure to attend to his own affairs. But what affairs can he have, it may be asked, that are not in common with the people committed to his charge? To those who live in this country—in "Beretani," as the natives of the South Sea Islands call Britain—and believe the labours of the minister to be confined to the spiritual requirements of his congregation, it will sound strange to hear that the same person, in the South Sea Isles, has to become architect, physician, engineer, carpenter, mason, and agriculturalist. That, besides the arduous task of preaching and teaching, he has to superintend the making of roads, the establishment of looms, the building of chapels and mission-houses, the fixing of windows, which, by-the-by glazed, is, or rather was a novelty, much admired by the natives, when Mr. Gill first visited the inhabitants, besides a variety of other avocations, even down to cooking, which circumstances may require him to perform. These, however, are slight cares, and weigh not the substance of a hair, when put in comparison with those more

grave anxieties, which all missionaries, more or less, have to endure : lukewarmness or indifference, or actual repulsion on the part of the natives.

We must, however, refer the reader to this interesting little volume, to see what are his encouragements, his strength, his rewards ; for the faithful missionary labours not in vain, or without visible tokens that God is with him. Not the least evidence of the good he has achieved, is the zeal and faithfulness of his converts ; and, in the present instance, this zeal and faithfulness have been manifested, not only in times of prosperity, but in times of affliction—not only by passive obedience but by active co-operation,—the natives of the Hervey group having given heartily of their substance to promote the cause of foreign missions, and sent forth some of their own sons to preach Jesus Christ, and Him crucified, to the heathen populations of the yet unreclaimed Islands of the South.

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ETHICS OF QUOTATION. By Silent Long. London : Freeman. 1856.

FEW of our readers need to be informed that this pamphlet is an exposure by Mr. Lynch himself of the dishonesty of the quotations by which the *late* editor of the *British Banner* endeavoured to convict him of heterodoxy. From all allusion to the fierce controversy which has occasioned its publication, we have carefully abstained through many months, and we are not about to plunge into its tumult now. But we feel it to be a public duty, and a duty which no private disinclination can justify us in neglecting, to express our conviction that the grave charges which Mr. Lynch has brought against his assailant in this pamphlet are fully sustained. In the attacks of the *late* editor of the *British Banner* on the author of the "Rivulet," may be found illustrations of every species of controversial injustice. Uncharitable suspicion reigns throughout. Sentences that have one meaning in their proper connexion, and quite another meaning when isolated, are quoted by themselves as honest statements of Mr. Lynch's opinions. Had the editor of the *British Banner* quoted Scripture as teaching that "there is no God," and omitted to inform his readers that, according to the Psalmist, this is only what "the fool hath said in his heart," he would have used the Bible not more unfairly than he has used the works of Mr. Lynch. We think that the charges against Mr. Lynch were unjustly made ; but whether that opinion be true or not, it is certain that they have been dishonestly sustained. We trust that the Christian people of this land know how to discriminate between the man who truthfully maintains an erroneous doctrine, and the man who deceitfully maintains a sound one, and that no fear of heresy will be suffered to enfeeble or to silence their hatred of dishonesty. Let them ask themselves whether it is better to be suspected unjustly of encouraging heterodoxy, or to be suspected justly of tolerating falsehood.

## Quarterly Review of French Literature.

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It is a remarkable, and at the same time a very cheering circumstance that, in spite of the pressure exercised by a despotic government, the literary activity of our French neighbours should have increased rather than abated. As far as politics are concerned, newspapers, indeed, may be said to have lost all their interest; but the general excellence of the articles they contain on criticism, science, arts, and *belles lettres*, makes us sometimes forget their deficiency in other respects.

If his Majesty Napoleon III. allows no one, without his express sanction, to tread upon the dangerous ground of contemporary politics, he seems, on the other hand, to view, with great unconcern, the fierce warfare which the various sections of the theological and metaphysical world have been, and are still waging against each other. Gallicans *versus* Ultramontanists, Positivists *versus* both, Spiritualists, Protestants both evangelical and rationalist, are loud in their denunciations of the low moral tone to which French society has sunk; and, of course, each party is equally anxious to make out a decisive case in favour of its own claims, as exclusively calculated to regenerate the nineteenth century. Twenty years ago, the eloquent voice of M. Cousin, or the soul-stirring appeals of M. Jouffroy, would have been heard from the foremost ranks of the *philosophe* battle-field; but now that the translator of Reid is gone where all his doubts are cleared for ever,—now that the great champion of eclecticism is busily engaged with the ladies of the seventeenth century, M. Jules Simon seems to be the acknowledged leader of a party, which still numbers amongst its members some of the most eminent literary characters of the day. It is quite certain that our modern society is eaten up by materialism; the sense of duty is becoming gradually more and more blunted, and in their eagerness for present enjoyment, men are losing every consciousness of the relation in which they stand to eternity; all these things M. Simon has described most eloquently and most forcibly; yet, if he can analyze the disease, explain its symptoms, and lament over its consequences, we do not think that he has found the true remedy. Whatever philosophers may say, natural religion alone can avail nothing for the good of mankind; and the God to whom deists would direct us, is one who can neither sympathize with us, nor be anything but a powerless and meaningless phantom.<sup>1</sup>

The position of the French eclectic school of metaphysicians has evidently quite changed during the last few years. When, under the government of Louis Philippe, its chief representatives were at the head of affairs, and when the Sorbonne was identified with them, they

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<sup>1</sup> *Le Devoir.* Par M. Jules Simon. Troisième édition. Paris: Hachette. 12mo.  
*La Religion Naturelle.* Par M. Jules Simon. Deuxième édition. Paris: Hachette. 8vo.

could boast that they had superseded almost revealed religion itself, and that they were the appointed high priests of a new Evangel, as Carlyle would say. But the pedestal has given way under them; and instead of laying down the law, the disciples of M. Cousin are now compelled merely to take the benefit of the principle, *audire alteram partem*.

After an interval of time, which has been marked by an unseemly squabble between the relatives of M. de Lamennais and his literary executor, M. D. Forgues, the voice of the illustrious republican publicist is once more speaking, as it were, from the grave. M. de Lamennais, it appears, left behind him a mass of papers, and a voluminous correspondence of the most interesting description. A translation of Dante's great poem, and a few fragments relating to political subjects, now lie before us;<sup>2</sup> both are of the highest value, and justify us in anticipating a real literary treat, from the publication of the posthumous works of M. de Lamennais. Those amongst our readers who are fond of striking contrasts, should compare the ex-abbé's views of Dante, with the admirable dissertation on the same subject, by the late M. Ozanam,<sup>3</sup> and M. Saint-René Taillandier's piquant essay, just published.<sup>4</sup>

Who could have suspected that there was still some evidence of vitality in the Gallican church? The *Univers Religieuse* had taken such care to tell us that they had "crushed the wretch," that Jansenism was no more, and that the Pope now must have it all his own way! The dignitaries of the French church, for the most part at least, are Ultramontanists, we grant, and they have succeeded in enforcing throughout the Empire the use of the Romish liturgy, but the very insolence with which they attempt to lord it over their humble brethren, has stirred up in all quarters a strong spirit of opposition. The distinguished and pious Abbé Laborde died a victim to his zeal for the principles of Gallicanism; but others have come forward in his stead, and the contest at present is raging with greater animosity than ever. Gallicanism, of course, is for us a kind of compromise, which is contrary to all the rules of logic and consistency; but still we hail every symptom of a liberal reaction in the bosom of the Church of Rome, and we have, at all events, more sympathies in common with M. l'Abbé Guettée, than with M. Louis Veuillot. The editor of Ledieu's journal of Bossuet<sup>5</sup> is a stanch Gallican; his introduction is a real manifesto against the Jesuits, and his "*Histoire de l'Eglise de France*,"<sup>6</sup> written in an interesting

<sup>2</sup> Œuvres Posthumes de F. de Lamennais. Vols. I. and II. Paris: Paulin et Lechevalier. 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> Dante et la Philosophie Catholique. Par F. Ozanam. Paris: Lecoffre. 8vo.

<sup>4</sup> Dante et la Littérature Dantesque. *Revue des Deux Mondes*. 1<sup>re</sup> Décembre, 1856. Par M. Saint-René Taillandier.

<sup>5</sup> Mémoires et Journal de l'Abbé Ledieu sur Bossuet, publiés pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits originaux. Par M. l'Abbé Guettée. Vols. I. and II. (To be completed in four vols.) Paris: Didier. 8vo.

<sup>6</sup> Histoire de l'Eglise de France, composée sur les documents originaux et authentiques. Par M. l'Abbé Guettée. Vols. I. to XII. Paris: Lecoffre. 8vo.

and manly style, occupies (no wonder) a prominent place in the pages of the "Index Expurgatorius." It has been amusingly said, that next to the *Charivari*, the *Univers Religieuse* is the drollest of all French newspapers. This panegyric sounds somewhat heterodox when applied to a professedly religious gazette; but it is true, notwithstanding. For dignity, good taste, good writing, and a gentlemanly way of conducting a controversial discussion, all the advantage remains with the Gallican *Correspondant*, a review which reckons amongst its chief contributors, M. de Montalembert, M. de Pontmartin, and the learned author of "L'Eglise et la Société au IV<sup>e</sup>. Siècle," M. le Prince Albert de Broglie.<sup>7</sup>

The works we have just now been noticing, bear all, more or less, upon theological subjects; a few publications of the same character, but addressing themselves more properly to the erudite section of the reading world, deserve to be here recorded.

Messrs. Didot, the eminent French publishers, have been for several years engaged in issuing a collection of the Greek classics, for the editing of which they have secured the services of the most distinguished *collaborateurs*. Their latest instalment, in connexion with that series, comprising the works of Plotinus, is a very important addition to our literary treasures; for, if the excellent works of MM. Jules Simon, Vacherot, and Matter, had given us a clear insight into the doctrines of the Alexandrine Platonists, it was with great difficulty that the text of Plotinus could be consulted by any but those within reach of either the British Museum, or the Bibliothèque Impériale in Paris. An edition of the "Enneades" had, indeed, been published at Oxford, in 1835, but so expensively, that most students could not procure it; and, besides, as the learned editor, M. Creuzer, has himself acknowledged, a great many typographical blunders, especially in the punctuation, render the Oxford reprint very defective. The handsome octavo, now issued by Messrs. Didot,<sup>8</sup> has removed all these objections. It contains the Oxford text, carefully revised, and the Latin translation of Marsilius Ficinus, emendated with the greatest accuracy by Messrs. Creuzer, Moser, and Dübner.

Any one who has at all studied Plotinus, must know that the doctrines of that philosopher require constantly to be examined with the help of his commentators. In order to understand Plotinus, we should turn to Porphyry and to Proclus. Such was, two hundred years ago, the opinion of a very good judge, Lucas Holstenius; and, in accordance with this opinion, Messrs. Didot have added to their edition of Plotinus, the "Institutiones Plotinianæ," of Porphyry, and the "Institutiones Theologicæ," of Proclus.

The last treatise contained in the present volume has never been

<sup>7</sup> L'Eglise et la Société Romaine au IV<sup>e</sup>. Siècle. Règne de Constantin. Par A. de Broglie. Vols. I. and II. Paris: Didier. 8vo.

<sup>8</sup> Plotini Enneades, cum Marsilii Ficini interpretatione castigata. Iterum ediderunt Fred. Creuzer et Georg. Henricus Moser. Primum accedunt Porphyrii Institutiones Plotinianæ, et Procli Platonici Institutiones Theologicæ, et Prisciani philosophi Solutiones. Paris: Didot. Large 8vo.

printed before ; it was lately discovered by M. Quicherat, amongst the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Impériale, and is supposed to be Scotus Erigena's translation of an essay on philosophy, written by the Neo-Platonist, Priscian, for the Persian king, Khosroës, at whose court he had sought refuge, under the reign of the Emperor Justinian. The object of Priscian being to explain the principles of Neo-Platonic philosophy to the monarch, in a familiar style, simplicity, perspicacity, and conciseness, were the chief things to be aimed at by the writer, and we are bound to say that the result is most satisfactory. We do not wish to discuss the metaphysics of the Alexandrine philosophers, but we give it as our opinion that the new volume of Messrs. Didot's *Bibliotheca Græcorum Scriptorum* is by far the best *recueil* of documents, referring to a subject which seems every day to be attracting more and more attention.

Some students are especially drawn towards recondite learning and abstruse speculations about the infinite ; others converse chiefly with homely themes, and live more in the company of those moralists, whose productions are merely sketches from life, and remarks derived from the accurate study of the human heart ; to such readers (and their name is legion), the announcement of a new and improved edition of La Bruyère and La Rochefoucauld, cannot but be a real treat. This they may now obtain, by purchasing three elegant little volumes, published in M. P. Jannet's Bibliothèque Elzévirienne, and which are perfect masterpieces of typography, scholarship, and cheapness. M. Cousin's late excursions in the *Siècle de Louis XIV.* have made most of the great French writers of that time the favourite theme of literary debate. Twelve years ago it was satisfactorily proved that Pascal had been mutilated by all his successive editors ; M. Victor Vaillant recently discovered, and demonstrated to a certainty,<sup>9</sup> that Bossuet's sermons, in their present printed state, are often quite different from the existing ones ; and it is a question whether Molière himself has not been tampered with, perhaps by some exasperated relative of Doctor Diafoirus, or some follower of Tartuffe. If it is true, as it is true, that two sermons of Fénelon have been given as the productions of Bossuet, why should it be thought extraordinary that Lord Bacon wrote "King John" or the "Merry Wives of Windsor?" As far as French literature is concerned, these perplexing critical difficulties will, however, soon be cleared ; for the name of M. Jannet is a sufficient guarantee that all the works included in the "Bibliothèque Elzévirienne," are printed from the original MSS., and not merely from modern editions, which, although enjoying the sanction of popularity, are, as in the case of Bossuet and Pascal, radically erroneous.

M. Jannet's *La Bruyère*<sup>10</sup> is, without any exaggeration, a *chef d'œuvre*. M. Adrien Destailleux, to whom the difficult task of editing

<sup>9</sup> Les Sermons de Bossuet : Dissertation. Par M. Victor Vaillant. Paris : Plon. 8vo.

<sup>10</sup> Les Caractères de Théophraste, traduits du Grec, avec les caractères ou les mœurs de ce siècle. Par La Bruyère. Nouvelle édition, etc. Par Adrien Destailleux. Paris : P. Jannet. Two Vols., 12mo.



the work was entrusted, has performed his duties in such a manner that we can see no room for improvement. The notes, interspersed here and there, are short and sufficient; the readings of the various editions are all faithfully given; references to parallel passages in other writers enable us to ascertain how far La Bruyère availed himself of the resources opened to him by his brother moralists; and a letter, hitherto unpublished, written by the author of the "Caractères," renders this edition of a really standard thinker, everything that the most fastidious critic could wish.

M. Sainte-Beuve's preface is the only part of the Elzevirian La Rochefoucauld that we object to.<sup>11</sup> M. Cousin, who has constituted himself the champion of the Duchess de Longueville, detests La Rochefoucauld; on the other hand, M. Sainte-Beuve, far from being dazzled by the *beaux yeux* of the Frondeuse heroine, takes quite a contrary view of the case; so far so good, and on such a subject, there is a great deal to be said both *pro* and *contra*; but we do not like to see M. Sainte-Beuve turning out of his way on purpose to attack M. Cousin, and becoming spiteful and personal, when his business was only to make out a good case in favour of La Rochefoucauld. With this slight exception, we can cordially recommend M. Jannet's edition of the "Réflexions, Sentences, et Maximes Morales." In the catalogue of forthcoming works, to be comprised in the same series, we notice those of Pascal and Vauvenargues, Montaigne and Charron,—that is to say, the whole cycle of French moralists.

We must not take our leave of the "Bibliothèque Elzévirienne," without reminding our readers that it includes reprints of works in every department of literature. Tales, romances of chivalry, poetry, the drama, historians, and chroniclers, all come in for their share. The complete collection of French memoirs alone, now in course of publication, will occupy two hundred volumes. The writings of Agrippa d'Aubigné, heretofore so scarce, recommend themselves to the notice of all true Protestants;<sup>12</sup> whilst the "Dictionnaire des Précieuses"<sup>13</sup> enables us to appreciate more correctly that school of literature which is associated with the name of Madame de Rambouillet.

M. Victor Cousin, in his interesting biographies of Mesdames de Longueville, de Sablé, de Chevreuse, and de Hautefort, has displayed all the beauties of his inimitable style, and all the resources of his vast learning. He allows himself, however, to be carried away by his prejudices, and his view of the events he describes is very far from being stamped with impartiality. It is amusing, for instance, to see how he endeavours to justify the conduct of the Duchesse de

<sup>11</sup> *Réflexions, Sentences, et Maximes Morales de La Rochefoucauld.* Nouvelle édition, conforme à celle de 1678, etc. Par G. Duplessis. Préface par Sainte-Beuve. Paris: Jannet. 12mo.

<sup>12</sup> *Les Aventures du Baron de Fæneste.* Par Théodore Agrippa D'Aubigné. Édition revue et annotée. Par M. Prosper Mérimée, de l'Académie Française. Paris: Jannet, 12mo.

<sup>13</sup> *Le Dictionnaire des Précieuses.* Par le Sieur de Somaize. Nouvelle édition. Paris: Jannet. Two Vols., 12mo.



Chevreuse, and to find excuses for the most scandalous irregularities. The beautiful volume on Jacqueline Pascal, the first of the series, will maintain its character as by far the best; a new edition of it is now before us, and contains some improvements which add much to its value.<sup>14</sup>

The ingenious essay on Huet, Bishop of Avranches, by the late Professor Bartholmèss, had, some four years ago, drawn once more the attention of the learned to an author who occupied a conspicuous position amongst the sceptical metaphysicians of the seventeenth century. We are glad to find that a complete edition of Huet's works is now going through the press, under the supervision of M. Huet de Guerville, grand-nephew of the prelate.<sup>15</sup> Another *bel-esprit* bishop, of the same epoch, but still more illustrious than Huet, appears likewise in print, two hundred years after his death—we mean Fléchier, whose chatty diary of the *grands jours* gives us many curious particulars on French society during the age of Louis XIV.<sup>16</sup> Messrs. Sainte-Beuve and Chéruel, the learned editors of that work, are likewise revising and annotating that most amusing of all memoir-writers, Saint-Simon.<sup>17</sup>

Protestant authors have lately been comparatively silent. A work on the philosophy of Christianity, by Dr. Matter, of Strasburg, is announced as being in the press; but we can hear of nothing new, except translations from the English, and reprints of educational works. M. de Pressensé's "Sermons on Family Duties"<sup>18</sup> should, nevertheless, be mentioned, as also Messrs. Haag's splendid biographical dictionary, "La France Protestante," the sixth volume of which is just out.<sup>19</sup> This is unquestionably one of the most important monuments ever raised in honour of Continental Protestantism; and the various articles on Calvin, Henry IV., Basnage, the Estienne family, and Bayle, viewed even merely as historical disquisitions, are exceedingly valuable.

Although we profess, in these very imperfect sketches, to notice chiefly publications relating more or less to theological, metaphysical, or historical subjects, yet we would not consider ourselves as absolutely shut out from that part of the literary field, where imagination disports itself, both in verse and in prose. But at the present time, we see no inducement to sally forth in that direction. The attempts of MM. Alexandre Dumas *fils*, Gautier, Champfleury, and others, to rehabilitate what is called *le demi-monde*, have produced a class of novels and poems, of which the heroes and heroines

<sup>14</sup> Jacqueline Pascal, première étude sur les femmes illustres et la société en France au XVII<sup>e</sup>. siècle. Par M. Victor Cousin. Paris: Didier. 8vo.

<sup>15</sup> Œuvres complètes de D. Huet, évêque d'Avranches. Publiées par M. Huet de Guerville. Paris: chez l'éditeur. Six Vols., 8vo.

<sup>16</sup> Mémoires sur les Grands Jours d'Auvergne en 1665, par Fléchier. Annotés et augmentés d'un appendice, par M. Chéruel, et précédés d'une notice, par M. Sainte-Beuve. Paris: Hachette. 8vo.

<sup>17</sup> Mémoires du Duc de Saint-Simon, &c. Publiées par M. Chéruel. Vols. I. to VI. Paris: Hachette. 8vo.

<sup>18</sup> La Famille: Sermons. Par E. de Pressensé. Paris: Meyrueis. 8vo.

<sup>19</sup> La France Protestante, &c. Par MM. Haag. Paris: Cherbuliez. 8vo.

are sentimental *roués* and romantic *filles entretenues*. Writers, such as *Emile Augier*, *Feuillet*, and *Ponsard*, who still respect themselves too much to dabble in such nauseous filth, cannot rise higher than the *marivaudage* of trifling comedies, or a clever *pasticcio* of *Corneille*. When, in days to come, literary historians have to describe the intellectual character of the Napoleonic era, they will find it difficult to mention any names greater than *M. Granier de Cassagnac*, *M. Nisard*, or the author of "*L'Honneur et l'Argent*,"<sup>20</sup>—now "*l'un des quarante de l'Académie Française!*"—unless, perhaps, our Buonapartist friends should attempt (no unlikely thing) to number amongst the notabilities of the reign of Napoleon III., *M. de Tocqueville*, *M. Guizot*, *M. de Rémusat*, *M. de Broglie*, and *M. Villemain*, on the same principle as some writers connect the name of Napoleon I. with those of *Madame de Staël* and *Vicomte Châteaubriand*.

By way of postscript, let us recommend to our readers the "*Memoirs of Marshal Marmont*."<sup>21</sup> The first two volumes are now published, and contain many curious details on the wars of the Empire.

## Review of the Progress of Science

IN THE YEARS 1855 AND 1856.

To prove that science has a progress, that its labours are important to mankind, and that it deserves the encouragement it demands, we propose in this paper to review some of the observations and discoveries which have, during the last two years, been added to the great book of physical truths. In doing this, we must of necessity confine our attention to a few subjects. Were we to wander without a chart over the numerous fields of research which have been explored in but one department, we should altogether fail to give our readers satisfactory information; and the boasted progress of science might be in the end doubtful. The more or less direct influence of the atmosphere upon all astronomical and meteorological phenomena, and our dependence on its changes for health, the success of our labours, the safety of the great highways of the ocean, and the security of life, have given an especial interest to every attempt to determine with precision its influence, and the laws by which its mutations are governed. We may, therefore, with advantage, make our first selection from a few of the meteorological researches of the last two years.

At the Glasgow meeting of the British Association, in 1855, the astronomer, *Broun*, briefly communicated the fact, that after two years' labour in conveying materials and instruments through dense jungles, inhabited by wild animals, he had succeeded in establishing an observatory on *Angusta Mullay*, a mountain in *Travancore*, at an elevation of 6,200 feet above the level of the sea, for the purpose of making simultaneous magnetic meteorological and astronomical observations, with the observatory of *Trevandrum*.

<sup>20</sup> *L'Honneur et l'Argent*: comédie en cinq actes. Par *F. Ponsard*. Paris: *Lévy*. 12mo.

<sup>21</sup> *Mémoires du Maréchal Marmont*, Duc de Raguse, imprimés sur le manuscrit original de l'auteur. Paris: *Perrotin*. Vols. I. and II., 8vo.

At the same meeting, Professor Smyth drew the attention of the physical section to some observations which he had undertaken to determine whether he could detect, by the use of the most perfect astronomical instruments, the condensation of a resisting medium about the sun, and a consequent refraction of the stars in its immediate neighbourhood—a condition which he described as the necessary result of Professor Thompson's dynamical theory of heat. In consequence of atmospherical disturbances, he had not been able to obtain more than two satisfactory results, but they both indicated a sensible amount of solar refraction. For the confirmation of these observations, he thought it would be desirable to erect a telescope on some high mountain above the impurities of the atmosphere.

Twelve months after the communication of these two papers, Professor Smyth, under the auspices of the Admiralty, sailed from Southampton for Teneriffe, in Mr. Robert Stephenson's yacht, taking with him seventy cases of instruments and materials for the temporary formation of two or more observatories, to discover and measure by contemporaneous observations, the influence of the atmosphere upon astronomical and meteorological phenomena. On the 8th of July last, he arrived with his assistants at Santa Cruz, and on the 14th, he removed the instruments from Ortova to Guajara; but the atmosphere was there so loaded with thick dense clouds, driven by the north-east trade-wind that he almost immediately abandoned that station. To rise above the impure air, with which the whole country seemed to be covered, into one that was clear and transparent, the astronomer and his party began to ascend the long slope above Ortova; and when at an elevation of 5,000 feet, passed through the screen of dense vapour into a pure medium, and had for the first time since his arrival in the island, a dark blue, cloudless sky overhead. The mountain Guajara, which they were ascending, is situated to the south of the Peak of Teneriffe, and, with the exception of that mountain, is the greatest altitude (8,870 feet) in the island. Upon a plateau near the edge of an old crater, and on the summit of the mountain, some of the instruments were erected, and observations were commenced. We are not informed what observations were taken in this station, but it appears that the astronomers at once discovered the advantage they had gained by a great altitude. The telescope of the Sheepshanks-equatorial, which in Edinburgh could not define stars of less than the tenth degree of magnitude, now exhibited those of the fourteenth with a fine definition: in Edinburgh, a clear stellar disc was never obtained in that telescope, but on Guajara, it gave more perfect images than the astronomer had ever seen in any instrument mounted in the impure atmospheres which surround all our lowland observatories.

But although there was so much to please in the station that had been reached, there was still another to gain. "Raised we were," says Professor Smyth, "above the actual cloud of the north-east wind, but we were not always above the wind itself: and even as this rose and predominated over the station, so did telescopic vision become bad. We were almost, more frequently than otherwise, enveloped in a dusky, smoky sort of medium, whose vast strata, piled one on the other, and stretching out to the distant horizon, rose some thousands of feet above our heads, and only the Peak itself seemed high enough to be partly above these upper mists." But the Peak itself was inaccessible; sulphurous vapours float around it. The Alta Vista, however, on the south-east slope of the Peak, and about three miles distant, offered a platform at an elevation of 10,900 feet—the highest point accessible to mules. To this point instruments and building materials were, with great labour, conveyed, and the Pattinson-equatorial was erected. This instrument has an object-glass of  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches aperture, and 12 feet focus, and the definition of objects by it, at this great elevation, was remarkably

fine. "Not only once, but every night for a week," says Professor Smyth, "I could see that difficult test of B and C, of  $\gamma$  Andromeda, as two distinct stars, nor could I find any objects in the list of the 'cycle,' that were not separated by the telescope, and with ease."

The detailed results of the observations made at this elevation in an uncontaminated atmosphere, exhibiting the influence of the great ocean of air surrounding our globe, upon all meteorological and astronomical appearances, have not been yet published; but from the astronomer's notes we gather a few important facts.

Experiments, performed in various ways, with delicate and minute instrumental arrangements, have always failed to give evidence of the existence of calorizic rays in lunar light; and it has, therefore, been assumed that the moon reflects light, but radiates no heat. It appears, however, that there is a small amount of radiant heat in the lunar beam, but it is too feeble to reach the surface of the earth. It was detected upon Alta Vista by the thermo-multiplier, though the position of the moon at the full,  $19^{\circ}$  south of the equator, was unfavourable to the observation. It did not exceed one-third of the heat radiated by a candle at a distance of 15 feet, "but the perfect capacity of the instrument to measure still smaller quantities, and the confirmatory results of groups of several hundred observations, leave no doubt of the fact," that radiant heat was detected and measured in quantities inappreciable at lower altitudes. The purity and rarity of the atmosphere also gave an increased intensity to the radiated heat of the sun. The thermometer first employed was quickly broken when exposed, and two others, constructed upon Arago's plan, and marked as high as  $180^{\circ}$  were insufficient to register the extraordinary intensity of the heat, "for, by ten o'clock in the morning, the mercury had not only reached the top of the scale, but was filling the upper bulb to an unknown extent." In consequence of this great intensity of the solar heat, and the extreme dryness of the atmosphere, the wood-work of the instruments shrunk, and many were broken.

In some respects, this expedition failed to accomplish its object; but the results obtained exhibit, though they do not measure, the effect of the atmosphere upon our meteorological and astronomical observations. They prove that it is the atmosphere which prevents the clear definition of objects in our telescopes—that it greatly reduces the intensity of the radiation of the celestial bodies, and, in fact, inform us, that if we would place our telescopes in the best position for astronomical observations, we must erect them at great altitudes, in the higher regions of the atmosphere. Regarding this visit to Teneriffe as an exploring expedition, to be followed by many others, there or elsewhere, we anticipate a great increase of meteorological and astronomical knowledge from continuous series of consecutive observations, made at two or more observatories, at different elevations—one being situated above the region of the clouds.

The improvements recently made in the construction of meteorological instruments, and the greater facilities for their adjustment, have given to the observations made with them, an intrinsic value not possessed by older records. For some years past there has been a most earnest determination to explore the mysteries of the atmosphere; and on sea and land, barometers and thermometers are erected wherever intelligent and systematic observers can be found to register their motions. The American government has supplied its navy and mercantile service with instruments necessary for meteorological and hydrometrical observations; and other nations are following the example; enforcing only one condition—that the registration of their indications shall be public property.

But, while so much is being done at sea, that not long hence we may have authenticated records of weather from all the great highways of ocean, and

trace the direction of the winds, the passage of storms, and other atmospheric mutations, from one continent or island to another, we are still wanting meteorological observations on shore, at fixed points, to connect the ocean registers, and obtain a consecutive chain of effects. A ship is like a courier, who picks up a little news here and there, and brings home much that is interesting, but nothing that is satisfactory: the battle, we are told, was being fought, but the messenger could not wait to hear the termination. It is thus that ships fly through storms and tempests into quietude and calm, and they may bring the most circumstantial account of the one and of the other; and many may come from distant places, each with its news: but, to make the history perfect, we require the evidence of those who heard and recorded the first flash, watched the circumstances of the turmoil, and saw the last battalion pass. We know something about rotatory storms, but much that is assumed requires confirmation; and some of their attendant phenomena are not satisfactorily explained. Nor shall we have the information required, till a number of well-appointed observatories, with self-registering instruments, are established in localities favourable to the acquisition of the information required.

We have not long been in possession of an instrument, capable of registering the direction, force, and velocity of the wind. A few years since, the construction of a perfect self-registering anemometer was regarded as the great necessity of meteorological science; and that desideratum has only recently been supplied by an instrument capable of registering, with accuracy, the motions of the atmosphere. The first report of its action encourages us to hope that, when more extensively employed, it will aid us in determining, with a probability approaching to certainty, the direction and duration, the force, times, and seasons, of atmospheric currents; and in resolving the laws by which they are governed. In the year 1837, Mr. Osler described to the British Association, at Liverpool, the form and construction of a new anemometer. Many improvements were subsequently made in parts of the instrument, and in 1851 it was erected in the Liverpool Meteorological Observatory. At the meeting of the Association, in 1855, the self-registered records, for a period of nearly four years, were produced in evidence of some interesting facts, relating to the direction, force, and periods of wind and rain, on the north-west coast of England.

When, from the daily records of the anemometer, we represent in lines, upon paper, the direction of the wind, one day after another, during any year, we find that the figure produced has little or no resemblance to the figure which represents the direction during another year. The only similarity between two such charts is the general bearing of the connected lines from west to east. But when, instead of forming charts to represent the direction of the several winds in the order of their daily and hourly succession, we form a figure, the lines of which represent the sum of the velocities, pressure, or time of action, of the several winds, in one year,—a striking resemblance is observed between it and the figure which represents the same elements in another year. By these and similar investigations, the anemometer teaches us that westerly winds travel faster than others; that the motion of the atmosphere is at its maximum in the months of December, January, and February; and at its minimum in November and March; that north-easterly winds, which do not travel at much more than one-third the velocity of westerly winds, are less frequent than others, and bring the largest amount of rain; that, “as far as four years are capable of indicating, the maximum amount of rain falls during the first three hours after midnight; and that there are three periods in the day, when an increased amount of rain falls; namely, between seven and



eight in the morning, between one and two in the middle of the day, and between eight and nine in the evening.

"To these important facts, we may add those announced by Mr. Osler, at the last meeting of the Association, deduced from 70,000 hourly observations, taken at Liverpool.

"The various winds have their minimum and maximum velocities at definite and generally different hours. Thus, the E.N.E. wind attains the maximum about five P.M., the E. at nine P.M., the E.S.E. at midnight, the S.E. at six A.M., S.S.E. at ten A.M., S. at twelve noon, and the minimum occurs at intervals of about twelve hours from each of these respectively. The N., N.E., and S.S.W., have two minima and maxima in the twenty-four hours. In most cases, the maximum velocity exceeds that of the minimum, in the ratio of nearly two to one."

These are some of the facts, indicated by the observations already made; and they not only prove the importance of continuing the registrations, but of increasing the number of stations, and pursuing the investigation with that constancy required for the successful resolution of the many problems to be solved. The resemblance or difference between one year or month and another, as to the prevalence of certain winds, the characteristic atmospheric disturbances, and the degree of humidity, is not all that lies within the reach of discovery. Cycles of change may exist, and relations between the physical condition of the earth and other bodies, which, in the absence of satisfactory evidence, it would be rash to conjecture.

Of the uses of meteorology as a science, we cannot at present, be said to possess much practical knowledge. We value it from a perception of what we should gain by the possession of more extensive knowledge, and not from experience of advantages already received. That we shall ever obtain a sufficient knowledge of the vast gaseous medium in which we live, to predict atmospheric disturbances, or to prophetically announce the direction and force of the wind, the changes of temperature, and the variations of hygrometric condition, we do not believe; but it is quite possible that we may be able to determine the times and directions of the great periodical atmospheric currents and ocean streams, and the average atmospheric conditions of any country or locality, at all periods of the year. If we cannot always escape inconvenience and danger from meteorological phenomena, we can, at any rate, determine the periods of minimum risk. When the origin of the great disturbances is known, we may, in some degree, prepare ourselves to meet and ward off their effects; and there is no impossibility in the supposition that information of the approach of storms may be communicated by ocean telegraph, with as much regularity as the messages of merchants and governments. But, whatever may be the amount of knowledge upon these subjects within the reach of scientific investigation, and whether we can perceive a practical application of it or not, it is essential to the interests of mankind that it should be obtained; for life and property are more exposed to injury from the mutations of the atmosphere, than from any other phenomena, resulting from the physical conditions of the earth.

How much the safety and speed of navigation depends on the wind, and the success or profit of agriculture, upon the weather, is known, but it is less generally believed, that the comparative security of the coal miner is no less affected by alterations in the pressure of the atmosphere. The report of Mr. Dobson on the relation between explosions in coal mines and revolving storms, proves how close the connexion is between the formation of an explosive gas in mines, and a sudden change in the pressure of the atmosphere. In all coal mines there is an escape, in a greater or less quantity, of carburetted hydrogen gas, from the fissures of the seams



into the galleries of the underground workings. When this gas is mixed in certain proportions with atmospheric air, an explosive compound is formed. The careless or accidental introduction of a flame into such a medium, acts like a spark dropped into gunpowder; and the most disastrous effects to the workmen and works instantly follow. The system of ventilation, whatever it may be, is intended to prevent the accumulation of sulphuretted hydrogen gas, and, consequently, the formation of an explosive atmosphere; and, under ordinary circumstances, this is a sufficient and successful precaution; but certain conditions of the external air may cause the rapid evolution of the gas in quantities too large for removal by the circulating currents.

No argument is necessary to prove that the escape of gas from the cavities and fissures of a coal seam, must be, to some extent, under the control of the atmosphere; and, that the quantity given out must increase or decrease with the rise or fall of the barometer. When a calm, heavy atmosphere prevails for several successive days, the flow of the confined gas is checked, and some degree of compression may even be produced. Should rarification then follow, the pent gas will flow, in unusual quantities, into the galleries of the mine; and the ordinary ventilation will be insufficient to prevent the rapid formation of an explosive atmosphere. A sudden fall of the barometer, giving evidence of a diminished pressure, may, therefore, be regarded as an indication of a condition calculated to produce a dangerous state of the workings.

An increased atmospheric temperature, also, has a tendency to produce a diminution of pressure, and a high thermometer may, therefore, be regarded as an indirect evidence of the existence of an atmospheric condition favourable to the flow of gas into the mine. But in a still more important manner does the rise of temperature interfere with the safety of the mine, by retarding or altogether preventing the circulation of the air. The establishment of a constant current to secure the frequent substitution of atmospheres is the object of ventilation; and, whatever system may be adopted for the accomplishment of this purpose, a difference between the temperature of the over-ground and under-ground atmospheres is assumed. When, therefore, the surface temperature is so raised as to equal that of the mine, the circulation of air in the galleries is impeded or stopped, the gases escaping from the coal are accumulated, and danger or death lurks in the stagnation.

These are the reasons for believing that explosions in coal mines have relation to atmospheric changes. But many of the coal-viewers, government inspectors, and other well-informed persons, are of opinion that there is little if any connexion between them, as cause and effect. Because no remarkable barometric or thermometric disturbance immediately preceded certain selected and tabulated "chief explosions" they have assumed that atmospheric changes have little or no effect upon the accumulation of the gas that infects coal mines. Mr. Dobson objects to this conclusion, and exposes the incompleteness of the evidence by which it is supported. The explosions referred to in the tables presented to parliamentary committees, are only selections of the most disastrous accidents, or those which have been attended by the greatest loss of life. No notice is taken of any of the numerous instances, some very remarkable, of the prevention of accident under the most dangerous circumstances. From the number of coal mine explosions in any colliery, it is quite impossible to estimate how often its galleries have been filled with fire-damp. The tables upon which so much dependence has been placed are otherwise defective data for the determination of a scientific question. The compilers have assumed that the violence of the explosion is to be calculated by the number of persons killed, but it is evidently a false inference; for it often happens that the list of dead and

wounded includes all the miners in the pit at the time of the accident ; and the number would have been more or less at any other hour of the day. But, while this false estimate of degrees of intensity is calculated to mislead by giving to certain explosions a scientific importance greater than belongs to them by a comparison of physical phenomena, it causes the omission of others equally violent, because they were less destructive of life. In another particular the tables are defective, for no distinction is made between the explosions resulting from carelessness, or the sudden outburst of enormous volumes of gas, and those in which atmospheric agencies have had a direct influence in producing the conditions of which the explosion is the result.

But we are still at a loss to understand how the relation between changes in the atmosphere, and explosions in coal mines, can be denied by those who superintend such works ; for intelligent miners, guided by personal observation without scientific knowledge, will tell you that the gases escape in the greatest abundance when the barometer is low, and the wind blows from the south, south-east, or south-west ; and that the air of the mine is most pure when the barometer is high and the wind northerly. But in this, as in all scientific questions, we must appeal to the evidence of results ; and that evidence has been selected by Mr. Dobson. He has shown by many instances, that when a storm has passed over an extensive tract of country, after a period of tolerably uniform meteoric conditions, in which no coal-mine accidents have occurred, explosions have been almost simultaneous in France, Belgium, and Great Britain. The influence of temperature is proved by the fact, that explosions are least frequent between the middle of January and the middle of February, when the temperature of the atmosphere is at its minimum, and the ventilation is most active ; and that they are most numerous in June and July when the average surface temperature is highest.

Without citing cases coming within our own experience, in proof of the effect of the external atmosphere upon that of underground workings, we may refer to the tempest of 1854, so destructive to shipping in the Black Sea,—long to be remembered as the Balaklava storm.

The autumnal or early winter storms of Britain and the continent of Europe, rise among the West India Islands, coast the United States, sweep over the Atlantic in a north-easterly direction, strike Ireland and the western coast of Scotland, pass over England, and ravage France, Belgium, and the Baltic Sea. These vast whirlwinds widen their area as they advance, and when they strike the Irish shore, have frequently a diameter of a thousand miles ; the pressure of the air diminishing from the circumference to the centre of the storm. In the passage of the Balaklava storm over England, the fall of the barometer commenced on the 11th, and continued till the 19th of November. From the extensive researches of M. Liassis, of the Paris Observatory, and the charts he has constructed, as well as from the barometric curves, obtained in Britain, it appears that the motion of the cyclone was eastward, and that its centre passed to the south of England. It then crossed the continent of Europe, retarded for nearly four-and-twenty hours by the Alps, to the Circassian mountains, and the borders of the Caspian Sea. We shall not readily forget what we heard of its destructive effects upon land and water—our readers have yet to learn what it did in our coal mines.

“ During four consecutive days of this period of diminished atmospheric pressure (from the 11th to the 19th of November), there occurred in the coal mines of Britain, four fatal explosions, at the following places : On November 13th, at Old Park Colliery, Worcestershire ; November 14th, Cramlington Colliery, Northumberland ; November 15th, Bennet's Colliery, Bolton, Lancashire, and Birden Coppice Colliery, Dudley ; November 16th,

Rosehall Colliery, Coalbridge.—N.B. These facts alone, render this storm worthy of special attention ; independently of the notoriety which it has acquired from its disastrous effects on the allied fleets and armies in the Crimea."

From this review of a few of the observations and facts recorded by meteorologists during the last two years, we have a right to say that this department of science, at least, has a progress ; and in other branches we should have had equal opportunities of selecting interesting researches, valuable facts, and speculative opinions, of scarcely less importance ; for, as Mill says, "the labour of the speculative thinker is as much a part of production, in the very narrowest sense, as that of the inventor of a practical art ; many such inventions having been the direct consequences of theoretic discoveries ; and every extension of knowledge of the powers of nature being fruitful of applications to the purposes of outward life."

The period to which our remarks apply has not been barren of results in the application of scientific facts to economical purposes. We have no interest in the monthly list of new patents, nor any great confidence in the promises of inventors ; nor should we at this time allude to mechanical science, if we did not believe that the past year will be distinguished by a discovery in which more than individual interests are concerned ; and a great enterprise, which, when complete, will advance the interests of humanity and inaugurate another of the rapidly advancing eras immediately preceding the reign of peace and the consummation of man's terrestrial destiny. We have all, more or less, aided in the introduction of inventions and discoveries, which have had in our own day a marvellous influence upon the progress of nations, and the distribution of wealth ; and which are destined, we believe, to produce an entire change in the conduct of commerce, in the enterprise of the merchants, the policy of governments, the pursuits of science, and the learning and literature of the age. No man of mature age can call to memory the scenes of his boyhood, the men with whom he had to do, and the state of commerce and manufacture at that time, without being conscious that he has passed his life in a great social revolution ; effected without, and even in spite of, political excitements, by the agency of scientific investigation and mechanical skill. The consciousness that such changes have been effected prepares the mind to acknowledge the possibility of others of equal importance. But the admission is often, we believe, made with reluctance ; for, when present facilities are compared with past hindrances, and the speed, enterprise, and wealth of the nineteenth century are contrasted with the slowness, caution, and stationary prosperity or poverty of individuals in the eighteenth, he must have a sanguine temperament who would willingly disturb the complacent feelings such a review excites. The majority of our countrymen are as indifferent to future improvement as they were to those which they now enjoy ; while those who have invested capital, and are profitably engaged in production and commerce, would close the book of patent rights, check the spirit of enterprise, and rest from the excitement of competition. But the spirit which has been raised cannot be allayed. From every civilized country of the world, the news of some new discovery, or of some new application of a known fact, is brought to us, till we doubt whether the past ignorance, or the yet hidden treasures of knowledge should cause the greater wonder.

Mr. Bessemer's discovery of a process for the manufacture of iron and steel without fuel is a remarkable event. The system now adopted we need not explain in much detail. The greater part of the iron manufactured in this country for home and foreign markets, is obtained from the ironstone beds forming a portion of that extensive series of strata called the coal measures. From this and other ores of iron, the pig-iron of commerce, employed

in the foundry for casting, is produced by smelting. Cast iron, too well-known in its applications to require a description, is a mixture of iron and carbon, with many impurities, and is destitute of the properties of tenacity, ductility, malleability, and that condition which permits the union of parts by welding, for the possession of which iron is most valued. To obtain these qualities, the carbon and other intermixed substances must be separated. To effect this separation, the mass of crude iron is first brought into a molten state, and, as England cannot supply wood to make charcoal, coke produced from coal is used as a fuel. The means thus adopted to produce the fluidity necessary for purification is one source of the impurities of the iron; for the coke contains sulphur and other extraneous substances with which the molten metal will combine. To prevent this, as much as possible, the iron to be made malleable is removed to a distance from the burning coke, and exposed to a current of highly heated air, the workman aiding the process of expelling the accidental substances from their combination, by stirring the liquefied mass, and bringing new surfaces under the action of the heated atmosphere. This process is called puddling. In this way, from four to five hundred pounds weight of crude iron are acted upon at a time, though one workman cannot manage more than from seventy to eighty pounds. When every precaution has been thus taken, and much labour and time has been expended, a malleable metal is produced, to which fibre and form are given by rolling; but it possesses the quality of good iron in an inferior degree to the metal produced by charcoal.

Mr. Bessemer's process is intended to supersede the process of puddling, and to supply a purer iron with greater facility, and at a less cost. The importance of the invention will be best estimated by some minds, from the fact that the iron annually manufactured in this country, has a money value of thirteen and half millions of pounds sterling; but a more just estimate would be made from a consideration of the facilities it offers for manufacture in all places where the ore occurs in sufficient abundance, and for the introduction of a purer and more generally useful metal at a great reduction of the present cost of production.

Mr. Bessemer's process is an application of a few well-known facts and principles, and, like all other great discoveries, is so simple and evident that we are less surprised by the ingenious application, than that the wealthy and astute men engaged in the trade should have spent so much money in improving a bad system when a good one was so near at hand. Crude iron contains about 10 per cent. of carbon, and Mr. Bessemer uses it as a fuel for the purification of the iron.

When the iron is at a white heat, the carbon will unite with oxygen in combustion; and the more rapid the combustion, the higher will be the temperature of the metal. Mr. Bessemer's process is an application of these facts. Introducing the crude metal, in a molten state, into a vessel of suitable construction, capable of resisting the intense heat to which it will be subject, and a blast of compressed atmospheric air, the fierce combustion immediately ensuing raises the temperature, and in a period of from fifteen to twenty minutes, the mechanically combined carbon is removed by chemical combination with the oxygen of the injected atmosphere. The phenomena of the combustion are, a violent tossing of the liquefied metal from one side of the vessel to another, with a motion similar to that of rapid ebullition, and the formation, as a product of combustion, of carbonic acid gas, which, with a fiery foam, escapes from the lateral openings near the top of the cupola-shaped vessel. When the combination of the free carbon and oxygen is effected, the violence of the motion ceases, and the metal drawn off into moulds of any shape and size will be good malleable iron, as free from impurities as that manufactured by charcoal. In addition to the

formation of a homogeneous mass, this process offers the advantages of a saving in time and labour, a reduction in the proportion of waste, and the purification of larger quantities in one operation. When working with an experimental apparatus, Mr. Bessemer made "7 cwt. of malleable iron in thirty minutes; while the ordinary puddling furnace makes only  $4\frac{1}{2}$  cwt. in two hours." Upon a more extensive scale of operation "by a process requiring no manipulation, or particular skill, and with only one workman, from three to five tons of crude iron pass into a condition of several piles of malleable iron in from thirty to thirty-five minutes; with the expenditure of about one-third of the blast now used in a fiery furnace, with an equal charge of iron, and with the consumption of no other fuel than is contained in the crude iron."

By continuing the process, impurities, chemically combined, are separated, under the influence of the intense combustion; and, did we not know that the fusibility diminishes with the increased purity of the metal, there would be every reason to believe that a perfectly pure iron, such as now only exists in the laboratory, might be obtained. It is possible that iron may, like the precious metals, have an instantaneous solidification, when perfectly separated from all impurities; and that, until this condition is gained, it may not be impossible to retain a sufficient fluidity in the mass for the access of air. But we need not speculate. The process has yielded malleable iron, and a metal of still greater purity, with more perfect qualities, called semi-steel; and if it can be carried no further, it will be ever regarded as one of the most important and useful discoveries of our age.

The great enterprise, to which we have also alluded, as being worthy of notice, as one of the memorable scientific results of the period we are reviewing, is the well-arranged plan for an electric communication between England and America, under the immediate superintendence of the American government. Soundings have been made of the Atlantic ocean, from St. John's, Newfoundland, to Valentia Bay, on the south-western extremity of Ireland—a distance of 1,640 nautical, or 1,900 statute miles. Following the line of the great circle-sailing, soundings were taken at intervals of about 30 miles; and over an area of 1,300 miles, the bed of the Atlantic was found to be an almost unbroken level of soft mud, forming just that sort of platform best suited to receive an electric cable. In the early part of June next, two steamers will sail from London, each carrying half the cable. In the middle of the Atlantic they will meet, and having joined the two parts, one will sail for Ireland, the other for Newfoundland, dropping the great ocean telegraph into its place as they proceed; and, in about eight days, the connexion between Europe and America will be formed. The cable that is chosen, consists of a conducting wire, surrounded by gutta percha, strengthened, on the outside, by strands of slender iron wire. Considering its great length, it became important to reduce its weight as much as was consistent with its required strength. The one used between Cape Ray, Newfoundland, and Cape North, Breton Island, is 85 miles in length, and its weight is 40 cwt. to the mile; the one between Cape Traverse, Prince Edward's Island, and Cape Formantine, New Brunswick, is only 13 miles in length, and its weight is 46 cwt. to the mile: but the cable that is to lie on the bed of the Atlantic, as a line of immediate communication between Europe and America, weighs only 18 cwt. for each mile in length, though its strength is sufficient to support the weight of six miles of its own substance, vertically suspended in water. Were we not justified in saying that the day may not be far distant, when news of the approach of a storm raging over the surface of the Atlantic, will be secretly communicated to Europe along its deep, dark, unruffled bed?

If we pass over the science of Geology, in this brief account of some of



the recent triumphs of science, it is not from a lack of interest in its pursuits, or an insensibility to the wonder its discoveries excite. We could not desire a more pleasant task than to discuss, with Professor Hennessy, the Origin of the Physical Structure of the Earth—to trace with M. du Bois, Mr. Bailey, and others, the Geology of the Crimea—to listen again to Sedgwick and Murchison, discussing the long-vexed question of Cambrian and Silurian rights; or to follow Owen, with never-wearied attention, while he demonstrates the forms and habits of many strange animals, from fragments of bones, recently broken from a rock, or disinterred from a bed of clay. But the hard necessity of limiting our brief survey to a few pages, forbids us to attempt a description of the *Pterygotus*, an upper Silurian crustacean, or lobster, as the unlearned would say, “which certainly attained a length of six or eight feet;” the *Ichthyosaurus*, and other fossils, found in Exmouth Island, within the Arctic circle—the additions made to our fossil Botany, and many other animal and vegetable forms of equal interest, which we cannot even name. We are compelled to pass unnoticed the collections and memoirs of those men of science who are exploring the antiquities of the earth, that we may watch, if but for a moment, the labours of those whose business it is to reduce all material things to their elements; to discover how nature, in the production of innumerable varieties of compounds, distinguished by qualities as well as structure, has put them together; that they may imitate, with such poor appliances as they can command, the products of her subtle and infallible agencies.

No period in the history of mankind, has been, we believe, so productive of scientific knowledge as the century in which we live; and we might, perhaps, justify the assertion, that the last thirty or forty years have opened the richest veins of our intellectual wealth, if we exclude the annunciation of those physical and mathematical researches, which demonstrated the laws of motion and the ordination and permanence of the visible universe. Though the history of electricity, as a branch of knowledge, must be commenced at an earlier date, men of our own day, with whom we have had intercourse—whose researches we have followed, from month to month, and year to year—have demonstrated its fundamental laws, traced its operations, placed it under our control, employed it to convey our thoughts, and constructed from their discoveries a new science. The science of optics was studied by the Greek philosophers, and in the Middle Ages, the mathematicians and physicists followed in their footsteps, adding, now and then, a new observation; but the men of our own day have discovered almost all we know of light; for, if we omit Newton’s “Theory of Chromatics,” we may claim all the rest for the nineteenth century—the investigation of the constituent rays and the discovery of polarization. The sciences of heat and magnetism will, in the same way, give evidence of the activity with which researches have been conducted during the period in which we have lived. But in no department of science has this been more remarkable than in the discovery and rapid development of the laws of organic chemistry.

When Davy died, leaving to the chemist an inheritance to preserve, but, as he may have thought, with fixed boundaries, incapable of extension by new conquests, there were worlds of research, of the existence of which he was not conscious. In the inorganic matter, over which he obtained such a mighty control, he found numerous elements, and comparatively few compounds; and the labour of his life was to separate and decompose; to resolve the compound into the simple, and define the qualities of elements. In the organic matter, studied by his successors, the elements are few, and the combinations almost infinite. Carbon and hydrogen are the principal components, and if to these be added oxygen, nitrogen, phosphorus, and



sulphur, the catalogue of elements entering into the composition of animal and vegetable matter is almost complete. From these few primaries an innumerable series of compounds is formed by the invisible and inscrutable operations of the vital force.

Without attempting to sketch a history of the rise and progress of organic chemistry, or even to describe its recent conquests, we are anxious to draw the attention of our readers to the fact that much has been done and far more is anticipated. The public will always listen to practical results, but is indifferent to the preceding processes of investigation. It appreciates the importance of manufactures, but disregards if it does not ridicule those investigations of principles which make an operation of art a scientific process, instead of an empirical experiment. The man who puts a commercial value upon every effort of mind, cannot perceive that all correct processes of manufacture are the results of demonstrated theory ; and that the necessity of theoretical dogmas is proved by the facility with which they correct errors in practice, and extend the application of processes of acknowledged utility. Liebig's renown was established in the scientific world when he announced his doctrine of compound radicals, his new processes of analysis, and theoretical opinions ; the public gave him praise when he applied his discoveries to physiology and practical agriculture. The judgment this philosopher passed upon the British public in a letter to Faraday is just. "What struck me most in England was the perception that only those works that have a practical tendency awake attention and command respect ; while the purely scientific, which possess far greater merit, are almost unknown ; and yet the latter are the proper and true source from which the others flow. Practice alone can never lead to a discovery of a truth or a principle. In Germany it is quite the contrary. Here, in the eyes of scientific men, no value, or at least but a trifling one, is placed on the practical results. The enrichment of science is alone considered worthy of attention. I do not mean to say that this is better ; for both nations the golden medium would certainly be a real good fortune."

But it happens that while the popular voice is boasting of its wisdom in the selection of the useful, and the rejection of the theoretical, it sometimes applauds the thing that is most showy, and passes with neglect, that which, estimated by its own coin, is most valuable. The discovery of a new metal, not heavier than glass, as ductile as copper, and as un-oxidizable as silver was hailed with a shout of triumph ; and men wait impatiently for a process by which it may be manufactured in sufficient quantities to be bought and sold. But we shall be disappointed if the theoretical principles already indistinctly perceived by the chemist, have not a far greater practical and theoretical value than the introduction of aluminium into the arts. The most important and successful era of chemical science is only just commenced. A few unexpected practical results have been obtained as the pledges of future success. Substances formerly supposed to be the characteristic products of vital forces have been produced in the laboratory. Bertholet has obtained the oil of mustard ; a dye to supply the place of cochineal has been manufactured from guano ; taurine, a substance elaborated by the liver, has been produced by Strecker ; and several species of alcohol have been obtained from coal gas. These are the results of theoretical inquiries, and we believe that future research will enable us to obtain in the laboratory, many animal and vegetable substances, which are now sparingly produced in nature, or obtained at a great cost of labour, time, and life. We need not explain how such discoveries may at a future time facilitate the productions of the manufacturer, enrich the works of the artist, and increase the usefulness, while they add to the responsibility, of the physician.

There is no error more common than the supposition that the great

forces of nature are always contained in bodies of large bulk. The sun, an enormous body, has sovereign power, and controls a system. Steam, the most energetic agent we can at present manage, has a large volume; and even great animal strength seems to require for its exercise a bulky body. Organic chemistry corrects this vulgar error. It presents to us numerous substances, the products of vegetable life, which, it may be, are the concentrations of power and qualities. If we were speaking of mere mechanical force we should refer to the detonating powders; but we allude now to the terrible effects of some of the alkaloids, even in small quantities, upon animal life. When such substances fall into the hands of the assassin, and give him absolute control over the lives of his victims, no wonder that a doubt arises whether science has not done too much, and is not chargeable with the fault of placing refinements in murder in the hands of cruel and blood-thirsty men. We cannot now find time to refute this mistaken dogma, but, when the mind is distressed by the recital of such malevolent misapplications of excellent knowledge, we have the satisfaction of knowing that science, whose progress cannot be stopped because bad men misuse it, also provides the means of discovery, and thus diminishes the inducement to employ such substances for a wicked and lawless end. The trial of Palmer may be quoted as a proof of this fact. His victim, Cook, was poisoned with strychnia, in two doses of probably not more than three quarters of a grain each. The poisoned man died, and was buried. Suspicion, however, had been excited, a *post mortem* inquiry was obtained, and the stomach was submitted to chemical examination. No poison was discovered,—the life-destroying agent was not there. Chemistry was not at fault, it failed to discover, because there was nothing to discover; but physiology and pathology pronounced the effects to be those of poisoning by strychnia. Then came the trial, that remarkable trial, in which the life of every British subject was in the balance against the life of a murderer. A defence was raised, upon the assumption that no human being could die from a minimum dose of strychnia without the discovery of some portion of it in the animal system when proper tests are used. Had this assertion been confirmed by a court of law, the effect of the verdict would have been “to encourage the reprobate in his onward career of guilt, and doubly arm the secret poisoner with a scientific cause for the commission of crime;—whose victims drop like withered leaves in autumn, and fall beneath the influence of his dark and stealthy dealings like a fabled Fate.” But the public is now fully convinced that life may be destroyed with a small dose of strychnia—half a grain has been sufficient; and that after death no evidence of it remain that the art of the chemist can detect. Nor is this all; for there are many products of vegetable life, some of which are to be found in the fields and hedges, which would cause death when introduced into the animal system in minute quantities, without leaving a trace in the stomach for discovery by tests of re-agents. But he who uses such means for murder does not escape detection; for, although the poison may be absorbed or diffused, science discovers the cause of death in the circumstances that attend it, and the corpse itself gives evidence against the hand that has robbed it. Let it not then be said, that because these terrific agents of destruction exist in nature, and can be extracted by the art of the chemist, that they have been made in vain, or that the intelligence which has unmasked them and exhibited their properties, has been employed to the disadvantage of mankind, and the dishonour of God.

## Books Received.

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 Evangelical Christendom for December. Office: 7, Adam Street, Adelphi.  
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 Hardwick (C., M.A.). *Christ and other Masters. Part II., Religions of India*. Macmillan & Co.  
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 McDougall (Jas.). *Poems and Songs*. Hall, Virtue, & Co.  
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 Miniature Atlas of the Earth, with descriptive Letter-press to each Map. Ward & Co.  
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 Roberts (Edwin P.). *The Christmas Guests round the Sea-Coal Fire*. G. Vickers.  
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 Ryland (J. E., M.A.). *Foster's Critical Essays. Vol. II.* Bohn's Standard Library.  
 Sunday, the Rest of Labour. By a Christian. T. C. Newby.  
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 Taylor (Dr. Alfred S., F.R.S.). *Poisoning by Strychnia*. Longmans & Co.  
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# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW.

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FEBRUARY, 1857.

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## ART. I.—SPANISH LITERATURE.

1. *El Conde Lucanor*. De Don Juan Manuel. Paris. 1840. 12mo.
2. *Cronica de D. Alvaro de Luna*. Madrid. 1784. 4to.
3. *Coplas*. De Don Jorge Manrique. Madrid. 1779. 8vo.
4. *Cartas de Antonio Perez, y Relacion summaria de las Prisiones*. De Antonio Perez. Paris. 1603. 8vo.
5. *Antonio Perez et Philippe II*. Par M. Mignet. Paris. 1846. 8vo.

RECENT events in Spain appear to demonstrate that, unlike the rest of Europe, that nation still retains the wild, irregular, and impressionable character of the Middle Ages; and whilst the other great branches of the European family have painfully struggled towards adolescence, the inhabitants of the Peninsula are as childish as they were five hundred years since. Just as in the days of Alfonso XI., of Don Juan II., or of Philippe II., the personal vices or weaknesses of the monarch were allowed to disturb the whole political condition of the country, and statesmen, warriors, or favourites were mercilessly sacrificed in order to gratify the passions of the tyrant of the day—so it would seem that even now such a creature as Isabella II. is allowed by her subjects to sport with the reputations of grave senators; to make or mar the position of soldiers of fortune; to set up or pull down, at the will of the moment, ministers or minions; and, in fact, to repeat, amidst the shouts of reprobation of indignant Europe, the follies and crimes of former days. Napoleon the Great used to say that “Africa began at the Pyrenees;” and if the Spaniards tolerate for any length of time the existing sad parody of government which disgraces their noble land, Europe will

adopt the phrase as a true statement of their moral condition. Yet they who wished well for the progress of our race, had argued better things from the manifest awakening of the national mind, produced by the most iniquitous and most fatal blunder of the French emperor. The long and sanguinary struggle for independence at the beginning of this century had left a leaven of intellectual activity which could not even be suppressed by the revived despotism of Ferdinand VII., or by the awful confusion of the civil war following his decease. Such men as Martinez della Rosa, Jovellanos, Balmes, Torreno, Condé, Ochoa, De los Rios, Breton de los Herreros, Hartzenbusch, Navarrete, Donoso Cortes, and many others whose names are but little known to us Englishmen—who, as a rule, care but little for foreign reputations—such men could only have forced themselves into notice during a period in which the best intellect of their countrymen was in a ferment. Substantially, too, between 1814 and 1855, Spain was advancing in political freedom and in its material wealth, notwithstanding the serious lets and hindrances it encountered from Chartists and Royalists, from foreign occupation, and from Christinos or Carlists. But now, when there appeared to be a possibility of arriving at some stable government, when the most honest man in Spain had been carried into power upon the shoulders of the people, almost literally, we find that a wilful, and, we fear, we must add, a depraved and debauched young woman, is able to dash the whole glittering fabric to the ground, and to submit the destinies of a nation, loyal, chivalric, and personally brave to a fault, to the passions of a set of rapacious, cowardly, and unprincipled sycophants! Truly, little wisdom appears to be necessary to those whom Providence calls to govern this magnificent portion of the world, if this gross insult to the common sense of the Spanish people be tolerated for any length of time! We are intimately convinced that this will not be the case; and to our minds the Bourbon dynasty of Spain is doomed hereafter to expiate its follies and its crimes as certainly as the Bourbons of Naples, or as those of France did before either of them. It may be some years before the cup of their iniquities is filled; but the life of a nation is long, and the day of reckoning must sooner or later come. Isabella and her advisers may flatter themselves that they are but re-enacting some chapters of the past history of their country, which either met with the approbation of Spaniards, or at least were accompanied by worldly success; and they may believe that the measures which succeeded in former times can be repeated now with impunity. But no such chapters can ever be re-enacted; for the spirit of the age changes continually; and, to her cost, Isabella will find, we are convinced, that it is

impossible to maintain, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a despotism which could hardly support itself in the seventeenth; and that, in depriving herself violently of the alliance of the intellectual classes of her country, she has thrown them into the ranks of the Revolutionists. It is not, however, our purpose to notice the extraordinary events which have marked the progress of the painful farce lately played out at Madrid, in any detail. They have been here referred to principally because they recalled to our recollection an almost forgotten class of literature, and a series of political events strikingly similar to those we have lately witnessed; and perhaps they may serve, in their turn, to throw light upon some national peculiarities to which it will be necessary to refer in the course of our observations upon the books cited at the head of this article.

The first of these books, "El Conde Lucanor," is a very remarkable apologue, written in the early part of the fourteenth century by don Juan Manuel, grandson of Ferdinand III., surnamed St. Ferdinand, king of Castille and Leon; but the interest attached to the book at the present day depends more upon the personal character and history of its author than upon his illustrious birth. The father of don Juan Manuel, seventh son of St. Ferdinand, whose name was also Juan Manuel, appears also to have played an equivocal part in the struggle between his own brother Alfonso el Sabio, and their nephew Sancho the Brave, and to have leaned towards the latter in his revolt. Don Juan Manuel, the father, died at a comparatively early age, about 1284, leaving our hero, then only two years old, and a sister, subsequently married to Alfonso, Infant of Portugal, under the care of their mother Beatrix of Savoy. The youthful don Juan was brought up under the care of his cousin, Don Sancho el Bravo; and, so long as the latter lived, enjoyed all the advantages of his royal connexions. On the death of Sancho, however, the crown passed to Ferdinand IV., and our youthful don Juan Manuel became for a time the object of his suspicions. Towards the close of his short reign, Ferdinand was, nevertheless, induced to confide in the abilities and fidelity of his cousin, and in order to oppose a formidable coalition against his crown, headed by the Infant don Pedro, he conferred upon Juan Manuel, at the early age of twenty-eight, the important position of grand steward of his own palace, and gave him the government of the kingdom of Murcia, with the title of Adelentado Major. Shortly afterwards, Ferdinand appears to have quarrelled with don Juan; for, at the period of his sudden death in 1312, the latter was in a species of banishment, and don Pedro himself was thus enabled to take possession of the



regency of his infant sovereign, Alonso XI., to the exclusion of the mother and the grandmother of the latter, as well as of the other members of the royal family. Don Pedro, however, did not long retain this position; for Doña Costança, the young widow of Ferdinand, obtained possession of the person of Alonso, and endeavoured, by the assistance of don Juan Manuel, to displace don Pedro, who, in his turn, endeavoured to strengthen himself by an alliance with Doña Maria, the mother of Ferdinand. Doña Costança died within a short period of these civil dissensions; and, upon her decease, an attempt was made to constitute a joint council of regency, consisting of the queen-grandmother and the Infantas dons Pedro and Juan; but the latter were too nearly equal in power, too jealous, and, we fear we must add, too unscrupulous, to sacrifice any of their private feelings or interests for the good of the state. In all probability, the origin of the quarrel which imperilled the above-mentioned desirable arrangement of the regency, is to be found in the avarice of don Pedro; but, however this may be, it is certain that a civil war broke out between the regents and their powerful vassal don Juan Manuel. Doña Maria, with the hope of diverting attention from these domestic quarrels, urged her turbulent nobles into a war against the Moors of Granada, and a large army was dispatched upon this crusade under the personal guidance of the Infants. Bold and unscrupulous though these might be, they were evidently very poor soldiers; for they allowed themselves to be attacked and defeated by an inferior force of the Moors, and fell victims to their own carelessness and incapacity, leaving Doña Maria alone to contend with the difficulties of a long and stormy regency. The cruel defeat of the Castilian forces had rendered it the more important for the queen to secure the support of don Juan Manuel, the only man who could have efficiently repaired the loss so sustained; but, for some reasons, which it would be difficult now to ascertain, she exercised all her influence and power to keep him from the position to which his talents, his family connexion, and his position entitled him. At length Doña Maria was, nevertheless, convinced of the necessity for the alliance of don Juan Manuel, and an understanding upon the subject of the regency was arrived at, by which his pretensions were reconciled, in appearance at least, with those of the Infants dons Philippe and Juan; but, unfortunately, at this precise period she died (in 1322), and then the unruly passions of the relatives of the youthful monarch burst forth in full fury.

The majority of the King Alonso XI., which was declared in 1325, modified the terms of these dissensions, without putting at once a stop to them. Alonso was an energetic, violent, cruel

monarch, who seems to have considered that the end justified the means adopted, and he did not hesitate to rid himself of troublesome rivals by murder, or by any other violent measure. Towards don Juan Manuel he behaved with singular duplicity, and at last provoked him to such an extent, that the latter renounced the homage due to the king according to the principles of feudalism, and joined a powerful league of the kings of Arragon and of Granada, which seemed likely to destroy for ever the power of the boyish monarch of Castille, who, moreover, had given himself up to the guidance of two unworthy favourites, Garcilaso de la Vega and Alvar Nunez. The civil war continued with various fortunes, until about the year 1335, when Alonso's military skill and indomitable energy had at length so far broken the resources of his various domestic and foreign enemies, that the former were glad to make their peace with their king, and to combine their efforts with his, in order to resist a great movement of the Moors of Africa, undertaken at this period, in defence of their co-religionists of Spain. A fierce and rather absurd combat, in which the Spanish naval force, under don Alfonso Tenorio, was annihilated, had laid open Gibraltar to the Moors, and they had landed large bodies of troops, finally united under the orders of Al-Mohacen; they were soon afterwards attacked by the Spanish troops under Alonso, and his formerly rebellious, but then faithful relative, Juan Manuel, and by them defeated with great slaughter at Tarifa, whilst the capture of Algesiras, after a long and obstinate siege, prepared the final destruction of the Moorish kingdom, which was in fact only delayed to the time of Ferdinand and Isabella by the confusion and civil wars occasioned by the sudden death of Alonso in 1350. Our friend don Juan Manuel had been gathered to his fathers three years previously, closing a troubled and adventurous life in the quiet enjoyment of honour and worldly prosperity. He left his children in the possession of many of his dignities and feudal possessions; and though his direct legitimate descendants soon became extinct, a large portion of the highest nobility of Spain still claims a relationship to this accomplished soldier and scholar, whose faults, qualities, and fortunes must be considered alike to be characteristic of the age in which he lived—an age, it is to be observed, presenting extraordinary symptoms of vigour in the intellect of the inhabitants of Southern Europe, although that vigour was, after all, of a semi-barbarous kind. About this time, Dante and his friend Cino da Pistora, and Guido Cavalcante lived; the Guelphs and the Ghibellines tore Italy with their dissensions; the Catholic world was scandalized by the transfer of the Papal seat from Rome to Avignon; the Tem-

plars were suppressed; the Turks made their appearance in European politics; and the Lollards, after the Albigenses had been crushed by De Montfort, were actively spreading their doctrines. There was, in those days, a great movement going forward in men's minds, and society was earnestly labouring to disentangle itself from the thralls of feudalism; and, though such persons as Juan Manuel, who was, in the main, a purely ambitious and selfish man, might not clearly define to themselves the character they were playing in the world's great drama, yet insensibly they were compelled by what it is agreed to call "the force of circumstances," to assist in working out the national unity of their respective nations; and, in don Juan's case also, to develop the language and tastes of their countrymen.

Don Juan Manuel, indeed, was an author of very great mark, especially when we consider the circumstances of his active life; and he appears to have followed the Muses with considerable success in more than one branch. From the introduction to one of the manuscripts of his works, it would seem that he attached great importance to their preservation; and it is rather curious that the epilogue he introduces to justify his own anxiety on this score, corresponds exactly with an anecdote recorded by Balbo as having occurred to Dante. But without endeavouring to ascertain who was the original Simon Pure of the tale, in which an enraged poet is made to adopt vigorous means for punishing some tasteless mechanic who had *murdered* his verses in his hearing, we may observe that the precautions taken by don Juan were utterly defeated by the carelessness of the monks to whom the manuscripts were entrusted. Many of our author's prose works have been lost; only a very few fragments of his poetry have survived to grace the *Canconiero General*; whilst the ancient editions, and the most recent translations of his great and most universally known production, "*El Conde Lucanor*," differ from one another in so extraordinary a manner, that it is almost impossible to regard them as representatives of the same subject. The less generally known productions of Don Juan Manuel are, to quote them in the order given by M. Puibusque ("*Le Comte Lucanor*," Paris, 8vo., 1854, p. 95): 1. "*El Caballero y el Escudero*." 2. "*El libro de la respuesta a las tres preguntas que le hizo Don Juan Alonzo*." 3. "*El libro del Infante*." 4. "*El libro de los Estados*." 5. "*El libro de la Caça*." According to the same authority, these are all inedited, and from the short analysis he gives of them, they appear to present many beautiful passages, and many singular illustrations of the moral and metaphysical doctrines which were received in Southern Europe in the early part of the fourteenth

century. Alas! it is to be feared that no efforts will be made by Spaniards now *in power* to complete the publication of the entire works of an author who confers so much honour on their country; and, unless some German or American amateur shall undertake the task, there seems to be small ground for hoping soon to possess the almost forgotten treatises before-mentioned. The “Conde Lucanor,” has, however, been treated with more attention, and has been frequently reproduced both in Spain and elsewhere: a preference which may, no doubt, be explained by the more popular nature of its subject, and by the more fascinating style of its composition. The majority of the inedited works of Don Juan Manuel are, indeed, little else than dry moral disquisitions; whilst the “Conde Lucanor” is a very quaint and amusing collection of epilogues; the forerunner, in fact, of La Fontaine’s and of “Gay’s Fables.”

There is something peculiarly unsatisfactory in the state of public opinion—that is to say, of the literary public—on the subject of “El Conde Lucanor.” The first edition was published in Seville, in the year 1575, and the last reprint of the Spanish text we have been able to procure, was published in Paris, by A. Keller, in 1840. We have collated these two editions carefully, and find that, with the exception of some trifling alterations in the arrangement of the paragraphs, and some insignificant modifications in the orthography, they are substantially the same. In 1854, however, M. Puibusque, an eminent French writer upon Spanish literature, published in Paris, a book which professed to be a translation of “El Conde Lucanor,” but this differs so widely from either the first Seville edition, or the last Paris reprint of the Spanish work, that, as we said before, it is almost impossible to consider the French translation as having been based upon the same original. The very number of the apologues differs slightly in these respective productions. M. Puibusque gives fifty tales; De Argote y Molina, the first editor, like A. Keller, the last, only gives forty-nine; whilst the subjects, the modes of treatment, but especially the order of the tales, differ in the most extraordinary manner. M. Puibusque talks, indeed, of his having consulted some original and forgotten manuscripts of Juan Manuel; but he does not mention that he had seen any such manuscript of “El Conde Lucanor;” and, indeed, he refers to Bouterwek’s notice of this work, in such a peculiar manner, that it would be impossible for any casual reader to suspect even that the German critic had consulted an example in anywise differing from the translation thus mysteriously introduced. There can, however, be no doubt, from the text of Bouterwek’s work, and from the quotations which are given in the notes, that he had never

seen, or heard of any edition of "El Conde Lucanor" different from that originally published by De Molina. It is true, that in the foot-note to page 95 of M. Puibusque's Introductory Essay "On the Origin of the Spanish Apologue," he states, that the second MS., in the National Library of Madrid, differs essentially from the reproduction by De Molina, in the order of the chapters; and in a previous passage (in the text, page 94), he says, that the first MS. "contains the twenty-eighth example, which is wanting in the other copies." But M. Puibusque makes no direct attack upon the correctness of De Molina's reproduction of "El Conde Lucanor," and his reference to Bouterwek's notice of the generally received editions throws additional doubt and obscurity upon the whole subject. Unfortunately, we have neither the means, nor the leisure, to probe this affair to the bottom; but it is one which requires explanation, and, for our own parts, we must confess, that at present we regard the authenticity of M. Puibusque's translation with feelings even stronger than those of suspicion. Those strange tales of Ossian and of Rowley's poems flit before our memory when we endeavour to discover the object of what we suspect to be a species of mystification.

For the present, then, and until M. Puibusque justifies the right of his book to the title of a new and more correct reproduction, we must refer to the "Conde Lucanor" as presented to the world originally in 1575, by the learned Gonzalo de Argote y Molina, and reproduced in the edition of 1840, by the Parisian editor. It consists of a series of apologues addressed to his patron by a certain Patronio, the *consejero*, or adviser, of the imaginary Conde Lucanor, who would appear from the context to have been rather a silly nobleman, requiring, and seeking advice under an infinite number of circumstances. The Conde invariably begins by explaining the reasons for his perplexity, and Patronio replies by a tale conveying a moral, or a piece of advice, in the form of one of those rhyming proverbs of which the Spaniards have been at all times so fond, and these proverbs the Conde is represented as committing to writing for his future guidance in the world. The tales themselves are clothed, it may be observed, in a quaint mediæval Castillian form, and are expressed in a language much more resembling the *Langue d'Oc* than the Spanish of the present day; but they can hardly claim merit on the score of their originality, for many of their subjects had already been treated by Æsop and Phædrus amongst the nations of classical antiquity, by the Brahmins of India, and the Saracenic invaders of Southern Europe, and occasionally by the troubadours and the trouvères of the earlier periods of Romance literature. The apologues are, however, well intro-

duced to illustrate the advice Patronio intended to convey, and the morals with which they conclude are pithily, and often elegantly expressed—a remark, by the way, it would be necessary to extend to nearly the whole class of rhyming Spanish proverbs, for these indeed constitute one of the peculiar and characteristic manifestations of the intellect of that singular nation. Bouterwek has quoted a few of the morals inserted by don Juan Manuel in his famous work, and, at the risk of repetition, we shall reproduce some of them here, together with a few of the omitted ones, which we think equally worthy of notice; observing simply, that it is difficult to translate expressions of such a decidedly idiomatic character, and that, therefore, we crave indulgence for our shortcomings:—

“If you have done something good, however small it be, make it great, for the good never dies.”

“In the beginning, every man should teach his wife how she should behave.”

“He who is really a man, will surely succeed; he who is not, will be sure to come to ruin.”

“He who advises you to be reserved with your friends, seeks to deceive you without witnesses.”

“Never risk your money upon the advice of a poor man.”

“Be careful that you are not conquered by foreigners, for you may be cured from any evil by your own countrymen.”

“Do good with good intentions throughout your life, if you desire to attain true glory.”

“Delicacy of feeling removes all evil propensities; by its inspirations a man does good without design.”

This is one of the most difficult of Don Juan's maxims to transfer into our language, and yet to retain the vigour and point of the original; in Spanish it is as follows:—

“La vergüenza todos males parte  
Por ella face ome bien sin arte.”

“Gain the real treasures; avoid false ones.”

“Do not sacrifice yourself for one who will not make any sacrifice to please you.”

“Never complain of that which God does to you, for whatever He wills must be for your good.”

“From children's manners you may form an opinion of what they will be when they grow up.”

“Take this for certain, as it is a proved truth, that honour and great vices can never exist together.”

“Do not deceive yourself, or fancy that any man would willingly injure himself for your sake.”

“By God's grace, and by good counsel, a man may extricate himself from difficulties, and attain what he desires.”



"He who is well seated should not rise."

"Be sure that he who praises you for what you do not possess, desires to take from you that which you really have."

"Never be ashamed of your poverty, for you will surely see somebody poorer than yourself."

"Never believe what you hear from your enemy."

"For this passing world do not lose that which is eternal."

"Do not at once spend all that you gain, but live such a life as shall enable you to die with honour and respect."

"If in the commencement you do not show what you are, you will not be able to do so when you desire it."

"He who does not place his trust in God, will die unhappily, and meet with bad fortune."

To our minds these maxims contain much common sense and good feeling; the better, indeed, because there is throughout them a reference to the higher duties of our race, and the earnest conviction of the importance of obeying the intentions of the All-wise and All-good Creator of the moral law. This feeling was by no means uncommon amongst even those who were prominently engaged in the very equivocal transactions of public life during the Middle Ages; and, therefore, there should be no more reason for our surprise at discovering it in the case of the turbulent and ambitious don Juan Manuel, than in the case of the equally turbulent, but more unfortunate Dante, his contemporary. But, somehow or other, we do not expect to discover traces of a deep and sincere religious or moral conviction amongst those who have been personally concerned in the civil wars, conspiracies, and atrocities of a semi-barbarous age; and we are almost startled at the exhibition thus afforded of the inconsistencies involved by the mixed nature of man. Ultimately, no doubt, these proofs of the co-existence of a sincere faith with a practice of worldly behaviour very different, alas! must lead us to hope still, hope ever, of its perfectibility; but the phenomenon is not the less curious, and the contradictions thus shown to exist in the characters of great men, prove that De la Rochefoucauld was right when he said that "it was easier to understand man in the abstract than in the particular instance." Be this as it may, there is hardly anything in "El Conde Lucanor," which the most fastidious reader could object to; and, in addition to the sound moral lessons it conveys, it may be read with interest for the sake of the tales themselves. The old familiar story of the man, his son, and his ass, is charmingly told in the twenty-fourth example of the editions which follow De Molina's text (the second of Puibusque's arrangement); our old acquaintance, the fox and the crow, reappears in the twenty-sixth example of De Molina, and in the fifth of Puibusque; the

tale of the grasshopper and the ant is given in the thirty-sixth example of the old editions, and the twenty-third of the modern translation; whilst the striking oriental tale of the "Taming of the Shrew," by the newly-married husband cutting off his wife's pet cat's head on the first evening of their nuptials, is recorded at full length in the forty-fifth example of the first, and the thirty-fifth of the last of these editors. They are substantially the same in both—as are also the tales relating to our Richard Cœur de Lion, and to his worthy antagonist Saladin, the *preux chevaliers*, the objects of unbounded admiration of the Middle Ages; but Puibusque has contrived to destroy the spirit and peculiar charm of the original, so that on this score also we consider that it would be desirable to direct further attention to this remarkable and interesting collection of what may be truly called "wise saws," even if it be not one of "modern instances." In his edition, Argote y Molina inserted a brief notice of the ancient Castilian poetry, and a glossary of the words which had become obsolete in his day; both of these subjects require to be re-touched, and the recent investigations into the history of the languages and literature of Southern Europe would greatly facilitate their execution. Will no one render this service to the cause of letters, or perform this act of justice to the memory of don Juan Manuel?

The persons who either gave rise to, or wrote, the other works to which we have called attention, were not of such noble extraction as don Juan Manuel, though they exercised an influence nearly as decided upon the history of their country. The "*Cronica de don Alvaro de Luna*" which we have consulted, appears from the very able prologue affixed to the Madrid reprint of 1784, and written by don Josef Miguel de Flores, to have been the production of some unknown servant of the Condestable de Luna, who had the means of access to family documents, and had been personally acquainted with the man whose fortunes he related. From some internal evidence, De Flores fixes the date of the composition of the Chronicle about 1453 or 1460; and he states that the first edition appeared in Milan, in 1546. The learned editor remarks upon the affection and the prolixity with which the words and deeds of the great Condestable are recorded; and he calls attention to the singular contempt for anything like chronological accuracy which prevails throughout the work; but he also dwells upon the beauties of the style, and the graces and elegance of language to be noticed in the Chronicle. De Flores was evidently puzzled by, amongst other things, the number of French words and idioms to be found in this mediæval history, and he endeavoured to account for it by the supposition that the French knights,

who came to assist in the wars against the Moors of Spain, imported their language into the courts they came to assist. At the present day, another explanation would be given of this fact; and it would, in all probability, be referred to the mutual connexion of both the French and Spanish languages with the lost *Langue d'Oc*. This casual reminder of a lost tongue is singularly interesting to the philological student, but as our limits will not allow us to follow the investigation thus thrown in our way to its final conclusion, we must turn at once to our more immediate subject.

As far as can be gathered from the obscure text of the somewhat apocryphal "*Cronica*" under notice, "the magnificent, very virtuous, and highly favoured don Alvaro de Luna, Master of Santiago, and Constable of Castille," was born about the year 1388 or 1390, of the noble family of Luna, one of the most important members of the aristocracy of Arragon, which had passed into Castille upon the overthrow of Don Pedro by Don Enrique. This particular civil war would, we may observe, afford an episode of surpassing interest to us on account of the prominent part we took under the guidance of our Black Prince, in favour of Pedro the Cruel, against Enrique de Trastamara, supported by Duguesclin; but we are compelled also to pass over it for the present, and to content ourselves by stating that upon Enrique de Trastamara securing the crown by his brother's murder—so strangely were the laws of public morality then confused or ignored!—he hastened to confer the dignity of "*Mayordomo mayor*," together with some important territorial possessions, upon don Juan Martinez de Luna, the grandfather of the Constable, according to the author of the "*Cronica*." Don Juan had indeed rendered great assistance to Don Enrique in one of his bitterest straits; and, singularly enough, the successful bastard did not forget his obligations when fortune smiled upon him; nor does his gratitude appear even to have stopped with the immediate cause of its origin, for the children of don Juan Martinez were equally befriended by the new king, and promoted by him to posts of trust and importance. Don Alvaro de Luna, the father of the future Condestable, died when the latter was of a very early age, and he was under these circumstances brought up under the care of his uncle, named also don Juan Martinez de Luna. The author of the Chronicle gives a quaint account of his education, which it may be worth while to quote, as it conveys some notion of the state of public opinion upon such subjects in the days when this book was written. He says that—

"El Maestro é Condestable knew already, at the age of ten years, everything which ordinary children were then only beginning to learn.

He knew how to read and to write, *as became a gentleman*; he knew how to ride and to manage a horse; how to conduct fairly the business he undertook; and to be courteous in speech and well-behaved towards all around him; whereupon a tutor named Ramiro de Tamayo was appointed to teach the lad how to do everything which is consistent with the position of the descendant of a noble family."

Another uncle of the youthful don Alvaro, don Pedro de Luna, Archbishop of Toledo, took great notice of him in his early youth; and being greatly pressed by his nephew to introduce him to the court of the King of Castille, he secured his admission thereto about the year 1408, during the latter years of the reign of Don Juan II., just at the period when the Infante don Fernando of Arragon drove from the court Juan de Velasco and Diego Lopez Destuñiga, the councillors of the king. After a short residence at the court, don Alvaro de Luna appears to have attracted the attention of the feeble monarch, who named him one of his pages; and from that period his history became so interwoven with that of Don Juan II., that it is impossible to separate them; nay, so entirely had don Alvaro de Luna fascinated his weak-minded sovereign, that he could hardly exist without the presence of his favourite. About the year 1414, the kind uncle of don Alvaro, the Archbishop of Toledo died; but so far was this circumstance from interfering with the prospects of the nephew that the king shortly afterwards named him to the confidential post of Maestrasala.

Notwithstanding numerous intrigues, and some rather silly exhibitions of temper on the part of the young favourite himself, his influence seems to have continually increased; nor did the marriage of the king with his own cousin, the Infanta Doña Maria of Arragon, make any difference in the position of De Luna. An event which took place shortly after the marriage, indeed, placed the affection of the king towards his favourite in a stronger light than ever; for, upon don Alvaro's receiving a dangerous wound, in one of the fashionable tournaments of that age, his patron exhibited so much personal affection towards him, as to excite, to a greater extent than ever, the jealousy of his rivals. During the extraordinary scenes, which shortly afterwards took place in Castille, in consequence of the ambitious intrigues of Enrique de Navarre, Alvaro de Luna behaved with consummate skill, and enabled his master to escape from the power of his unprincipled relative. As a reward for the services so rendered, Don Juan created De Luna, "Condestable en los sus Regnos de Castilla é de Leon," about the year 1423, and treated him with the most unbounded trust and affection. The natural consequences followed from

this extraordinary favour; for some of the nobility began to conspire against the favourite, and in 1427, Alvaro de Luna was obliged, for the first time, to retire from the court to his town of Ayllon; from whence he was soon recalled by his attached sovereign, and by the majority of the nobles of Castille, who had become convinced, during his short absence, of his superiority to the ambitious but frivolous intriguers, who had temporarily succeeded in procuring his removal. During the very absurd wars which subsequently took place between the Kings of Arragon and Navarre on one side, and the King of Castille on the other—wars which, by the way, gave the Moors of Grenada a short interval of repose in their gradually declining fortunes—the new Condestable proved himself to be more than a match for his master's enemies; and after obtaining some decided advantages over them, he, at length, persuaded Don Juan to make peace, through the intervention of the King of Portugal, about the end of the year 1430; and having thus given tranquillity to the state, Alvaro de Luna, in 1431, married for the second time (his first wife, Elvira Portocarrero having died,) doña Juana Pimentel, daughter of the Conde de Benevente. As usually occurred upon the temporary conclusion of the civil wars of the Spaniards at this period, a vigorous attack was then made upon the Moors; but, though some sanguinary encounters took place, and many towns and villages were destroyed, no permanent injury appears to have been inflicted upon the infidels by the troops under the orders of don Alvaro, who is suspected of having made some culpable arrangement with them. About 1439, the civil wars broke out again; and the efforts of the discontented nobles were principally directed against the favourite; but the fortune of the Condestable was, after a temporary eclipse, still constant, and he defeated his rivals, or, as he called them, the enemies of his king, on several occasions. Nearly at this period also, or in 1445, the Infante don Enrique, who had been one of the most bitter enemies of De Luna, died in consequence of a wound received in the battle of Olmedo; and the king hastened to confer upon his friend and favourite the important office of the Mastership of the Order of Santiago, which had thus somewhat unexpectedly become vacant; and, shortly afterwards, Doña Maria, sister of the King of Arragon, and wife of the feeble Don Juan of Castille, died, not without exciting strong suspicions of unfair treatment from the Condestable, against whom she had taken a very violent part, in conjunction with the King of Navarre and don Enrique. The portion of De Luna's history between the years 1439 and 1445 is treated in a very unsatisfactory manner in the old Chronicle; and Mariana's

more classical work, equally with the curious sketch of Alvaro de Luna's life, given by Dupuy, in the "*Histoire des plus illustres Favoris, anciens et modernes*," published by Jean Elzevir, at Leyden, in 1661, or the "*Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Segundo*," (Madrid, 1678,) record the events of this troubled period in so confused a style, that it is extremely difficult to distinguish truth from falsehood, or even to follow the thread of events. Everything seemed, however, to smile upon the man whom the king delighted to honour, for a short time, until, intoxicated with success, he behaved with such tyrannical insolence, as to provoke a general combination of the nobility; and, at last, even to rouse the jealousy of the silly king himself. As usually happens in such cases, another minion was found ready to supplant the falling favourite, in the person of Alphonso Perez de Vivero, a former creature of De Luna's, who was anxious to divert to himself the affections of the king, which had been estranged from their former object by his overbearing and exacting character. Don Juan seems to have willingly lent himself to these intrigues, although, from the effects of long habit, the Condestable still retained an extraordinary hold upon his imagination; and for a long time his credit sufficed to prevent his rivals from obtaining any very decided advantage over him. But in the early part of the year 1453, the king, with the characteristic deceit and cruelty of a cowardly little mind, authorized Perez de Vivero to make some secret attempt against the life of his former friend. De Luna at first contented himself with unmasking these plots, and endeavouring to recover his position at court; but such slow measures either did not suit his temper, or they must have seemed to him unsuitable to his critical position, for he finally resolved to remove his great enemy De Vivero by assassination; and he actually put him to death, with the assistance of his relative Juan de Luna, and of his attached follower Fernando de Ribadeneyra, by throwing him off a tower.

The natural consequence of this violent proceeding was to increase the fear and dislike with which Don Juan now regarded his former favourite; and a long contest ensued. A kind of underhand intrigue was organized, for the purpose of inducing the Condestable to quit his feudal strongholds, and to intrust himself to the incensed, but deceitful monarch. For some time, De Luna declined to accept the invitation sent him to join the court, for he knew his man, and he observed that the safe-conducts given were so artfully worded as to leave room for any interpretation which might afterwards be put upon them, and had good reason to suspect, that the parties who surrounded the king were quite prepared to seize any opportunity for avenging the murder



of De Vivero. There was a struggle thus maintained between the former favourite and the new minions of his weak and cruel master, which lasted, with little credit to either party, until at length, wearied by these apparently interminable intrigues, De Luna gave himself up to the custody of Ruy Diaz, and to the Adelantado Perafan, and was at once thrown into prison. The faithful followers of the Condestable were equally made the objects of the royal treachery, and were punished in various manners, according to their position and influence; whilst Alvaro de Luna himself, without any regular trial, and in spite of the royal assurances, upon the faith of which he had surrendered, was beheaded near the monastery on the Plaza Mayor of Valladolid, on the 5th or 7th of June, 1453. In a very few days after this tragical end, Don Juan II. also died; as though the connexion between his reign and the prosperity of his early favourite had been destined to have been life-long.

The "*Chronica del Condestable Alvaro de Luna*" is a work which, in our opinion, is worthy of more attention than would be accorded to it, simply from a perusal of the introductory notice to the Madrid reprint of 1784. No doubt the style is very prolix; the moral reflections and the incidental exclamations of the author are very long; and the set speeches which he, from time to time, puts into the mouths of his characters, have a singularly affected and improbable character; but these defects may equally be urged against all the histories written after the model of Livy—to Machiavelli or De Thou, amongst others. It is equally certain, also, that the author of the Chronicle was an attached follower of the Condestable; and that he represents the origin of De Luna in a manner which contrasts very strikingly both with the account given by Dupuy in his sketch, and with that recorded in the "*Cronica del Rey Don Juan II.*" But we can find nothing in Mariana—the best authority we know upon this period of Spanish history—to make us reject entirely the account thus given by the faithful servant of the fallen favourite; and, indeed, the courage with which he records the praises of his deceased master, and calls down the reprobation of posterity on those who were directly or indirectly concerned in what he calls the murder of De Luna, induces us to attach unusual weight to his testimony. Prolix though the "*Cronica*" of the favourite be, it is sincere; and that quality covers a multitude of defects. Besides which, this tale has the recommendation, that it contains a very striking representation of a remarkable period in the history of one of the strangest nations of modern Europe, and of a peculiar phase in the development of the literature of that nation; for not only were the fortunes of Alvaro de Luna

worthy of notice, from their duration, and the apparently unaccountable nature of their decline,—but also the long series of official historical chronicles of the Spanish kings and of their ministers, presents an object of study such as we believe will hardly be met with in any other country. Many a lesson might be derived from these sources “to point a moral, or adorn a tale;” none would be more striking than that to be derived from the life and adventures of Alvaro de Luna—and this lesson, oddly enough, was conveyed by the friendly historian of the Condestable, when speaking of the death of his rival, De Vivero. It is pithily conveyed by the Spanish proverbs—“Quien mal anda, en mal acaba”—(he who follows evil ways will have a bad end); and, with reference to the habitual deceit of royal personages—“Una cosa piensa el bayo, e otra lo que el ensilla”—(the horse thinks one thing; he who saddles him, another).

There was something so romantic in the history of Alvaro de Luna, that it cannot be a matter of surprise that he should have attracted the attention of the contemporary poets. Thus we find that a considerable portion of the “Septima orden de Saturno,” of Juan de Mena’s celebrated “Labyrintho,” is devoted to the praises of the then powerful favourite (it was written in 1438, or thereabouts), and to the confident predictions of his success over the rival nobles and the Infantes, then arrayed against him. It requires a very strong effort of the will to master the language and the confused style of the (aptly called) “Labyrintho;” but there is more freshness about the eulogies of the Condestable than is to be found in the ordinarily exaggerated flattery bestowed by De Mena on his patrons. They do not, however, throw any light on the obscure questions of De Luna’s origin; nor do the copious notes with which the edition of “Las Trezcientas,” published at Alcala de Henares, in 1566, “is illustrated into obscurity,” add in any way to the stock of our information on the subject of his fate, fortunes, or character. But the notice by Jorge Manrique of the great enemy of his house is, perhaps, the most striking illustration of the impression produced upon men’s minds at this period by the rise and fall of the brilliant Condestable; and the “Glosas de Francisco de Guzman,” and of his coadjutors, supply many of the observations which might otherwise be considered wanting. Manrique devotes the whole of his twenty-first *copla* to an apostrophe to the fate of the “great Condestable and master, whom the world had seen so favoured; who yet had not ended his days without a public execution! nor were his infinite treasures, his castles or towns, other than sources of grief, and burdens when he quitted life.” As this is a rather free translation of the original,

because we have attempted to condense into it some explanation of the references to preceding parts of the poem, so we subjoin the passage itself in the original Spanish :—

“Pues aquel grand Condestable  
Maestre que conoscimos  
tan privado,  
No cumple que del se hable  
Sino solo que le vimos  
Degollado.  
Sus infinitas thesoros,  
Sus villas y sus lugares,  
y mandar ;  
¿ que le fueron sino lloros ?  
¿ fueronle sino pesares  
al dexar ? ”

And we add Longfellow's translation, which conveys tolerably the meaning and the general melancholy tone of the old Spaniard, whose pity for the fallen Condestable was, we may observe in passing, the more creditable, insomuch as Manrique's father had been one of the most active and uncompromising of the unsuccessful enemies of De Luna in his earlier days. Longfellow, however, renders the *copla* we have above quoted in this wise, with all a translator's license :—

“Spain's haughty Constable,—the true  
And gallant master,—whom we knew  
Most loved of all,—  
Breathe not a whisper of his pride ;  
He on the gloomy scaffold died—  
Ignoble fall !  
“The countless treasures of his care,  
His hamlets green, and cities fair,  
His mighty power ;—  
What were they all but grief and shame,  
Tears and a broken heart, when came  
The parting hour ! ”

Longfellow praises in the most decided manner the Glosa of “El Padre D. Rodrigo de Valdepeñas, Religioso de la Cartuja,” and, perhaps, it is the best of the four productions of that description given in Sancha's reprint of 1779 ; but, after all, there is something essentially impertinent in the whole system upon which these Glosa are founded, and they remind us precisely of those abominations music-masters so delight to honour, known by the name of “airs with variations.” We do not believe that Glosa exist as a recognized class of literature in any language of Europe but in the Spanish ; nor do we believe

that any other nation would tolerate such ingenious trifling. The existence, however, of so many *Glosa* upon Manrique's poem, proves the importance his countrymen attach to it; and, although it may not be worth our while to quote them here, we think that the student of Spanish history and of Spanish poetry, would do well to study the commentaries by Guzman, Valdepeñas, Perez, and Alonso Cervantes.

The next personage of the strange drama of Spanish history and intrigue, to whom we propose to call attention, Antonio Perez, was a man of far more humble origin than either of the other characters before-mentioned; but, perhaps, the influence he exercised upon the fate of his native country surpassed that of the royal rebel, or of the life-long favourite. Don Juan Manuel and Alvaro de Luna, indeed, played very conspicuous parts upon the stage during the feudal period; but they were both essentially of their age, and they neither understood, nor sought to raise, great social or constitutional problems. They fought for power and influence; but they only believed in the validity of the strong will and of the iron hand. In the case of Antonio Perez, however, a great constitutional question was raised, and though he himself was utterly unworthy of the interest he excited, the singular manner in which his fortunes were connected with the destruction of the independent liberties of the Arragonese, and the remarkable favour with which this unprincipled exile was at first received by Henry IV., Elizabeth, Sully, and Essex, must at all times make him an object of surpassing interest to those who endeavour to discover the obscure workings of society at the wonderful period when it passed decidedly from the influence of mediævalism to its modern type; and when, in the midst of its apparent triumphs, the seeds of destruction were sown broadcast over that Spanish power, which, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, had bidden fair to absorb Europe.

Antonio Perez, as we learn from the third part of his memorial, and from M. Mignet's charming history, was the son of Gonzalo Perez, who had been secretary of state under Charles V. Antonio, at a very early age, entered the service of Phelippe II., and for some time he was highly favoured by that singular monarch, being employed by him as a confidential secretary. About the year 1577 some extraordinary events took place in the Spanish court, which have not been explained by any of the publications of the period, or by more modern researches; but it would appear that Phelippe made use of the unscrupulous Antonio Perez to assassinate Juan de Escovedo, the confidential adviser of the brave but restless and imprudent bastard brother of the king, don Juan of Austria. Watson, in

his "History of Philip II.," states that Escovedo, who had, at one time, been the personal friend of Perez, had discovered an intrigue carried on between the latter and the Princesse d'Eboli, widow of Gomez de Silva, one of the king's greatest favourites; for, bigoted as he was, he at all times indulged in gallantry. Escovedo seems to have revealed this discovery to the royal lover, and, with his characteristic treachery and cruelty, the latter resolved to rid himself of both objects of his bitter enmity by playing them off one against the other. Perez received from the king written instructions (which he afterwards published in the various "Relaciones" and "Memoriales" printed after his escape into France,) to murder Escovedo, of whose influence over don Juan, Phelippe was extremely jealous. Although the king had given Perez every assurance of immunity for this equivocal act, and for some time avoided any public exhibition of his real intentions, he shortly afterwards authorized the widow and children of Escovedo to commence an action against the murderer of their relative; and he personally ordered—if, indeed, he did not personally superintend—the arrest of both Perez and of the Princesse d'Eboli on this charge. Sad and contemptible as Phelippe's behaviour was in this instance, when we consider only his complicity in a crime, and his cowardly treachery towards his fellow-murderers, the palace revolution effected by the removal of Perez and of the Princesse d'Eboli had a singular influence upon the politics of Spain, then the most powerful and wealthiest nation of Europe; and, as M. Mignet well observes, the transfer of power which then took place from the able politicians who had been trained in the moderate doctrines of the latter days of Charles V., to Cardinal Granvella and the ultra-Romanist party, led shortly to the adoption of the system which conduced ultimately to the independence of the Dutch provinces; to the long, bitter, and disgraceful war against our Elizabeth; to the invasion of Portugal; and to the fatal intrigues of the League in France.

For his own private reasons Phelippe did not allow the accusations against Perez, on the score of the murder of Escovedo, to be then proceeded with; and, after detaining him in prison for eight months, he allowed him to enjoy a species of liberty under the superintendence of the police. But the king was not disposed thus to allow his enemy to escape; and, after a very short delay, he caused an inquiry to be made into his conduct in the management of the public moneys of his department. This was, naturally enough in such a court, followed by a conviction of the disgraced favourite on a charge of peculation, and by the promulgation of a very violent sentence of pains and penalties. As though Perez had been destined to prove the

inefficacy of all the constitutional guarantees for the liberty of the subject in Spain, he sought refuge at first under the protection of the Cardinal of Toledo, in the church of St. Justo of Madrid; but the alcades violated the sanctuary, and the king so frightened the judges of the ecclesiastical courts, that they did not dare to maintain the right of asylum of which the church had been hitherto so jealous. Perez was then closely confined, and both he and his wife—a model of a faithful, attached woman, whose name, Juana Coëllo, ought to be handed down with blessings to posterity, and whose conduct throws great doubts upon the tale of Perez's relations with the Princesses d'Eboli—were subjected to mental and bodily torture, until they consented to give up to the cowardly and vindictive king the papers which proved his connexion with the murder of Escovedo. For a few weeks after this delivery, the captivity of Perez was rendered less irksome; but directly the king fancied that he was secure against any revelations, he allowed the heirs of Escovedo to recommence their pursuit against the ostensible murderer, and he even urged on the proceedings by all the means in his power. So determined, indeed, was Philippe to get rid of Perez, that even when the latter had contrived to arrange the claim of the son of Escovedo—had purchased, in fact, his silence, by the payment of a large sum of money—the king pursued his former accomplice even more bitterly than ever, and at length exposed him to the awful punishment of torture. Overcome by pain, Perez then at last avowed his participation in the murder, but in such terms as to bring home to the king his share of the crime; and thus an almost universal feeling was excited in favour of the victim of the royal treachery, which materially served him in the future scenes of his strange drama. Perez was convinced, however, that no considerations of justice or honour would be allowed to intervene between himself and the king's vengeance; so, by the aid of the bold, active, and attached Juana Coëllo, notwithstanding that she was then near her confinement, he escaped into the kingdom of Arragon, which still retained many of its ancient privileges or *fueros*, and boasted a degree of constitutional liberty unknown in Castille or the other kingdoms of the Peninsula. In this favoured country all legal proceedings were transacted publicly, and the conduct of the king, or of his ministers, was canvassed as freely as that of the humblest person accused; and Perez knew that, by divulging the whole truth of the dark deeds of which he was accused, and in which he had unfortunately meddled, he would be able to throw a fair share of the blame upon the proper parties, even if he could not excuse himself. The sombre tyrant, too, felt all this; and in the first burst of his rage at



the escape of his victim, he wreaked his vengeance upon the innocent wife and children of the latter with a refinement of barbarism worthy of the representative of the Jesuitical Catholicism of the latter end of the sixteenth century. Perez's escape into Arragon took place in the month of April, 1591.

In the third chapter of Ranke's "Historical Treatise upon the Spanish Empire," will be found a very interesting account of the peculiar constitution of Arragon, which rendered it, in fact, "a republic, detached and shut up within itself, having at its head a king, but a king with very limited prerogatives." The reader who may be desirous of becoming acquainted with this extraordinary state of things, is referred to the author we have above quoted, or to those from whom he obtained his information, especially Geronymo Martel, Blancas, and Blasco de la Nuza, and to Mignet's admirable history of Antonio Perez. For our purpose, at present, it may suffice to observe that the Arragonese were especially careful of the independence of their administration of justice. Even the saintly Isabella had been annoyed by the interferences thus created with her prerogative; but neither she nor her husband, nor Carlos V. in the plenitude of his power, had either dared, or deemed it advisable, to interfere with the administration of justice in Arragon. Phelippe II. had, indeed, established some royal tribunals; for, like all tyrants, he was an instinctive admirer of administrative centralization; but these courts were still subordinate to the indigenous tribunals, and they had a very limited authority. The most important of the superior local institutions was the Justicia Mayor, an officer of such power that, according to Argensola, he was able to control and examine the acts of the king himself. The Justicia Mayor was, indeed, named by the king, but he could only be removed by the decision of the Cortes, who, on the other hand, were entitled to dismiss him if he neglected to defend the privileges of the kingdom of Arragon or allowed the administration of justice to be tampered with by the royal servants. Any inhabitant of Arragon could appeal to his court; and, thereupon, all proceedings before the inferior tribunals at once ceased; even if they had passed sentence, its execution was suspended, and the Justicia Mayor was bound to reverse any decision which was contrary to the "*Fueros y observaciones del reyno de Arragon*." Directly, therefore, Perez touched the soil of Arragon, he threw himself under the protection of this organization, by claiming the privilege of the "*Manifestados*;" whilst the agent of the royal power endeavoured by force to remove him from the monastery in which he had taken refuge, and to restore him to the legal authorities of Castille, where, of course, his fate would have been at once sealed.

Before, however, Phelippe's agent had secured the person of the unfortunate secretary, don Juan de Luna, one of the deputies of the kingdom (how oddly these names recur!), arrived with the guard of the Justicia, and he escorted Perez to Saragossa, where he was safely lodged in the prison of the Fuero. The king then brought an accusation, in form, against Perez: first, for having murdered Escovedo; and improperly used the king's name in the matter; secondly, for having been a traitor to the king by divulging the secrets of the case, and altering official documents; and, thirdly, for having fled from justice. These accusations were urged vehemently, and with all the weight of the royal authority, by don Inigo de Mendoza, the representative of Phelippe in Saragossa; and, in self-defence, Perez addressed to the Justicia a document, which M. Mignet truly calls "celebrated,"—"the memorial which Antonio Perez presented of the facts of his case, brought before the Tribunal (so called) of the Justice of Arragon by the king as complainant." It is a very long and a very able justification of his own conduct, according to the principles and modes of reasoning admitted in Spain during the sixteenth century; and though, undoubtedly, Perez herein avows in the most open and unreserved manner his participation in the treacheries and crimes which resulted in the murder of Escovedo, he proved beyond the possibility of denial, by the king's own written instructions, that no steps had been taken in the matter without his entire knowledge and free consent, or without his direct orders. If Perez were to blame, what could be said of the king who could coolly order the crime, and then seek to torture and judicially murder his own tools? So foul, indeed, did the case of the monarch appear even to his advisers, that the accusation on the score of Escovedo's murder was withdrawn; and the Justicia thereupon acquitted Perez. A second accusation was brought against him within five days from this acquittal, for having made away with some of the minor agents of the original crime; but he triumphantly proved his innocence, and that his asserted victims had died by natural means. The king, again defeated, now endeavoured to reach Perez by a species of administrative inquiry, which would have withdrawn the affair from the cognizance of the ordinary tribunals, and he required the Justicia to yield the former secretary to the royal agent in Saragossa, in order that he might be tried for corruption and peculation in the discharge of his duties as secretary. Fortunately for Perez, amongst his other means of defence, he could plead that the king was only entitled to exercise this irresponsible power over his servants in Arragon on the condition of their having been employed in that particular kingdom; and, as he had served

the king in Castille, he could not be proceeded against in this manner. This attempt to secure his victim, therefore, was defeated; but Phelippe was not disposed so easily to be balked of his vengeance, and, as a last resource, he set that awful mystery of iniquity, the Inquisition, in motion against the unfortunate secretary. In some of the moments of despair, caused by the shameful and bitter persecutions to which he had been exposed, probably Perez may have used expressions which would have brought him within the pale of this anomalous tribunal; but the accusation brought against him appears from the less generally known history of his life, written by himself, entitled, "*Relacion Summaria que yua haziendo Raphael Peregrino, del discurso de las prisiones y aventuras de Antonio Perez, &c.*," published at Lyon, without date, and dedicated to our Lord Essex, probably about the year 1594, to have been principally founded upon the desire he had expressed to retire into Béarn, Holland, or France; and, indeed, the accusation was so trivial, that in public opinion it passed simply for what it was, namely, an excuse for withdrawing Perez from every description of legal or constitutional tribunal. Especially jealous as the Arragonese were of their *fueros*, they had always looked upon the Inquisition with horror, and had resisted, as far as was in their power, its establishment. At this precise time, also (1591), the evident servility with which the Holy Office lent itself to the conspiracy against the persecuted secretary, raised a strong feeling in his favour, and it created such an irritation in the public mind against the royal tyrant, as at length burst forth in open war—a war which enabled Perez, it is true, to escape, but which terminated in the destruction of the *fueros* of Arragon, because the nobles proved traitors to the cause of their country and its laws.

The affair, however, passed in this wise. An order was sent from the superior tribunal of the Inquisition, to the inferior local branch at Saragossa to proceed against Antonio Perez, and Mayorini (an attached follower who had long shared his master's fate, and had, therefore, been exalted to the position of an object of the king's personal enmity), on the accusation of heresy. At first, the minor officers of the Justicia refused to yield the persons of the accused who had "manifested;" but the Justicia Mayor, himself, having been gained to the king's views, issued an order by which the prisoners were handed over to the familiars of the Inquisition, and by them transferred to the dungeons of the old Moorish palace of the Aljaferia. Antonio Perez had warm friends in the Cortes of Arragon, and they attempted, before proceeding to violent measures, to induce the

Justicia Mayor to reverse his decision, and to maintain the rights and liberties of his fellow-citizens. Finding, however, that he was determined not to interpose between the king and his intended victim, about whose fate, so far as it depended upon the will of the monarch, there could no longer be any doubt, the friends of Perez passed at once into the market-place, and by the cry, so potent with the Saragossans, of "*Contra fuero! Viva la libertad, y ayuda a la libertad!*" they raised a serious insurrection. The marquis of Almenara, the king's commissioner, was seized by the infuriated populace as the principal agent in the oppression of Perez, and though he was rescued from their hands by some gentlemen, it was only after receiving some wounds, of which he shortly afterwards died. The Justicia Mayor himself was ill-treated, and trodden under foot by the mob, who bitterly reproached him with his cowardice; and so high did the tumult rise, that the Viceroy don Jaime Vimeny, and the Archbishop of Saragossa, Bobadilla, were obliged to interfere with the members of the Holy Tribunal, to obtain from them that Perez and Mayorini should be transferred back again to the "*carcel de los Manifestados;*" or, in other words, replaced under the protection of the *fueros* of Arragon.

Phelippe II. was not a man likely to accept a defeat from a popular insurrection, but the difficulties of his political position at the precise moment of Perez's escape, were such that he was forced to adopt indirect measures for the attainment of his cherished object of removing the depository of his secrets. There ensued a long and dark struggle between the Inquisition, supported by the royal power on one side, and the tribunals entrusted with the defence of the *fueros* of Arragon on the other, the result of which would seem to have been that the local authorities were at last persuaded to abandon their independence in all matters of fact, provided that they could save appearances. Perez was of course made the scapegoat, and was handed over in due legal form to the alguazil of the Inquisition; but, fortunately for him, his friend Gil de Mesa was able to raise such a popular tumult, that again the royal troops were dispersed, and the intended victim of the king's treachery escaped,—this time, to the mountains, from whence, after a time, he passed to the court of Henri of Navarre at Béarn. The Arragonese were not, however, so fortunate; for the king assembled a large body of Castilian troops, and, after a short and feeble resistance, he obtained possession of Saragossa, making prisoners of the leading nobility who had in any wise supported the cause of local independence. A fierce and bloody persecution followed this occupation; and, in the name

of religion, an *auto da fê* took place, on October 20th, 1592, in which seventy-nine unfortunate victims of royal and priestly revenge suffered, and in which Perez was burnt in effigy. The ancient liberties of Arragon were forcibly set aside; and thus the tumults which had secured the personal safety of the ex-secretary, finally resulted in the destruction of the Arragonese independence, and the extension of the degrading despotism of the court and of the cloister, under whose influence Spain so soon, and so miserably, lost its former proud position in the foremost rank of European nations. During the minority of Carlos V., the Cardinal Ximenes had already taken advantage of the defeat of the *comuneros* to destroy the local privileges of the Castilians; and now, in 1592, the son of Carlos availed himself gladly of the pretext afforded by the interposition of the mob of Saragossa between himself and the object of his personal enmity, to deprive the whole kingdom of Arragon of its privileges. Unfortunately, public opinion in those days was not sufficiently alive to the evils attending the excessive development of the central government, to secure an efficient defence of the privileges of the various portions of the large European kingdoms; and Spain was not alone in the tame abandonment of the formerly cherished privileges of its provinces. At the close of the Middle Ages, indeed, a great movement seems to have pervaded all European nations, tending to the constitution of united and centralized governments. Spain fell under its influence even before its neighbours; and it may be, that the personal character of the Spanish monarchs contributed much to this result. But, be this as it may, the outbreaks of the population of Saragossa afforded Phelippe II. the opportunity he so long had sought for, in order to destroy the troublesome *fueros* of Arragon; and the popular resistance to a monstrous act of injustice and iniquity furnished the sombre tyrant with an excuse for the removal of the only existing barriers to his arbitrary authority which still existed in the Peninsula.

Antonio Perez, the indirect cause of this sad termination of the long-cherished liberties of the Arragonese, seems, after his escape from the dominions of his persecutor, to have acted upon other scenes the same character of an unwilling Marplot, or at least to have been unscrupulously used by that very equivocal gentleman Henri Quatre, in his negotiations with our Elizabeth, and with Phelippe. At first, Perez was received with open arms by the Béarnais, and was sent with a special letter of introduction to the English court. There he naturally connected himself with the Earl of Essex, and the party who were disposed, in opposition to Burleigh's advice, to act energetically

against the Spanish monarch; and the discarded secretary (if we may judge by his correspondence, both Latin and Spanish, and by the letters of the spies of the Spanish court, recently brought to light,) no doubt exercised great influence upon the conduct of the favourite of the vain old queen. He published, about this time, under the protection of his foreign patrons, several full accounts of the events connected with his own wild and adventurous life; and by thus holding up the Spanish monarch to the reprobation of honest men in all civilized nations, he contributed greatly to destroy the *prestige* Phelippe had acquired as the champion of the Roman Catholic church. But Perez himself was utterly devoid of moral worth; and during the singular diplomatic contest which took place between the Catholic and Protestant interests of Western Europe about the end of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth century, he endeavoured — *per fas et nefas* — to make himself necessary to both parties, sometimes doing the biddings of Henri IV., and sometimes those of the Earl of Essex, but at all times striving to make himself necessary, although he did not scruple to play falsely with both England and France. The natural consequences of this duplicity were, that both governments used Perez so long as they required his services; when they wanted him no longer, he was without ceremony cast aside. Henri IV., after the peace of Vervins, in 1598, did so without scruple—as, indeed, was his wont with any of the tools for whom he had no further need. The English government had passed, by this time, from the hands of Elizabeth and of Essex, to those of James I. and of Robert Cecil, who were little disposed to look with favour upon the man whose main object in life, since his escape from Spain, had been to urge on the allies, England, France, and the Seven Provinces, in their war against the Spanish monarch. Phelippe II., too, had died in 1598, and had thus removed the great obstacle to the establishment of a peace between England and Spain, the negotiations for which were commenced in 1604; and Perez, having resigned the pension he so irregularly received from the unscrupulous Béarnais, in order that he might voluntarily place himself in a position to be able to serve the interests of the new king, Phelippe III., at the English court, found himself the dupe of his own double-dealing. His heroic wife, Juana Coëlle, had been treated, however, in her native land, with far more consideration, by the kind intervention of the new favourite, the Duke de Lerma; and her suit for the revocation of her husband's condemnation, as well as her action against his arch enemy Rodrigo Vasquez de Arce, were supported by the weight and influence of the crown. But, during the latter years of his



life, Perez seems, like a detected impostor, to have passed his time in useless attempts to obtain the renewal of his pension from the French court, or his recall to his native land. He lingered through his last few years in poverty and misery of the most humiliating description, until at last, on November 3, 1611, he closed his agitated career under very painful and abject conditions, leaving to posterity a striking illustration of the moral law, that the agents of the crimes of kings are tolerably certain to be made to bear the punishment awarded by Providence in this life to their own, and to their employers' crimes; and that even, in its narrowest and most worldly sense, the maxim is true that "Honesty is the best policy." Perez was, in fact, an unscrupulous agent of anybody, who would pay for his services, or gratify his passions. He had, as we said before, no moral worth, and only enlists our sympathies because it was sought to make him the scapegoat of greater and more powerful villains. For his own sake he would have been hardly worthy of notice; and he was temporarily converted into an object of universal interest, because his cause, in the main, had become identified with that of the liberties of an ancient and noble race. Unfortunately, these fell with him; and it must ever be a cause of regret that such a man should have been so able to imperil and shipwreck the liberties and the happiness of countless generations—for we hold that the prevalence of the spirit of centralization, which was the real result of the suppression of the Arragonese *fucros*, has been the greatest source of evil to Spain, as it is to all other countries. How inscrutable are the ways of Providence! and how ought we to learn reverently to bow to its decrees when we find that our open efforts cannot alter the course of events! What a mystery it is that the happiness of a nation should have been thus sacrificed in the cause of an unprincipled villain! How vain were all his and his friends' attempts to stem the course of events by their petty intrigues in foreign courts! And, lastly, we cannot refrain from asking what is to be the sequel of all these strange eventful histories of Spain's annals, of which the lives of Juan Manuel, Alvaro de Luna, and Antonio Perez are but casual illustrations?

We have had occasion in the course of our notice of the adventures of Perez, to speak highly of Mignet's work, cited at the head of this article; and we feel that it would be but a useless labour to attempt a detailed investigation of its merits. That author's work is, indeed, a model of painstaking attention and conscientious investigation into the documents which his official position has enabled him to consult; and, as a specimen of scholarship and of style, it may challenge comparison with

the productions of any of the other brilliant historians who have lately done such honour to France. Perez's own literary compositions are, naturally enough, of far less artistic value; for he who was so earnestly and so bitterly engaged in the struggle for dear life, could hardly have leisure to court the Muses. Yet his Latin and Spanish letters have very considerable merit. The "Memoriales" and "Relaciones" are masterpieces of solemn writing, when the character of the age is considered; and in the "Aphorismos," selected by Perez himself from the main body of his writings, will be found the germ of many of the maxims embodied by subsequent writers into their more ambitious essays on morals. De la Rochefoucauld, especially, seems to have used the Spaniard without scruple, and without acknowledgment, as his own countryman, Amelot de la Houssaye, very clearly proves. No doubt the Latin of Perez's letters is very funny stuff, and evidently it has suffered from the influence of the false taste introduced by Justus Lipsius, to whom, indeed, the last letter of the collection is addressed. In the Spanish letters, too, there are many things in the style and wording to puzzle a modern reader who has not devoted some attention to the development of the Spanish language; still more are there to excite the astonishment of an Englishman at the present day in the abject tone in which even the crimes of kings are spoken of, the servility of the victim, and the utter absence of moral dignity in the highest performers on the world's stage at the close of the transition period between mediævalism and modern times. There is a wordy diffuseness about the discussions of minor points, and a clear, sharp decision of expression upon matters of greater moment, which startle and perplex the ordinary reader, who can at the present day with difficulty form any distinct conception of the solemn trifling which the wisest and best of our ancestors admitted in their gravest disputes. But, after all, there are few Spanish books, of the period alluded to, so calculated to lay bare the secrets of statecraft, or to display the real characters of many of the leaders in either Spanish, French, or English history. Perez, indeed, was in correspondence, and almost on terms of intimacy, with Essex and Bacon in our country; with Henri IV. and Sully in France, though the two latter appear to have soon been seen through him; and, of course, with all the great men of the Spanish court during the period of his favour. A selection and translation of his letters would, we believe, afford considerable interest to the historical student—unless, indeed, the superior merits of M. Mignet's charming production should determine a preference in its favour—but, alas! we fear that it would not improve our opinions of human nature, or our respect

for the leaders of society. The kind and affectionate letters to his wife and children are indeed the most relieving portions of these pictures of the statesman's heart of hearts, as it had been rendered by the education and morals of the Spanish court at the close of the sixteenth century.

A few of Perez's aphorisms are subjoined as illustrations of his turn of mind, and of the character of his age:—

"The only perfect friendship is that between the soul and the body, which are indissolubly partners in the loss or gain they may achieve."

"The tongue is the most unfaithful witness of the heart."

"Work uses up the mind and the soul, as old age uses up the body."

"It is a fatal sign when a prince refuses advice."

"Want of confidence and suspicion are like the poisons of medicine: when small quantities are given with prudence, they purge; when too much is given, they kill."

"To point out objections, and to suggest the remedy for them, is the part of great minds; not to suggest the remedy, is the part of irresolute ones."

"Kings speak very kindly to their servants when they require any great service of them."

"Past services are like old debts, which are seldom paid."

"They who naturally practise virtue, seek no reward."

"Possession is the period of the destruction of illusions."

"Fortune is most to be feared when she appears most certain."

"Successful or unsuccessful love are equally causes of melancholy."

"True love increases with absence."

"He who loses will soon lose his judgment."

"Familiar letters display the real character more faithfully than the features of the countenance."

"The pen is a sixth sense given to the absent, to compensate for their not being able to use the other five."

"Without confidence life could not exist."

"France and Spain, the balance of Europe; England, the needle."

"Memory is a true mirror to enable us to know and correct our private defects."

"It is a great error to grieve for that which cannot be remedied."

"Experience points the rules of every art."

"An innocent man is a standing reproach to his persecutor."

"Curiosity is more often inspired by hatred than by love."

"Hope is the *viaticum* of human life, and the feeling which is the most easily played upon."

"Carelessness is the best cosmetic of true beauty."

"One man cannot deceive all the world, any more than all the world will combine to deceive one man."

"Elevated positions honour some men, are the recompense of others, and display their real merits."

"The knowledge of courts is like surgery; which, in its speculative branch, only teaches the wounds of others, or of ourselves."

"Public opinion is the only tribunal before which kings can be cited."

These maxims, it may be observed, are devoid of the point and elegance of De la Rochefoucauld's more laboured productions, and they have as little true religious feeling as those of the old Frondeur. Their style and language is often cramped and affected, and they are strongly marked by the false taste of the age; but, at the same time, they are, in the main, correct expressions of the opinions and principles of those with whom Perez was principally in contact, and they furnish a curious illustration of the state of society as it then existed amongst the rulers of mankind. The singular adventures of Perez have impressed a peculiar character of melancholy over his reflections, and it would be difficult to find a more pointed satire upon courts than may be gathered from their general tenor. Mankind, however, seems but little disposed to profit by the lessons conveyed by the writings of disappointed and undeceived gamblers in the great lottery of life; and it is more than questionable whether the bitter experience of Perez ever deterred an ambitious student from attempting to scale the dizzy heights of fame and power, or from exposing himself to royal or popular ingratitude. In these matters wisdom cries her lessons in the streets in vain, and perhaps it is as well for the benefit of our race that it should still be so. But certainly the recent events of Spanish history prove that the nation has derived little benefit from the experience of the past, and that the various episodes of her former distinguished characters may still be re-enacted. Unfortunately, the present race of adventurers who dispute the possession of power and favour, only resemble their predecessors in their absence of moral principle; their lives have not been so dramatic, nor have their literary productions been as interesting as those of Juan Manuel de Luna, or Perez: and so we are more and more compelled, if we would think well of Spain, to turn from her overclouded present to her brilliant and chivalrous past.

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## ART. II.—THE BERLIN ACADEMY.

*Histoire Philosophique de l'Académie de Prusse depuis Leibnitz jusqu'à Schelling, particulièrement sous Frédéric le Grand.* Par Christian Bartholmèss. 2 Vols., 8vo. Paris: Meyrueis.

It is with feelings of sadness that we sit down to a task which otherwise would have been for us such a source of unmixed gratification. Worn out by intense application to his duties as a lecturer,\* M. Bartholmèss had been compelled in the course of last summer to repair to Carlsbad for the benefit of the mineral waters;—but what is relaxation for a man whose every moment is spent in the company of books and the abstraction of metaphysical research? The evil was done,—the blow had been struck at the tree. On his return home M. Bartholmèss died almost suddenly at Nuremberg, at the early age of forty-one, leaving, as a scholar, a writer, and a Christian, a name which is treasured up in the hearts of all those who had the pleasure of being acquainted with him.

Amongst the various works composed by our friend, the one we now purpose reviewing is not the least interesting. The annals of the Academy of Prussia deserve notice for more than one reason. Besides containing the record of labours which have added largely to our store of scientific knowledge, developed æsthetic taste, and elucidated many points in the often intricate paths of moral philosophy, they are closely connected with the history of Continental Protestantism. The list of the *savants* whose debates occupied the leisure time of Frederick the Great, and enlivened the after-dinner *réunions* at Potsdam, includes the names of many of those confessors of the faith, whom the persecutions of Louis XIV. and of Father La Chaise drove away from France, at the time when, intoxicated by flattery and power, a misguided monarch was induced to revoke the Edict of Nantes. In his interesting “History of the French Protestant Refugees,” M. Weiss remarks that “the French officers taken prisoners at the battle of Rosbach were greatly struck, not only at meeting, in the land of their captivity, with a multitude of their countrymen proceeding from every part of France, but also at finding their language in almost general use in all the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, even amongst the natives. Everywhere they fell in with numerous descendants of the refugees applying themselves to the cultivation of letters and arts; setting an example of gravity and morality; and preserving, in the midst

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\* At the Protestant college of Strasburg.

of a society which began to be led away by the incredulous spirit of the age, an unshaken attachment to the religious convictions of their ancestors."\*

The above quotation may help to refute a statement which has often been put forth under the sanction of writers whose *dicta* are thought, and in most cases justly so, to be without appeal. The Berlin Academy, some say, was the accomplice of Frederick the Great in his work of destruction: it was a pale copy of the infidel Paris drawing-rooms. The unchristian doctrines preached by Voltaire, the materialism expounded at Baron d'Holbach's *petits soupers*, or in the *salon* of Madame du Deffand, had found in the members of an audacious Prussian clique, advocates and proselytes. Such is the assertion of M. de Lamartine;† M. de Châteaubriand‡ utters the same complaint, and Charles de Villers himself,§ without the slightest ground for doing so, applies to the whole Academy indiscriminately, the contemptuous epithet—*minions* of Frederick!

It is rather curious, however, that if these statements are true, the modern German philosophers should have been justified in finding fault with the Berlin Academy for precisely opposite reasons. "The Berlin Academy!" our transcendental friends exclaim: "The Berlin Academy! they were only clumsy courtiers, for their opinions were diametrically contrary to those of the king and of his friends; they were honest spiritualists, scrupulous and reasonable observers, faithful and wise analysts of human nature; but did they ever possess (note the Hegelian jargon) a sovereign synthesis, an infallible method, a universal formula? No; in their discussions, in their writings, you find nothing transcendent, nothing speculative, nothing absolute!"

Such are the two complaints uttered against the *Académie de Prusse*—complaints so utterly incompatible with one another, that they must have sprung from either ignorance or prejudice. In fact, the name of Frederick the Great acting as a sort of scarecrow upon some, they sweep away under one common censure all the unfortunate persons who have had anything to do with the *Philosophe de Sans Souci*; whilst the others are not less ready to hurl their metaphysical thunderbolts at the much-to-be-pitied wights, who either do not know Hegel's doctrines, or knowing, refuse to endorse them.

Here, as in most cases, the truth lies midway; and in his work, M. Bartholmèss has proved that the influence of the

\* M. Weiss,—M. Hardman's Translation, p. 154.

† Histoire des Girondins, I. pp. 314, 347.

‡ Mémoires d'Outre Tombe, I., vii.

§ Philosophie de Kant, pref. p. xvii.



Prussian Academy, far from being on the side of atheism and materialism, was nearly similar to that which characterized the school of Scottish philosophers towards the end of the last century.

"If," says our author, "Hutcheson, Smith, Reid, Dugald Stewart, struggle against the disastrous consequences of Locke's system, against the mysticism of Bishop Berkeley, the pyrrhonism of Hume, the fatalism advocated by Hartley or Priestley; we see, on the other hand, men such as Béguelin, Sulzer, Lambert, Mérian, Ancillon, attacking the mathematical formalism of Wolf, the idealistic scepticism of Kant, but, above all, the materialism of the French *encyclopédistes*, and their dangerous apostolate. The method followed by the Prussian Academicians, their views, their conclusions, are, with a few exceptions, the same as those we find in the universities of Scotland. In both cases, it is by the help of experience that the philosopher hopes to know man and his relations with God and with the world; in both cases it is by the practice of justice and of virtue that he believes he may attain to human wisdom and to human happiness. The noble and solid piety, the strong and wholesome morality, which Leibnitz, the founder of the Prussian Academy, had recommended, and which the Scotch metaphysicians considered likewise as the last and best result of their works—these were the safeguards which kept both schools of thinkers equally distant from the licentious paradoxes then fashionable, and from old prejudices long since discarded by all well-balanced minds."—Pref. iv., v.

The work of M. Bartholmèss is composed of two distinct parts, each of which we shall briefly notice. How did the Academy of Berlin originate? who was its founder? through what stages of development did it pass? what were its relations with the various monarchs who ruled over the destinies of Prussia? Such are the first questions which we must endeavour to answer. It may be said, then, that the Prussian institute sprung with the Prussian monarchy itself. In the year 1701, Sophia-Charlotte, Electress of Brandenburg, aided by no less a man than the celebrated Leibnitz, founded at Berlin the *Académie des Sciences et des Lettres*; one year after, the Elector Frederick III. ascended the throne, under the title of Frederick I. Such coincidences are remarkable in the annals of literary societies, and it is a good omen when founders of states and rulers of empires show that they consider the graces of literature as the brightest ornaments of their crown. How few gymnasia or other associations for the improvement of learning, have had the benefit of being organized by men of the reputation which Leibnitz then enjoyed? Richelieu, we know, founded the *Académie Française*, and Napoleon remodelled the *Institute National*; but the object of both these great men was clearly to

bring the powers of the mind itself under the authority of their uncompromising despotism, and the interests of intellectual progress were only with them of secondary moment.

The Academy of Berlin finally constituted and provided with a definite code of laws under the reign of the first Prussian monarch, was, nevertheless, the offspring of the father of Frederick I., the Grand-Elector Frederick-William. By the generous liberality with which he opened his states to the Huguenot refugees, whom the blind tyranny of Louis XIV. had driven away from their native land—by the encouragement which he constantly gave to all the arts of civilization—that illustrious prince is in some sense entitled to the honour of having laid the first foundations of the *corps savant* whose history we are now examining. Before the tide of immigration had set in, and the persecution on the French side of the Rhine had become excessive, the Elector Frederick-William was already busy about a scheme for establishing in his dominions a literary society somewhat similar to those which existed in Italy, in France, and in England. But, led away by his enthusiasm, he had intended organizing that society according to a plan which M. Bartholmèss is perfectly justified in calling *un peu chimérique*. Instead of a mere company, the Elector wished to establish a whole city of *savants*; he would outdo the “New Atlantis,” improve upon Sir Thomas More’s “Utopia,” and bring to perfection Tycho Brahe’s model town of “Uraniburg.” Let our readers only just fancy what that *imperium in imperio* would have been: a colony of *literati* governed by distinct laws, speaking nothing but Latin, and including in happy harmony Christians, Jews, Turks, infidels, and anything-*arians*, provided they would only “se conduire en homme de bien, en citoyen honnête, en sincère partisan de la tolérance!” The course of political events fortunately put an end to all those fanciful devices; and if the electorate of Prussia was doomed to exist without its learned city, it received as a substitute an academy established on a humbler footing, but whose services to the cause of literature cannot be too highly appreciated.

The plan of the new society was drawn up, as we have already said, by Leibnitz himself; it was characterized, in the first place, by its essentially practical features. The great philosopher did not wish that the attention of the academicians should be exclusively or even chiefly confined to abstract studies or metaphysical speculations: quite the reverse. What he aimed at creating was a learned corporation whose office would be to spread abroad and disseminate amongst the people at large the useful appliances of science and industry; to examine the merit of new discoveries and of curious inventions—to vulgarize them;

in short, as M. Bartholmèss says, "so to act that the public would more and more respect learned men, whilst learned men devoted themselves more and more for the benefit of the public." (Vol. I., p. 23.) But if Leibnitz wished to make the *Académie de Prusse* a really useful institution, he was no less anxious to stamp it with the mark of true patriotism. "Let the Academy," exclaimed he, "be penetrated with German sentiments; let it be zealous for the glory of Germany."\* In order to feel the weight of this expression, we must remember that it had become the fashion on the other side of the Rhine to imitate French manners, French institutions, and French literature; French was spoken at all the German courts; it was, in fact, a positive Gallo-mania. The importation of the doctrines of the *Encyclopédie*, under the reign of Frederick the Great, gave a new evidence that the advice of Leibnitz was not a superfluous one; and we are inclined to add, with M. Bartholmèss, that the measure he recommended had a political, quite as much as a literary importance:—

"Leibnitz must have felt how useful would be the influence of an academy, constituting itself the guardian of the German language and the interpreter of its history; the works of lexicology and of erudition undertaken by the members would help on the political and religious views of Prussia; and this species of literary centralization would accustom the Germans to keep their eyes fixed rather on Berlin than on Vienna."—Vol. I., pp. 24, 25.

The religious character of the statutes drawn up by Leibnitz for the new institute, is a third peculiarity which we cannot omit noticing. In the decree issued at the time of the formation, we find the following remarkable words:—

"Experience proves that the true faith of the Gospel and Christian virtues are especially fostered, both in Christendom and amongst nations still unconverted, by persons who, under the Divine blessing, combine with a blameless life an experienced judgment and sound learning. That is why we feel anxious that our *Société des Sciences* should be foremost in diffusing, under our protection, the true faith and the true virtues to which we are exhorted in the Gospel. Nevertheless the society remains at liberty to employ and associate to its labours persons of other religions as well as other nations."

This is the point which has called forth the sarcastic remarks of those self-styled philosophers, for whom transcendentalism is the *ne plus ultra* of common sense and of sound belief. "Why," they say, "why change the academy into a missionary institute? Why bring together a board of theologians instead of a scien-

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\* Eine deutschgesinnte Societat.—Eine deutsch-liebende gesellschaft.

tific society?" For our own part, we confess that we do not feel quite disposed to class the work of evangelization on the list of the subjects which should *directly* and *immediately* engage the attention of a learned body; but at the same time we need not repeat the hackneyed remark, that "real science and pure religion always walk hand-in-hand." A glance at the quotation we have given above will show, besides, what most of our readers already know, that on all subjects connected with theology, Leibnitz would never have acted except in accordance with principles of the most comprehensive toleration. The man who, though a Protestant, corresponded with Bossuet, and who numbered some of his dearest friends in the ranks of Roman Catholicism, was the last to sanction the smallest step towards uncharitableness or party spirit.

After all that the illustrious author of the "Théodicée" did for the Academy of Berlin, we regret to have to record in his case another example of that ingratitude which is too frequently the only result obtained by those who have spent their life in the service of the public. His superiority in every way was so evident, that he could not fail to have a great many enemies. Gradually deprived of all his power by the intrigues of a few ambitious place-hunters, who did not scruple to calumniate a man with whom they could find no real fault, he withdrew from Prussia altogether, and died almost suddenly at Hanover, the 14th of November, 1716.

The reign of Frederick William I. had a disastrous effect on the works of the Academy. What protection, what support could *literati* expect from a king whose only ambition was to be a good drill-serjeant, and who governed Prussia as he did a regiment of grenadiers? The relations between the monarch and the *savants* were almost null, and were confined to a few incidents so burlesque in their character, that some of them seemed devoid of all authenticity. M. Bartholmèss quotes the following:—

"A transitory curiosity for the phenomena and properties of nature manifested itself in the king at a dinner offered to him by General Grumbkow, one of the two ministers who had obtained an absolute sway over his eccentric and abrupt temper. Champagne had been served round—a wine which Frederick-William drank freely of, especially when sitting at the table of his favourites. 'Why,' exclaimed he, 'does this wine effervesce?' 'Your majesty,' answered Grumbkow, 'has an academy which could no doubt solve the problem.' 'To be sure, you remind me of it,' said the king; 'it is the least that those fellows can do to be of some use to me.' A letter is immediately dispatched to the learned society; the members assemble, and send an answer to the minister stating, that, in order to comply conscientiously with his majesty's wishes, a long series of

is necessary. To perform these experiments, they require a hamper of sixty bottles, and as soon as *that* is forwarded they will set to work. 'Let them go hang,' exclaimed the king, when he heard the answer; 'I can drink my wine without their help, and it does not matter to me whether I know why it effervesces or not.'"—Vol. I., pp. 84, 85.

This little anecdote, which has at least the merit of being unquestionably authentic, will serve to put in its true light the connexion between the king and the institute. It is almost a matter of surprise that after such an exchange of smart messages, the monarch did not order at once the dissolution of the whole concern. Fortunately, some friend of the Academicians convinced his majesty that the education of the medical staff of the Prussian army might be improved by the discoveries made in the society; and on this consideration it was allowed to subsist.

The reign of Frederick-William I., which, in a political point of view, was fraught with the greatest results for the future destinies of Prussia, is so completely a blank in the history of literature, that we shall say nothing further respecting it, and proceed at once to notice the different influence exercised by Frederick the Great as a *littérateur* himself, and as a patron of literature. He was no sooner on the throne, than by a multitude of seasonable appointments he proved his firm intention of securing for his reign the glory which arises from intellectual, as well as from military pre-eminence.

"In the very first days of June [1740]," says M. Bartholmèss, "Frederick II. recalled to Berlin, Du Han, who had shared his exile, and who had become a strict Calvinist: he rewarded him with a seat in the Academy, and a situation in the Foreign Office. Baron von Keyserlingk, equally in disgrace under Frederick-William I., was presented with a colonel's brevet and other distinctions. Two learned officers, the Normand Chazot and the pious Stille, were likewise provided with employment suitable to their tastes. . . . The person by whom all these measures received their accomplishment, Jordan, was named a privy-councillor. Trusted, as early as the 1st of June, with the mission of recognizing the Royal Scientific Society, Jordan communicated to a great number of illustrious personages the wishes of the king, and, thanks to his active politeness, these wishes were so quickly and so favourably responded to, that before the end of the month, Frederick could write to Voltaire: 'I have laid the foundation of our new Academy; I have secured Wolf, Maupertuis, and Algarotti; I am expecting answers from Vaucanson, S'Gravesande, and Euler; my new college for commerce and manufactures is established; I am making bargains with printers and sculptors.'"—Vol. I. pp. 142, 143.

The two most useful innovations with which the name of

Frederick the Great is connected in his capacity as patron of the Prussian Academy, are the creation of a section of metaphysics, and the substitution of the French to the Latin in the discussions, the speeches, and the publications of the members. The *Académie de Prusse* had scarcely been remodelled, with privileges, immunities, revenues, and grants of every description, which were to make it the most influential of all the *corps savants* in Europe, than the disastrous Seven Years' War came to turn the king's attention from the arts of peace to strategical problems and all the circumstance of martial enterprise. During this trying period, the part played by the Academy was most honourable: it made itself the organ of public opinion in cautioning on several occasions the king against ambition; and it is a fact worthy of remark, that whilst Frederick would not allow, even in the bosom of his own family, any reflections on his system of government, the Academicians were always, on the contrary, encouraged to express their opinions freely, and they seldom failed to do so with a firmness which precluded neither loyalty nor affection.

"On this subject," we quote M. Bartholmèss, "no historian has done complete justice to the Academy. Lessing, who was then settled at Berlin, has been praised for devoting the earliest efforts of his pen to a narrative of the first events of the war—a narrative which was published as a political gazette; but we should not forget that it was the Academy which rewarded Lessing by bestowing upon him, as early as 1760, the title of honorary member. A just tribute of admiration has been paid to those warlike lyrics with which the same war inspired another inhabitant of Berlin—to that disciple of Anacreon and Horace, who, without being a soldier himself, took the name of the *Prussian Grenadier*; Gleim piously considered the conqueror of proud Vienna, the liberator of Germany, as a wonderful instrument in the hands of God—an instrument working miracles, whilst denying that miracles could be worked;\* but we should not forget that Gleim received the surname of the Prussian Tyrtæus from the Academy of Berlin. In a hundred different ways writers have praised the happy influence of that *polar star*, as Goethe calls Frederick, and celebrated the glorious impulse which the energetic behaviour of the king, of his army, and of his people, gave to literature and to public spirit in Germany, supplying the one with a fruitful principle of enthusiasm and of reflections, whilst it gave to the other the idea of national independence and of patriotic energy.

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\* Friedrich, oder Gott durch ihn  
Das grosse Werk vollbracht,  
Gebändigt hat das stolze Wien  
Und Teutschland frey gemacht.  
Friedrich täglich Wunder thut,  
Und keine Wunder glaubt.



But we should not forget that it was the Academy which first spoke of Frederick as the champion of the smaller states of Germany against the great European powers—as the dreaded defender of the common fatherland on the banks of the Rhine, as well as on those of the Vistula and the Danube.”—Vol. I., pp. 102—104.

How different Frederick the Great's behaviour was towards the Academy from that of another monarch with whom he has often been compared—Napoleon I., who seemed to consider the Institute of France as a *coterie* of thinkers whose only business was to teach science and literature the art of flattery!

But the hero of the Seven Years' War did not long remain satisfied with the part he had assumed, viz., that of patron and protector of the Prussian institute. As soon as peace was restored, he resolved upon identifying himself more and more with the society he had revived, and become its administrator, its curator, its factotum. This new step was rather a dangerous one for the Academicians, as it placed them exclusively under the control of the king, and, therefore, imposed some restraints on their discussions; yet, on the whole, the change proved most beneficial, and Frederick had the good sense not to abuse the privilege which he had thus appropriated to himself. He improved considerably the financial affairs of his *salaries*; endowed very liberally their library, their collections, their museums; and never departed in the appointments he was called upon to make, from the path of justice and of moderation. Above all, he uniformly allowed the greatest freedom of opinion; and, as M. Bartholmæss very well remarks, the only rule he gave to his Academicians was that they should prevent abuses from going too far.

“He did not command them to follow his example, nor to mount his colours; he only required that they should love work, and tolerate his incredulity. At the death of La Mettrie he did not direct them to compose the panegyric of the Breton materialist, nor to approve the *éloge* which he himself honoured La Mettrie with: on many points he knew full well the Academy's opinion was quite at variance with his own, and he respected that proof of independence. Then he praised Prémontval for declaiming against tyrants, ‘against those men deprived of knowledge, of reason, and of understanding, whose want of power is the cause of their despotism.’\* He praised Rædern for setting before the king the example of the elector, and for directing the attention of Prussia to Holland, ‘where the late elector had been brought up amongst free men, far from the flattery of courts, and learnt that glory only resides in the practice of wisdom which employs power and strength to secure the happiness

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\* 1755, 1757, 1761, *passim*.

of man.\* He allowed Formey to repeat, with impunity,† that the only true philosophers are those who are religious, that is to say, who submit to the decrees of Providence. . . . Frederick supported the attacks directed against his metaphysical theories with the greatest good-humour; it was his style of writing alone which he could not bear to see criticized. During the carnival season, which he generally spent at Berlin,‡ whenever he conversed with any of the Academicians on various topics which at all interested him, because he understood them all, he showed himself not only witty and animated, but full of kindness and consideration towards his adversaries. Whether we consider him in the familiarity of social intercourse, or on official occasions, we still find him the same, always knowing how to respect freedom and sincere convictions.”—Vol. I., pp. 233, 234.

With such a prince for its chairman, we do not wonder that the reign of Frederick the Great should have proved the golden age of the Prussian institute.

The organization of that society, its rise, its progress, its external history in short, forms the first part of the work we are now reviewing; the second division, by far the most interesting, is a brilliant gallery of portraits, in which we find sketched by a masterly hand the various notabilities admitted into fellowship with it. Amongst the metaphysicians, Béguelin, Mérian, Maupertuis, and Formey were the most conspicuous; Euler and Bernouilli stand prominent on the list of mathematicians; Sulzer was more of a *littérateur*, whilst D’Argens is the ablest representative of the infidel doctrines to which Voltaire and La Mettrie had unfortunately succeeded in converting the king. The various chapters allotted to these writers are full of carefully collected particulars on the history of literature during the eighteenth century; the critical appreciations they contain, though necessarily short, are complete, and illustrated by a variety of quotations which add much to their value. The following view of Frederick the Great himself as a philosopher, deserves quoting:—

“The king formed, with Voltaire and D’Alembert, a kind of triumvirate, but a triumvirate in which equality did not prevail. The two French writers are the masters and the patterns of the Prussian; he follows and imitates them, whilst they praise him and encourage him; happy, because they have for their admirer the hero of the age, and proud at seeing him always, according to their own expressions, ‘desperately in love with their genius.’ An inquisitive and penetrating mind, restless and fickle as Voltaire, whilst, like

\* 1759, *passim*.

† For instance, on January 27, 1780.

‡ Cf. two remarkable letters from Frederick to D’Alembert, January, 1780, and January, 1782.

D'Alembert, he is fond of order, logic, clearness, and sober-mindedness, Frederick shares in the faults of both, and commits the blunders they committed, without having all the qualities which they possessed. He is neither a more profound nor a better metaphysician; he does not attack so skilfully as they did despotism and hypocrisy; when he stands forward to defend the natural rights of man and of society, he is by far inferior to his models. Their favourite weapon, raillery, becomes too often in his hands a mockery full of bitterness, contempt, or even cynicism. His fun is sad, and disposes us to melancholy rather than gaiety. Voltaire and D'Alembert had a serious aim; the reign of justice and of common right was the object they aspired after: with the King of Prussia this disposition does not assume the form of a sympathy both constant and affectionately respectful for the dignity of men, for moral equality between man and man; it too often degenerates into a pseudo-philanthropy either utopian or sarcastic. Frederick, like his teachers, was not an architect, but a soldier, a pioneer; we should distinguish between the good which he did, perhaps unconsciously, and the evil which he committed, often against his own will.

“Frederick, nevertheless, together with Voltaire and D'Alembert, stands in the foremost rank of those who fought for reason and civilization, and who conquered for ever liberty of conscience and of speech. He may accordingly be considered as the apostle of toleration, the adversary of fanaticism, as a thinker and as a sage. If he deserves our esteem by his enthusiasm for equity and humanity, we cannot, on the other hand, help saying that his philosophical opinions were deficient, both in soundness and in originality. But it was, perhaps, difficult for any man to combine in himself two characters so opposite; a spirited pamphleteer, a vehement tribune, can hardly be at the same time a calm observer or an impartial judge. Frederick's system of metaphysics could not but be the reflection of his theory of politics; it could not but be sharp and licentious, rather negative and destructive than fit to form and to preserve; it was more calculated to unsettle the opinions of courts and *salons* whilst amusing them, than to enlighten academies and schools, and through them generations to come.”—Vol. I., pp. 301—303.

Such, we believe, is an impartial view of the man whose extraordinary career is one of the most interesting features in the history of the last century.

We wish time would allow us to multiply our extracts from this valuable work. On Euler's philosophical inconsistencies, M. Bartholmèss thus expresses himself:—

“Modern science has shown how the pious Euler was at the same time a materialist (*mécaniste*) in natural philosophy, and a spiritualist in metaphysics, defining bodies by impenetrability and inertia, and the soul by activity and liberty; arguing against the dynamism of Leibnitz, according to which the essence of matter as well as of mind, consists in force—in a vital, substantial, imperceptible unity;

thus opposing to *pre-established harmony*, the old doctrine of *physical influence*, without endeavouring to explain how the soul effectually brings about the motion of the body, and how our organs really affect that portion of ourselves which is not physical—our soul; knowingly mistaking the sense of the word *monad*; understanding it, not as a principle absolutely simple, endowed with life, with perception, with intelligence; but sometimes as a material atom, sometimes as a geometrical point, or a mathematical abstraction. We admire Euler when, collecting together the results of his reflections on the faculty of reasoning, he exhausts with vigorous clearness, and as a true mathematician, the forms which can be assumed by the four figures of the syllogism . . . . but we feel painfully affected when we see him mixing so strong objections against idealism, so many sarcasms either bitter or futile, so many accusations as prejudiced as they are common-place.”—Vol. II., p. 167, 168.

From the title of the book, the reader will discover that the greatest part of the *savants* whose labours are noticed by M. Bartholmèss belong to the reign of Frederick the Great. That was really the time when the Prussian Academy assumed its most important position amidst associations of that class; and yet, in glancing at the index of proper names annexed to the volumes before us, we are struck by the fact that most of the industrious writers who were considered less than two hundred years ago as the leading intellectual authorities in Berlin, are now almost forgotten. Which of our friends, we should like to know, has ever heard of Formey? Formey, to whom no less a man than Montesquieu said in a letter: “*Les grands hommes comme vous sont recherchés, on se jette à leur tête!*” And this is only one instance out of many others. Oh! the vanity of human glory!

*A propos* of the corresponding members, our author supplies in his second volume, on Kant and Kantianism, a masterly *résumé*, which is one of the clearest and most accurate pieces of criticism we have seen of that system. The “*Critique of Pure Reason*,” and the violent discussions it gave rise to—discussions in which Louis Ancillon, at Berlin, took the chief part—are the only facts of importance recorded during the short reign of Frederick-William II.

Under that prince the Academy seems to have lost much of its power; for he was not only jealous of his authority, but also too liable to be misled by intrigues and favouritism. A weak-minded sensualist, he allowed unprincipled women to rule in his name: the notorious Countess Lichtenau and the no less notorious Wöllner were the real sovereigns of Prussia. This state of things, however, did not last. With Frederick-William III., a fresh career of progress and of efficiency opened

for the Academy—a career in which it is now steadily advancing. Memorable as were the days when that learned society numbered amongst its fellows a Mérian, a Euler, a Leibnitz, the lustre conferred on it by such men as Savigny, Niebuhr, and the Humboldts, has rendered its history, during our own times, perhaps still more noteworthy.

In conclusion, we would say that the “*Histoire Philosophique de l’Académie de Prusse*,” is a work which, by itself, would have sufficed to establish the reputation of M. Bartholmèss as a critic and a philosopher. Not only are we indebted to it for much valuable information concerning a society whose annals had never before found a chronicler, but it also contains on the history of literature in general, a mass of details which will render it interesting even to persons the least anxious to read anything on Prussia.

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### ART. III. — CRITICAL STUDY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

*An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.* By the Rev. T. H. Horne, B.D., of St. John’s College, Cambridge; D.D. of the University of Pennsylvania; Prebendary of St. Paul’s. 10th Edition, revised, corrected, and brought down to the present time. Edited by Rev. T. H. Horne, B.D., Rev. Samuel Davidson, D.D., LL.D., and Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, LL.D. 4 vols. 8vo., pp. 624, 1100, 746, 768. Longmans: 1856.

It is a frequent remark of German scholars that English theologians having once published their opinions, seldom change them. Such a history as Hengstenberg’s, whose first Commentary on the Psalms is so different in sentiment from the second that they might be the productions of different men, is without a parallel, it is said, in this country. In Germany, similar changes are common enough; in England, they would create uneasiness and surprise. It may be that our English character is in such matters too persistent. Systems and opinions that are immutable are fit only, it may be said, for a perfect state. As things are, immutability is a synonyme for imperfection; mutability, for progress. We do not mean, however, to discuss this question. We introduce it only for the purpose of marking one striking difference between the English and the German mind.

Of late years, the disadvantages connected with this peculiarity of Englishmen have been met in book-making by combination, or by editorships. If the same man is not to express

different views in the same book, or in successive editions of the same book, different men may. The many-sidedness of the German mind may be gained, it seems, by the employment of many English minds. The development and growing maturity of sentiment which our English notions forbid to any one writer can be secured for his work, at least, by notes and additions; till at length we get a "Horne's Introduction," (say) as much in advance of the original Horne, as it might have been, if the venerable prebendary of St. Paul's had studied all his life at Heidelberg, and the *last* edition of his *magnum opus* had been printed, in German fashion, to show how completely he had missed the truth in the *first*. At all events we have here a book containing many opinions very different from those given in the earlier editions;—and these avowedly the *latest* opinions of the writer, but likely enough, as we believe, to undergo still further change.

We cannot say that the principle on which this edition is got up pleases us. Joint authorship has its advantages. It admits of progress and variety. In dictionaries, cyclopædias, and similar works, it is appropriate: and the inconveniences connected with it are small compared with the fulness and accuracy which division of labour secures. But in systematic treatises it is seldom desirable. Unity and harmony are, in such cases, of first importance; and for these there needs to be *one* mind. Beaumont and Fletcher, indeed, are said to have written better dramas than either could have written apart. The insect world, too, is large enough to require both Kirby and Spence to marshal its entomological hosts and to describe them. And now and then a Conybeare and a Howson throw light on the studies of each other and on some one grand theme. But in all such cases it will be found that the joint authors are men of congenial habits, that they have studied together, and have thoroughly harmonized their thoughts and modes of utterance. *Then*, the reader gets harmony and variety, the consistent unity of one mind, with the richness of many. It is a sad illustration of the soundness of these views, that already the literary and religious worlds have been annoyed by the scandal of one author of these volumes, protesting against the statements of another; while the hope of unity which the title page excites is nipped in the bud by the various prefaces. Who is to blame for these scandals, it is not necessary now to inquire; we are thankful to be able to ascribe no small part of the blame to the principle on which the book is composed. If we were asked to give a *recipe* for creating quarrels among authors, it would be—"Take three or more men, let them write four thick volumes, on topics of the utmost difficulty, variety, and importance, including



questions of criticism, antiquity, chronology, history, the origin and peculiarities of the oldest books in the world; add the theological element, and let these topics refer to inspiration, the extent of depravity, the plan of salvation, the everlasting destinies of men; let these three or more men be trained in different schools, have all the force of thought (not to say pertinaciousness) which mature age or independent investigation brings, give them few opportunities of conference, publish their work under their joint names, and the result is likely to be tenfold worse than anything we have yet witnessed." It is not the *one* protest that surprises us; it is that there has been *only one*. If we have not several, it will be owing either to the forbearance of the editors, or to the fact that the book is *known* not to aim at the consistent unity which is so desirable in such a treatise.

But to come to the volumes themselves. The first and third are entirely by Mr. Horne, and are substantially as they were published in the ninth edition: the *first* on the Genuineness, Authenticity, Uncorrupted Preservation, and Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; the *third* on Biblical Geography and Antiquities. The character of these volumes is but little altered. There is the same fulness of extract, the same catholicity of reference and quotation, the same devout practical tone, and, it may be added, the same want of thorough assimilation. The reader feels instinctively that his teacher is a compiler rather than an originator; nor is he convinced that the compiler has complete mastery of his theme. Additions have been made from Layard and other writers, though these are too obviously accretions; between which and parts of the text even there is occasional discrepancy. Books are described as the most "recent," though that epithet has long ceased to be appropriate; while in other instances statements are retained, which books published since these statements were made ought to have been employed to modify or correct.\* No competent man would now write just such volumes on Scripture evidences or antiquities; but we give the volumes, notwithstanding, a cordial welcome. They contain judicious and useful compends of books and facts not accessible to most readers, and form a monument of the diligence, the conscientiousness, and the catholic spirit of their author. It is but just to add, too, that there are dissertations on the Apocrypha, on the Symbolical Language of Scripture, and

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\* For example, Hume's objection to the Pentateuch, that it is unsupported by contemporaneous history, is met by the assertion that there is no history that is contemporaneous; while Hengstenberg's method of reply, by appealing to the monuments of Egypt, is overlooked. In the same way, the discussion on the necessity of Revelation makes no mention of the *Memirs* of Tholuck or of Whately, certainly among the ablest books on that subject.

on kindred topics much more full than are to be found in the earlier editions of the book. On the other hand we miss from the second volume the Bibliographical Appendix to which most book-buying readers were in the habit of referring. We have, indeed (in the 4th vol.), a list of the editions of *the Holy Scriptures*, in the original languages and in the *ancient* versions; but all else has been struck out. We have no hesitation in saying that such an appendix, embracing the whole department of biblical literature, and complete to our own day, with brief, characteristic comments on the books named, would have been as welcome to biblical students as any part of these volumes. This omission is a mistake.

The novelties of the work are in the second and fourth volumes. The latter is written in part by Dr. Tregelles, who has rewritten the chapters on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, and revised the introductions to the several books. With respect to this second portion of his labours, he says:—

“Here I am, not author, but simply editor. I felt that I stood on very different ground from that which I had occupied with regard to the textual portion of the volume. I had not so much to consider how I should have treated the subjects, as what additions may be needful, in consequence of modern research, to what the Rev. T. H. Horne had himself stated. It was not for me to pull down one edifice in order to erect another in its stead; to do this for the mere sake of change, would be like removing an old manor house to make room for a trim Italian villa. Some would have wished that the quotations of earlier writers given by Mr. Horne should be omitted: to do this in general was, however, equally opposed to my *judgment* and *inclination*: for there are few things to which it is now more needful to direct the attention of biblical students than that there were biblical scholars before those who have lived and written during the last thirty years. To many now the investigations of such foreigners as Eichhorn and Michaelis seem things almost unknown; and such seem unconscious that we ever had biblical scholars in our own country. To such the names of Lardner and others are unfamiliar, and their works are almost or quite unknown. I am, therefore, glad that such citations remain as given by Mr. Horne, and I hope that they may be the means of directing some students to the works of those who lived before the present generation. Had there not been such an ignoring of what others have done long ago, and such obliviousness as to their works, we should not find so many new *discoveries* made as to points long ago investigated and known. It is the part of wisdom for scholars now to combine all that is *true* in recent research with the *ascertained facts* of earlier inquiry.”

Just thus ought a book like Horne's Introduction to be edited; and if the whole had been executed in this spirit and on these principles, our notice would have been more brief and pleasant.

But we must not anticipate. It is enough to call the reader's special attention to the extract.

The *first* portion of Dr. Tregelles's labours is all that can be wished. Full, clear, scholarly, and devout, it deserves to become the text-book of New Testament criticism. In his favourite theory, indeed,—that the text of Scripture is to be taken from the *earliest* authorities—we are not prepared unreservedly to acquiesce. It is only a theory, not self-evident, nor is it as yet supported by facts sufficiently general and decisive to justify strong assertions in relation to it. But this theory is maintained with such fairness, and is itself so far true, that we have no objection to urge against the volume on that ground. There is, moreover, throughout so much justice done to other theories, and so much valuable information given on MSS. and versions generally, that even if the authority of the most ancient documents had been asserted with greater exclusiveness, we should still have deemed the volume to be well worthy of careful study. The time the author has himself devoted to these inquiries, and the great enthusiasm which his book displays, give to his discussions the interest and the accuracy of a personal narrative, and assure the student that he is travelling with one who knows every turn of the road, and who is at once a competent and a willing guide. This part of the volume is an original treatise—not a compilation—and though original, yet complete.

The *second* volume is from the pen of Dr. Davidson, Professor of Exegesis in the Lancashire College. It is devoted to the criticism of the Old Testament, and to interpretations generally; and contains somewhat copious introductions to the several books of the Old Testament and of the Apocrypha. The first portion on Biblical Criticism is brief, because the author has written at length upon the subject in his treatise on Biblical Criticism. The portion on Interpretation is also brief, for a similar reason; and the purpose of the writer is that both sets of books should be connected, and that the reader should follow the last in preference to the first, "except where the older occupies independent ground of its own" (Pref. iv.) "The writer alone," he adds, "is responsible for all to which his name is prefixed. None of his fellow-labourers is accountable for anything in his portion." (Pref. vii.)

Before proceeding to notice this volume, a preliminary remark or two may be offered on what may fairly be expected in such an Introduction as the one now under review. It is necessary to define our *measure*, before affirming how far any work has departed from it. Nor do we anticipate any grave objections to our views of this part of the case. *First* of all, it will be allowed that a book of this sort ought to be homogeneous.

There should be general harmony of style and thought in the different portions of it. No one would prefer a treatise of Cudworth's on the Eternal Obligations of Virtue, with notes and additions by William Paley or Jeremy Bentham; or a tractate of Jones Loyd's on the Currency, edited by Mr. Muntz; or the Political Economy of Adam Smith, supplemented by Sir E. Lytton Bulwer. Such unions have only one defence, the defence of which old Fuller was so fond—"no objection can lie against the match, for the parties are *nothing akin*." In all other respects they are unsuitable. By themselves, each member of the union may be well enough: bring them together, and they become intolerable. Some such feeling has passed through our mind repeatedly in examining Dr. Davidson's volume. His style, and tendencies, and conclusions, all differ from those of his author; and though he warns you that he only is responsible for what he has written, the reader's sense of propriety is shocked, and he feels fretted and chagrined. Dr. Davidson denies that the Pentateuch was written by Moses, though willing to allow that we owe the germ of it to him; Solomon had nothing to do with Ecclesiastes; the book of Job was not written till after the Assyrian captivity,\* and the believers of that day had only a "faint foreboding"—a glimmering hope—of a future state. The beautiful confession in that book, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," refers chiefly to deliverance from temporal distress, and contains no allusion to the Messiah. Such are some of his conclusions. Mr. Horne would certainly oppose them all; and Dr. Tregelles probably would oppose most. Mr. Horne's introduction is emphatically an Englishman's book; Dr. Davidson's is essentially German. The one quotes largely from English authorities, and is adapted to the reading of English divines: the quotations of the other are nine-tenths of them from books of which many well-educated clergymen have never heard. Mr. Horne's style is cautious, respectful, and conciliatory; Dr. Davidson's is loose, somewhat flippant and irritating. The merits of the two writers we are not now discussing; but it is certainly unfortunate that their books are not published *apart*. The only excuse for the union is as before—"that they are *nothing akin*."

A second requisite in a book of this order, is that it should make the reader fairly familiar with the standard *English* literature of the subjects it discusses; and that its statements

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\* We notice that Sir Henry Rawlinson assigns a similar date to this book. His reasons are, that Bildad is a Persian name, and that the tribes to which Job's friends belonged are not found in the neighbourhood of Uz till towards the captivity.

should be in forms which the mere English student can appreciate. We do not under-value German scholarship; we should hail a volume that thoroughly investigated the views of German authors. We have given all the heartier welcome to Dr. Davidson's previous works, because they generally discuss Continental authorities. Even in such an Introduction as Horne's, moreover, we expect the results of *all* modern inquiry, German inquiry not excepted. But to make the staple of the volume German theories, and practically ignore most of our own English literature, is a mistake. It was one of the excellencies of the earlier editions of Mr. Horne, that he sought to guide the student to other works, at once enabling him to satisfy his judgment and extend his knowledge of English theology. In this volume, the references are nearly all to foreign authors. For every Englishman quoted, we are introduced to the names of, at least, six Germans, and an ill-natured critic might add, in the earlier part the Englishman is Dr. Davidson himself as often as not; nor are these references always, or even generally, made so as to be available for the common reader. It is said, for example, that such a hypothesis is maintained by Schuhlmann, Von Cölln, Vatke, and Stickel, but the reasons they allege are untenable. For various solutions of stated difficulties, or answers to objections, the student is referred to Keil and Wette, and to the former, not because his book is the *best*, but because it is the *latest*. Our readers will not misunderstand these remarks. For such discussions we should be among the first to thank Dr. Davidson. We gladly avail ourselves of his labours. But *here* they are out of place. "The piece put in from the new agreeth not with the old," and the rent is made worse.

A *third* quality essential to an acceptable introduction, is a calm, judicial tone—a style of utterance, of illustration, and of thought, that shall win the confidence of its readers. The smartness that may be becoming enough in an advocate, is inappropriate in a judge. Repetitions, platitudes of expression, Ishmaelitish attacks on books and men, are peculiarly unwelcome. And we must confess to having noticed more of these than we could have wished.

Take the following—its *forms of utterance*. Amidst a somewhat touching allusion to his labours, he expresses the hope that, "if he has cut away some of the traditional fat of hereditary sentiment, the diseased alone has been removed;" yet he "can hardly expect to escape censure from parties wedded to antiquated notions." What "traditional fat" is we hardly know, and fear it is not worth knowing; nor, with much to try the patience of some readers, is it wise to stigmatize them by such descriptions. Again:—

"The authority which should rightfully be attached to the works of the Fathers of the Christian church, has been very variously estimated. While they need not be depreciated unduly, neither need they be excessively extolled. A just medium should be observed. Taking them as a body of interpreters, we cannot place them in a high rank. They had learning, piety, and zeal. They did much to recommend the truth to the acceptance of others. But their learning was by no means extensive, accurate, or profound. It was superficial and shallow. They did not understand the Scriptures in their original *languages*."

And so on, through two long paragraphs, in which we are told that the Greek Fathers are well worth studying, because of their familiarity with the *Greek* tongue, the original language, we had always thought, of the New Testament—a portion, at least, of the Scriptures.

As an example of a *judicial tone* :—

"Good commentaries are rare; indifferent ones are plentiful. D'Oyley and Mant's is a compilation; and a very meagre and insufficient one. A. Clarke's is little better than a compilation gathered out of many heterogeneous sources. Dodd's is still more so, and inferior. There is also a commentary from Henry and Scott, *manufactured by George Stokes*, and published by the Religious Tract Society. . . . We recommend the student carefully to eschew all such."—Vol. II., p. 383.

Again :—

"Those who read the Bible mainly for edification will refrain from critical and philological expositions. They will take up with Matthew Henry, the greater part of whose remarks are mere preaching, not proper interpretation; or, perhaps, with Scott, who preaches less, though he paraphrases too much, and really expounds but little. But ministers of the gospel will go to Hammond, Whitby, Mac-knight, Campbell, Elsley, and Slade," &c.—Vol. II., p. 381.

As a specimen of an *Ishmaelitish spirit*—the rule which teaches that no doctrine can be proved from Scripture that is contrary to reason or the analogy of faith, is commended by an attack on the doctrine of Original Sin *as taught* by Calvin and Edwards, and, we may add, by Richard Watson and the Wes-leyans. Another rule is illustrated by a criticism on the Westminster Divines. (Vol. II., p. 480.) In all these cases Dr. Davidson may be right; but we deem it very unfortunate that his examples are such as will tempt half his readers to question the rules they are meant to illustrate.

To the class of *infelicitous utterances* we are disposed to assign a passage (p. 368), which has excited in us some surprise :—

"The importance of studying the Fathers," says Dr. Davidson, "is



enhanced in our view by the fact that *the germ alone* of certain primary truths is contained in the Bible, to be developed thereafter by the spiritual intelligence and consciousness of the true church. The New Testament contains Christian doctrine and duty *in essence*, but they are not fully developed there. Believers, penetrated by the spirit of Christ, were to unfold them by degrees, in proportion to their attainments in the divine life and knowledge."

What this may be made to mean, we cannot tell. There are, no doubt, passages in Scripture whose full meaning is not yet discovered, and which are perhaps reserved, as Boyle expressed it, "to quell some future heresy, or resolve some yet unformed doubt, or confound some error that hath not a name," or, we may add, prove by fresh prophetic evidence that the Bible came from God. Scripture is, in a word, like "the deep sea, beautifully clear," and yet "immeasurably profound;" so that there is no definable limit to our insight into its meaning. But to speak of primary truths as taught only in germ, and to be developed by the spiritual consciousness of men, or of bodies of men, is either to speak very loosely, or it is to deny the completeness of Scripture revelation, on primary truths too, and to hold the inspiration of the Christian church. Probably the former alternative is the true solution of the case; but either alternative weakens our reliance on the caution and judgment of our teacher.

Of other essential qualities we note no deficiency. There is competent scholarship, devout feeling, reverence for all that is religious and moral in Scripture, with an obvious conviction of the importance of piety, and of man's need of divine teaching to comprehend its truths. Withal, however, there is, as we have said, too much in the tone we cannot commend.

The fault of the book is the theory of the writer on the subject of inspiration. He maintains that part of the Bible is the word of God, and part *not*. When the writers speak of religious and moral truth, they were under a peculiarly divine guidance; when they speak of matters collateral to religion, such as points of history, geography, natural science, &c., they are left much more to themselves. He is disposed to allow no more mistakes in this department *than are proved*; but he expects them, and believes that the writers are neither infallible nor, in fact, always accurate. (Pp. 503, 504.)

The extent to which Dr. Davidson carries this theory it is not easy to define. He quotes with approbation the views of Dr. Pye Smith, as given in the *Congregational Magazine* for 1837, p. 422,\* of Dr. Arnold, as appealed to by Mr. Newman

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\* If we were not anxious to avoid by-questions, we should formally demur to some of these quotations. The venerated name of Pye Smith

(“Phases of Faith,” pp. 67, 68, 4th ed.), of Baden Powell, and of Tholück; and he says generally that the mission of the writers of Scripture was a religious one:—They “*were religious and moral* teachers, but they were not teachers of geography or history. Their commission did not extend so far” (p. 373).

The following are samples of the application of the theory, and illustrate the extent to which he carries it. In the Old Testament, the inspired compiler often followed different historical *documents*; and as these documents were sometimes discrepant in chronology and history, there are naturally discrepancies in the inspired narrative. Hence the discrepancies in Gen. xxxviii. and 1 Sam. xvi. (pp. 519, 518, 512, 511, 514). In both Testaments, the inspired writers followed in their narratives different *traditions*. These traditions did not agree; neither, of course, do the narratives based upon them. Hence discrepancies in the history of the denial of Peter (p. 540); in the order of the facts of the Resurrection (p. 545); and in Heb. ix. 4, as compared with 1 Kings viii. 9. Sometimes the inspired writer forgets or confounds the facts, as does the author of Chronicles (p. 526); as does Mark, mistaking Abiathar for Ahimelech (p. 551). Even an eye-witness may be *mistaken*; and hence of John’s statement—that our Lord was brought forth to the people at the *sixth* hour—it is said: it “cannot be correct. It must either be changed into *third*, or be looked upon as an original mistake, of no consequence in so trivial a matter.” We trust that we do Dr. Davidson no wrong in these extracts. His meaning is frequently obscured by repetition. Some allowance too must be made for his tendency to startle and shock his readers; but still it seems clear that he holds that the true solution of many difficulties is—“Here the inspired writers are *mistaken* ;” “This is the human in their writings, not the divine;” and further, that in matters of science, chronology, and history, the inspiration of Scripture does not warrant the correctness of its teaching.

Now, in relation to these statements, we may remark, in the first place, that each is simply a hypothesis, and that the whole form, as set forth in the last sentence, a theory; a theory, moreover, neither justified by any defined principle, nor required by the facts. Theories in theology are of course allowable. They are intended to explain Scripture, or to set forth its

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ought not to be retained as favouring Dr. Davidson’s views. The statements quoted from his papers in the *Congregational Magazine* for 1837, are very materially modified by other statements in the same magazine for 1838, pp. 552—555. This fact ought to have been noted, especially as Dr. Smith maintains that in the narratives of Scripture, inspiration is a “guarantee of their authenticity and truth.”

teaching in a brief form, and sometimes to meet objections. They are, however, to be held only as theories. They are things not proved; nor are they in any case the only conceivable solution or summary of the facts. If they are so, they become comprehensive truths, and are as much divine as the statements or facts that prove them. As theories, they are purely *human*, and have no *claim* on our belief. To illustrate our meaning: in Mark xiv. 25, it is said that Jesus was crucified at the *third* hour, i.e. in Jewish reckoning, at nine in the morning. John says that Jesus was led forth to the people just previous to his bearing the cross about the *sixth* hour, i.e. if it be in Jewish reckoning, about noon. Here is a discrepancy; and upon any one of the following suppositions it is explained:—

1. Transcribers *may* have written in John *sixth* for *third*, as indeed some MSS. read.
2. About the sixth hour *may* be a general description of what commenced about the third, and was completed by the sixth.
3. John *may* have reckoned, according to a Roman reckoning, from midnight; the more probably, as when he wrote, the Jews were scattered, and the Roman power and tongue had become more widely extended throughout the East; or,
4. It *may* be said John has mistaken the hour, and the matter is too trivial to be made a ground of objection to his narrative.

Now, to say nothing of the improbability of a mistake, in a case where if it is allowed it has the effect of shortening *by one half the mortal agony of the cross*; and in a narrative which the writer solemnly affirms to be *true* (xxi. 24); and by a man who remembered the very day and hour when he first visited his Lord (John i. 35—40), it is plain that the supposition of a mistake is as much a supposition as any of the other suggested solutions. It has less evidence in its favour than any, and much less than some; and it is but a supposition after all. We note this fact because it is the fashion of the advocates of this theory and similar theories to decry all explanations but their favourite one as mere hypotheses: an objection that applies at least as strongly to their own.

Turning from single instances to the sweeping theory—that in history, &c., the inspiration of Scripture does not warrant its accuracy—we note again that it is purely a theory. The alleged facts, as Dr. Davidson states them, are, that inspired writers sometimes copy discrepant documents, or follow discrepant traditions, without correcting them; and that in a very few and unimportant and ascertainable instances they make mistakes. Surely the only logical conclusion is (we are not speaking of the *moral* effect of such a state of facts, supposing them to be facts, upon the minds of most men), that *in such cases* there is inaccuracy; but *in all other cases* we have good

reason to trust the writers, whose character and general fidelity are unimpeached. Here again we are not examining the accuracy of the premises. We only affirm that the *general untrustworthiness* of the inspired writers in history is, as a theoretical conclusion based on alleged facts, as scanty and as inconclusive as can well be conceived. So that if it be thought a satisfactory answer to the infidel, who objects to the inaccuracy of *portions* of the sacred narrative, to say that the *whole* is inaccurate, more or less, we must rob the answer of its force by affirming that it is more theoretical and less true than the objection itself. If it were true, nothing would be gained by it. As the case really is, we hold it to be as false as it is futile. Again, let not this reasoning be misapprehended. The popular objection to the universal trustworthiness of the inspired writers is, that it is a *theory* of inspiration. Admit it to be so, it is a theory sustained by ten thousand facts, and involved in the nature of inspiration itself; while the opposite view—that the histories of Scripture are not trustworthy—is also a theory, without more than the scantiest evidence at most on its side.

But perhaps it will be said that the fallibility of the writers of the Bible on matters of history or science follows from the admitted principle of a divine revelation. That revelation is a revelation of religious truth, not of science or of history. To seek the latter, therefore, in the Bible, is to seek the dead among the living, and to mistake the very nature of a divine communication.—This is one form of Dr. Davidson's argument. The inspired writers, says he in substance, were not commissioned to teach either history or science, and, therefore, when they teach either, we are not implicitly to follow them. Now, in this reasoning, as it seems to us, both the premises and the conclusion are wrong. From the reverence of the inspired writers for Scripture; their denunciations against such as speak in God's name when He has not sent them, or add to God's word, we should have supposed the true *conclusion* from such premises to be: "They were not commissioned to teach history, and, therefore, they do *not* teach it." "They were moral and religious teachers only, and they confined themselves to the proper functions of their office." The premises, moreover, are unsound. What the inspired writers were commissioned to teach is to be gathered from what they have taught; and to affirm that history was not included in their commission is to deny one of the most remarkable facts connected with the Christian revelation. It is emphatically truth taught in examples—the facts of creation, providence, and redemption, set forth historically in their connexion with God as Creator, Ruler, and Redeemer. It may be true that to teach history is not a

chief business of the Bible: it may be true also that history is taught only in connexion with the church, or Providence, or human salvation. But this is only saying that the history of the Bible is *moral* and religious; so that if our faith in that history is shaken, we can rely neither on its morality nor on its religion.

The same principle is put by Dr. Davidson in another form. The inspired writers, he says, had clearly not a *full* knowledge of all the facts, some of which they describe; and, therefore, may we not believe that they had *not* an *accurate* knowledge. Luke, for example, records events in an order differing in some cases from the order of Matthew; and if he knew not the time to which each event belongs, may he not have been mistaken in respect to other circumstances? But here again the premise is a mere supposition (though, no doubt, highly probable in some cases), and the conclusion has no connexion with it. Luke *may* have known the time, and have deemed it best to classify his facts on some other principle, as in the case of the temptation in the wilderness, and the death of John the Baptist; and if it be true that he had *not* full knowledge of time or other things, all these other things are unrecorded; and why should we therefore conclude that he had not accurate knowledge of what he *does* record? Admit this reasoning, and all revelation becomes uncertain. The inspired writers had not *full* knowledge of even the moral and religious truths which they taught. One of the most enlightened of them affirms that he knew "in part" and prophesied "in part." Are we, therefore, to reject his teaching?

We gladly avow our conviction that the logical conclusions, which follow from Dr. Davidson's statements, he himself would in a large measure disavow. He maintains strenuously that in matters of morals and religious truth, Scripture is our guide, and our only guide. He is disposed to maintain also, that the errors of the inspired writers in history and science are, in fact, trivial and inimportant. They belong not to the essentials of the faith. But then he has fallen into the snare of many philosophic minds. He has generalized too soon and too largely. He has given utterance to propositions of wide sweep and of very extensive application—propositions which, if true, will not be confined to unimportant matters, nor can be:—not to insist upon the objection, that no two men are likely to agree on what is unimportant in statements which involve religious truth, and the character of inspired men.

We note, secondly, of this theory that it is based upon a distinction unsanctioned by anything in Scripture; and involves, so far as it goes, a practical denial of its claims as an inspired

book. The theory distinguishes, it will be marked, between the religious and the historical—claims divine authority for the first, and denies it to the second. The distinction is of vital importance. If true, it solves all difficulties, though at the expense of a large portion of Scripture. And yet, not one word is said in Scripture of the distinction itself. On the contrary, the historical and the ethical portions of the Old Testament are quoted with equal reverence. The facts named in Hebrews xi. seem as much parts of the word of God as the ethical descriptions of Romans iii. The *history* of Paul's conversion he himself gives as an evidence of his divine authority (Gal. i. 20); and if the evidence itself is not necessarily accurate, what becomes of the conclusion? Above all, how is it that a book which professes to be a succession of revelations from God, reaches us with a large admixture of human additions; and yet without a single intimation what these additions are, or even a hint that such additions have been made?

To the further remark, that this theory is, as far as it goes, a practical denial of the claims of the Bible as an *inspired book*, we anticipate no objection. Whatever be included in inspiration, and whatever notions be entertained on the subject of inspiration, or modes—suggestion, superintendence, illumination, the verbal dictation of certain truths, and what not,—the least that can be claimed for an inspired book is that it be *trustworthy*—that men may believe its teachings and rely upon them. “In the compilation of a narrative,” says Dr. Pye Smith in substance, “the office of inspiration is to guarantee its authenticity and truth.” . . . “Veracity and accuracy are all we want.”\* But these assuredly we *do* want. And these this theory withholds from all in Scripture that is historical, that is, from a large portion of the sacred books. We gladly allow that Dr. Davidson himself maintains the accuracy of the history of Scripture in essential matters; only we must hold that his principle denies its *inspired* accuracy, and tends to destroy all reliance upon it as the word of God.

Having criticized the theory of Dr. Davidson at such length, we feel bound to say a few words on the difficulties which his theory is intended to solve. That there are difficulties, say apparent contradictions, we allow. But let the reader mark—that many of them are *textual*, and are removed by ascertaining the true reading of the contradictory statements. Dr. Davidson has done good service by carefully enumerating many of this class. They are, of course, not mistakes of the *inspired text*, but of the *human copy*. Many again are owing to a misconception

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\* Congregational Magazine, September, 1838.



of what inspiration means and does. Dr. Davidson, for example, quotes Job xxix. 18, to prove that Job believed in a "phoenix," a fabulous bird, and had, therefore, crude notions of natural history: and Dr. Tregelles answers him by showing that in all probability the original is rightly translated as in our English version, "sand;" and thus Job's character as a natural historian is re-established. But what has the question to do with the inspiration of this book? No one affirms that Job's speeches were *inspired*, that is, that Job teaches in God's name. His follies and mistakes, and the follies and mistakes of a thousand others are recorded; nay, even the follies and mistakes of the inspired writers themselves. And yet, the inspired *accuracy of the record* remains unimpeached. The *only* difficulties with which we are concerned, are difficulties that arise from the apparent discrepant teaching, *as from God*, of inspired men. To these exclusively our inquiries should be confined. Still more of our Scripture difficulties are owing, as we believe, to a vicious system of interpretation. Men confound with Scripture teaching their own inferences, and then they ascribe to that teaching the inaccuracies that originate really with themselves. In other words, what God in Scripture does teach in clear and explicit terms *on history and on science*, we believe; but we must not charge upon Him meanings which a sound exegesis disowns. It must be plain that the alleged doctrine is His teaching. For example, some hold, and Dr. Davidson among them, that the Hebrew for the expanse above the earth (Gen. i.) means something firm and solid; so that when it is said that God made the expanse, it is concluded that the Hebrews had most inaccurate notions on astronomy. Now, to say nothing of the questionableness of the etymology (for the root means *to beat out*), who fails to see that the conclusion is altogether irrelevant? We may as well charge Addison with worse than barbaric ignorance, because he speaks of the "firmament," a term which also implies solidity! In a similar spirit it is concluded from Rom. v. that the Bible teaches that the death of *all* animal life is a consequence of sin; and the facts of geology are quoted in proof of the "mistake." But this conclusion is a mere inference, and, apart from geology, an *unlikely* inference. The life of the brute and the life of man are in Genesis carefully distinguished; and the obvious aim of the apostle is to give the history of *our* race, and not of brutes. If, moreover, brutes are included in Romans in the ruin, they are included no less in the restoration by our Lord. Here again the mistake is not in Scripture, but in the human interpretation. The "*pillars of the earth*," the "*setting of the sun*," and many other expressions belong to the same class. Such expressions are not meant to

affirm that the earth has *pillars*, or that the sun *sets*. They are utterances common to all languages, and we may be sure if the Bible meant to teach what some have *inferred* from these terms, its teachings would have been put in a very different form.

These explanations, however, will not exhaust all the difficulties of Scripture. To meet such as remain, we have two other suggestions. First, in nearly all narratives of the same events in common life by different witnesses, discrepancies appear; and though an advocate may try, on this ground, to set aside the authority of the witnesses, the judge will affirm that if the men are otherwise credible, and *on any reasonable supposition* the discrepancies can be harmonized, then these discrepancies rather attest their fidelity than the reverse. If the witness is known to be honest and competent, untruthfulness or ignorance is the least admissible solution of the case. So in Scripture: nearly *all* the discrepancies vanish, on certain suppositions, any one of which is allowable, and the least likely of which is more probable, under the circumstances, than the supposition of the ignorance or dishonesty of the writers. Luke's genealogy, for example, differs from Matthew's, but if each is taken from acknowledged public records, or if Luke's gives the descent of our Lord through Mary, the discrepancies cease, or cease to be an argument against the legal accuracy of either. Mr. Newman's assertion, that both are gross mistakes, is a third *supposition*, as improbable as it is irreverent. Here we entirely concur with Dr. Tregelles:—

“That nothing is a contradiction in Scripture if a solution can be *suggested*: it may be that the solution proposed does not happen to be the true one; but still, if any can be stated which would meet the facts of the case, it proves that they *can* be met, and that, therefore, the notion of insurmountability is futile; and then it recoils against the mental perceptions of those who can maintain it.”—Horne iv., *Pref.*

If, after all, discrepancies still remain, then our *second* suggestion is, that they are at present insoluble; a case very analogous to many in science and in common life; but so few will they be found to be in Scripture that they will create no anxiety in the mind of the devout and right-hearted student. The man who takes pains enough to *see them*, only needs to take a little more, and he will either *see through them*, or they will cease to disturb his repose.

Perhaps it may be said that all this reasoning is in support of a *foregone* conclusion,—that we begin with holding the truth of the history of the Bible, and then seek out arguments to defend it; and we plead guilty to this charge. We have commenced the study of the Bible by examining, first of all, what it *claims* to be. We have found in the words of our Lord and of Paul the most

decisive assertions of a divine commission ; of the guidance of the Holy Spirit in their teaching. We have marked how they claim the same authority for the Old Testament, for nearly each book, and for the collected books. We have been forced to conclude that either we must admit this claim, or deny that the writers were even *good* men. We have examined the *evidence* of their claims, tested their character, listened to the tale of their sufferings, investigated the testimony of their adversaries, marked the ten thousand incidental proofs of truthfulness which their own narratives and all antiquity supply. We have seen, moreover, in the history of the church, how objection after objection has melted away, or furnished fresh evidence of the literal accuracy of their story, till the conclusion has become irresistible, that they are honest, truthful, inspired men. We then turn to the difficulties of the inspired record, which have shrunk within *our* memory from scores to units ; and while prepared to admit whatever is *proved*, we confess that to admit, at this stage, either the dishonesty or the ignorance of the writers on topics they profess to teach, seems to us an admission as inconsistent with the common principles of evidence as it is derogatory to the authority of the Scriptures. Anything seems, to us, more likely than that these men penned as true what they did not know, or had no sufficient reason to believe, and then arranged to place their documents in an inspired volume. Let the student begin by treating the word of God as men treat His works. Be sure, first of all, that it is His word : then hold fast the principle that what God teaches as true is true ; that "*Scriptura Mendax*" is a theory as improbable as the old corresponding theory "*Natura Mendax* ;" and we venture to affirm that he will find fewer difficulties in the first than in the second, that the difficulties of both will gradually yield to devouter inquiry and further light, till at last all becomes plain ; if not in our day, or on earth, then in the days of our children, or in heaven.

We trust our readers will not suppose from these remarks, that we are unmindful of Dr. Davidson's services to the cause of Biblical Science. There is much in his previous works we value ; there is much in this volume deserving of careful study. We are not sure that we have always caught his meaning ; and shall rejoice to be told that we have misapprehended it. But on the supposition that he holds the sweeping theory we have attempted to define, we cannot but denounce it. It is ill-timed ; it is, in Horne, out of place ; and we believe it to be, as a theory, untrue. If this supposition is wrong, we can only apologize for a very natural mistake, and implore our author to write more guardedly. With great satisfaction shall we, in that case, withdraw this censure, though in so doing we condemn ourselves.

## ART. IV.—SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

*The Life and Correspondence of Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B.* From Unpublished Letters and Journals. By John William Kaye. Two Vols. Smith, Elder, & Co.

THE career of Sir John Malcolm was in all respects remarkable. It is distinctly identified with the history of our Indian administration, and of our Persian diplomacy. In Persia, indeed, Malcolm was less unmistakably successful than in India; yet, even there, some positive results, of no inconsiderable importance, ensued from the missions which he conducted with such signal spirit and discretion. In India, however, his memory claims companionship with that of Lord Hastings, one of the best and greatest of those statesmen who built upon the broad foundations laid by Clive. His services in the civil and military departments displayed the resources of a versatile mind in which nothing was superficial. A brave and cautious soldier, a judicious commander, a ready tactician, a diplomatist armed at all points, and an admirable administrator, he chiefly excelled, as Mr. Kaye remarks, in the art of governing men in a rude state of society. Proficient as an historian, highly qualified as a negotiator, equally distinguished in a battle or a tiger-hunt, his influence over the natives of India was absolutely overpowering. When Lord Amherst resigned, there was not a man living who deserved more than Malcolm the appointment of governor-general; of course he did not obtain it. That great lieutenancy is an appanage of the House of Peers; no Malcolm will be Promoted to its imperial honours, while there is an earl with an exhausted rent-roll, or a viscount whose necessities are claims upon the public exchequer. The real statesman is the subordinate; the puppet is his superior. The fact, therefore, that Sir John Malcolm could have assumed the government of India at a day's notice, at any time after the settlement of the Central provinces, had no more influence upon the Ministry at home than the application of a half-pay captain for the chief command of the army would have had upon Sir Robert Walpole. Still, he rose to a position of considerable dignity and authority: he was a major-general in the army, the governor of an Indian presidency, twice an envoy at the Court of Persia, and once a member of Parliament. The only discomfiture of his life, it may be said, was in the House of Commons. He was by no means an orator; his views of English politics were of the most limited kind; he participated in the eccentric Toryism of the Duke of Wellington, and sympathized with his ludicrous fears.

“ I could almost gnaw the flesh off my bones,” wrote Wellington to Malcolm, and Malcolm was scarcely less appalled by the success of the Reform Bill. Liberal and far-sighted in India, his mind was filled in England with the most melancholy prejudices and morbid alarms. Consequently, he drifted with the Tories for a session or two, and disappeared from Parliament without adding a tint to his already brilliant reputation. But a failure of this kind by no means discredited John Malcolm, wearing, as he did, the double crown of genius and virtue, the love of his friends, the admiration of England and of India. In both countries Chantrey’s chisel prepared his effigy ; in both countries he received rewards and praises which would have roused the pride of a less happily constituted nature. Without any pretensions to stoicism—without any disdain of advancement—indeed, with ambition prominent among his moral qualities—his aspirations, ardent as they were, contained no mixture of mean or extravagant vanity.

We have alluded to the statues of Malcolm by Chantrey. Not a less enduring memorial will be this life by Mr. Kaye. Mr. Kaye acquired a conspicuous reputation by his History of the Afghan War, and that reputation will be more than sustained by the work before us. To write Malcolm’s biography was not an ordinary task. It was a prodigious labour of selection, arrangement, and compression, of analysis and narrative, the mass of materials being of embarrassing magnitude. They consisted of correspondence, family papers, and public documents of various kinds, with glimpses of personal recollection, and anecdotes saved from the meminiscent table-talk of Indian circles. Some very remarkable letters of the Duke of Wellington appear in these volumes for the first time, with others by Malcolm himself, which, in their way, are not less interesting and characteristic. In connexion with the Persian episodes we had expected to find some account of the correspondence between Malcolm and Captain Shee, who aided in drilling the Shah’s army in Persia—a correspondence of considerable value, full of agreeable and instructive matter ; but Mr. Kaye does not appear to have observed it. However, he was compelled to fix boundaries to his narration, ample as it is, and we can testify that there is not a superfluous page in the volumes. They illustrate very effectively the importance of that section of literature which is the link between the historical and the biographical. The life of Malcolm occupies a broad and lustrous page, not only in the annals of India, but in the biographies of other men, whom his encouragement and control, partly, conducted to distinction. Noble himself, he elicited the nobility of others. We cannot bring to mind any Indian diplomatist who would have been his

rival during the last negotiations with the Peishwa, the Mahratta prince, whose ambition and bad faith had, during a long series of years, disturbed and endangered India. That powerful and martial dynasty, which little more than half a century before, had arrayed two hundred thousand men on the plains of Parsiput, surrendered at the banks of the Nerbudda. Lord Hastings secured his own fame by ratifying the policy of his representatives, and Malcolm, in the Central States, proved how much may be done for the natives of Asia by an administrator at once resolute and cautious, acquainted with the people, and familiar with the science of government. What has recently been effected in the Punjab was effected by him in Malwa. The peasant no longer carried arms when he went to his plough. Those who know India will know what this implies. Years after, when Malcolm was the guest of the East India Company, at a banquet in honour of his appointment to the governorship of Bombay,—when Wellington, Canning, and Mackintosh, assembled to pronounce his eulogy,—when Wellington said, “the history of his life during thirty years, would be the history of the glory of his country in India,” his proudest recollections, his firmest hope of fame, were in connexion with the blessings of his rule in Malwa. The author of “The British Conquests in India,” describes these results: “The country came into our hands a desert—its towns in ruins, its villages destroyed, its soil uncultivated, its roads cut up, and myriads of its population swept off by famines, plagues, and battles. It is now rising to prosperity: it is becoming more thickly inhabited; its numerous streams are now fertilizing the plains; and, while its fortresses decay, cities and hamlets flourish, for the vital spring of a people’s happiness has been renewed.” (II. 79.) It rests with the public in England to exert a pressure on the government sufficiently powerful and sufficiently enlightened to render these words, which are applicable to some British Indian provinces, applicable to the whole of the British Indian empire, with its population of a hundred millions of souls.

The whole career of Sir John Malcolm proves that the European mind, when rightly educated, is fitted to meet the Eastern mind, in its peculiar moods, and to influence it for good or for evil in an unlimited degree.

The immediate ancestry of John Malcolm were the Eskdale Malcolms, a younger branch of the Malcolms of Lachore, in Fifeshire; they settled in Dumfriesshire, in 1717, on the estate of Burnfoot, a spot distinguished as picturesque amidst the picturesque landscapes in which Eskdale abounds. Disaster gloomed over the hitherto prosperous career of the Malcolm family in the fortunes of George Malcolm, who, having largely speculated,



saw, as the result, his estate encumbered with debt, and found himself compelled to sell the whole of his little property. Happily he had friends who proved themselves such in the hour of need. Of the sons of George and Margaret, all more or less distinguished hereafter in the public service, John was the fourth. He was born on the 2nd of May, 1769, and in childhood, it is said, evinced the mental and bodily activity which proved his predominating characteristic throughout life, the youthful phase of which was, a remarkable aptitude for mischief. Already, at the tender age of eleven, circumstances opened a path, which was for him the path of promise. A nomination to the military service of the East India Company for his son was offered to Mr. Malcolm, through the influence of Governor Johnstone. But the more direct means of his departure from home was the visit—to John a momentous one—of his uncle, Mr. John Pasley. This good man at once resolved on a practical preparation of his nephew for his subsequent duty in the world. An anecdote related of the boy shows that, from the fearlessness and resolution of his spirit, he was not ill-fitted to make his way in it. When on the morning of departure, his old nurse combing his hair, exclaimed; “Now, Jock, my mon, be sure when ye are awa ye kame your hair and keep your face clean; if ye dinna, ye’ll just be sent hame again.”—“Tut, woman,” was the reply, “ye’re aye se feared; ye’ll see if I were awa amang strangers, I’ll just do weel aneugh.”

Accompanying his uncle to London, John was entrusted after a week of observation and marvel in the great metropolis, to scholastic discipline under the roof of Mr. Allen. His experience of it was brief; for, at twelve years of age, we follow him to the India House, as a candidate before the committee of directors! And now the undaunted bearing of the school-boy stood him in good stead; for, apparently on the eve of failure, a smart rejoinder ensured him the triumph he could be little expected, of course, to gain on account of any enlarged information or varied acquisitions at that early age. It proved, however, what was sufficient for the inquirer to know, and the candidate to possess—the capacity for acquisition and achievement hereafter. “Why, my little man,” said one of the directors to him, “what would you do if you were to meet Hyder Ali?” “Do, sir,” replied Malcolm, promptly, “I would out with my sword and cut off his head!” “You will do,” was the rejoinder, “let him pass.”

Malcolm’s first commission was granted October, 1781. The interval of some months which elapsed before embarkation was spent in a studious industry, not without its benefit.

At the time of Malcolm’s arrival in the Madras Presidency, the English were engaged in a twofold hostility with Tippoo,

successor of Hyder Ali, and the French, whom they were besieging in their position at Cuddalore. The then disordered addition of our diplomatic and military force rendered welcome a peace which ensued with the French, and the pacific treaty with Tippoo, 1784. It contained an agreement for the release of the English prisoners. The escort of them into the security of British territory was allotted to Major Dallas, while a detachment was sent from the Mysorean frontier to meet it, the command of which was given to Malcolm as ensign. He was now newly entered into the service he was destined so eminently to adorn. As the detachment met the escort, a bright-faced English boy riding on a rough pony towards them, was seen with surprise by Dallas. The inquiry naturally made by him was after the commanding officer; and his astonishment was a little increased, when Malcolm, with the supreme consciousness of his newly-acquired dignity, replied, "*I am the commanding officer.*"

Little material exists for the biography of Malcolm during the next few years, says Mr. Kaye;—sufficient, however, to afford a graphic picture of the occupations, aspirations, and interests of a free-spirited, energetic, and ambitious young soldier. The vivacity of his disposition, the activity of his temperament, his frank and noble bearing, and the geniality of his manners, would not fail to make him beloved by his companions, while his accomplishments as a horseman, and in all manly exercises, awakened their admiration. But these very endowments and attractions, united with the ardour of his nature, exposed him the more sorely to the temptations besetting independent action at fourteen years of age; and his biographer, therefore, very judiciously refrains from claiming a pedestal on which to elevate his hero as a model of virtue. The result of his unrestrained passions was an immersion before long in debt. However, he avoided the worst result of such a position. His embarrassments never betrayed him into apathy or want of self-respect; but, through self-denial and diligence, he nobly resolved to smoothe the way again before him. This determination often cost him the want of a meal, which was the accidental cause of the colonel of the regiment sending for him one day. "I don't see any smoke come out of the chimney of your cook-room, Malcolm," said he; "come and breakfast with me." But the unwarrantable interference, as Malcolm thought it, aroused the idea of a challenge, which was penned, if not sent. Nevertheless, he was one of the most grateful of men; for a poor native woman in the bazaar, who benevolently supplied him with provisions, awaiting his convenience to pay, as she was

aware of his position, he never after forgot, but in more prosperous times pensioned her for the remainder of her life.

The end of the year 1780 found him honourably released from all liability through his own unaided exertions. A life of activity was open to his unfettered energy and his constant aspiration.

Two years later found the English, though but ill-prepared for the emergency, anticipating war, necessitated for the security of the Deccan against the reckless ambition of Tippoo. With the Nizam as our ally, the corps of Malcolm, now lieutenant, formed part of the auxiliary force. Malcolm's first campaign was well calculated to test his soldierly qualifications. A painful march from Ellore brought them, about the middle of July, into the Nizam's dominions. It is thus recorded by Malcolm to his friends :—

“We marched here about ten days ago. Our road was terrible—all rocks and deserts—in the hottest season that was perhaps ever known. The thermometer at 115 degrees for nearly a month. I walked nearly the whole way, as my horse was sick; and we frequently marched at twelve o'clock at night, and did not arrive at our ground till two P.M. next day. We were sometimes greatly distressed for provisions—often forty or fifty without any—but that was little compared with the want of water on the road. Officers in general supply themselves, and have a servant for the purpose; but, in some of our long marches, I have seen men raving mad, go into high fever, and die in a few hours.”—Vol. I. pp. 15, 16.

At Bhoortpore, Malcolm's detachment joined the army of the Nizam, which presented a curious motley of barbaric splendour and squalid incapacity. “With few exceptions,” says Malcolm, “a more complete set of ragamuffins was never assembled.” The absence of moral discipline was in proportion to the roughness of their external appearance, and their merciless conduct towards the inhabitants of their own provinces, and the countries through which they passed, made a deep impression on Malcolm. Every possible kind of torture, atrocity, and extortion was practised by them.

Six months were passed in besieging Copoulee, considered by Malcolm as the strongest fortress in India. At length it surrendered.

At this period it was that he conceived the desire for the diplomatic occupation which formed so important a part hereafter in his career. He became acquainted with Sir John Kennaway, the president, and other representatives of British rule at the Court of Hyderabad, which formed his introductory study of statecraft. To facilitate his ambition, Malcolm now

acquired proficiency in the Persian tongue, and turned his observation also more minutely to the people of the East, and their relations with British power.

Having joined Lord Cornwallis before Seringapatam, Malcolm's qualifications were speedily discerned by that nobleman, and his knowledge of the Persian tongue caused him to be selected as interpreter. But failing health necessitated relaxation for a time, and at the close of twelve arduous years, invaluable to Malcolm for the experience they had brought him, he returned to England. The joy of a family gathering, where all are united by the warmest attachment, can readily be imagined; but not the least interesting episodes in the eventful career of Malcolm are the rare and brief periods dedicated to the indulgence of the hallowed affections of home. These affections were retained by him in all their nobility and fervour to the close of life, of which ample proof was given in his correspondence—expressing sometimes the reverential gratitude of a son, at others the pleasant endearing tenderness of a brother.

On his return to the East, his next engagement was as a witness of the capture of the Cape. Still more ardently as time advanced was he absorbed in desire for the excitement of diplomatic action, and great was his satisfaction on receiving from Lord Wellesley an appointment as ambassador to the Court of Persia. Since the reign of Queen Elizabeth no envoy had proceeded thither, and the importance of the mission was now adequate to the value of the objects to be obtained. These were the security of India from the evils of Afghan invasion, and the desolation with which the descent of a horde of barbarians is connected. These were the more to be feared from the support they would most probably receive from the Mohammedan princes of India, who anticipated, through such an alliance, deliverance from the tyranny of Mahrattas and Feringhee. To aid in this alliance, and by union with the native powers to urge resistance to the British rule, was supposed to be the policy pursued by France, and this conviction probably was more powerful than any in prompting the course of English diplomacy under Lord Wellesley.

In November, then, Malcolm quitted Hyderabad, impressed with a profound contempt for the Court of the Nizam. A march of eighteen days brought him to Poonah, the Peishwa's capital. From thence his journey lay across a country remarkably beautiful in its scenery. But enamelled meadows and rich foliage had no charm for Malcolm, who confesses a total want of appreciation for the loveliness of nature. But this was com-

pensated by his ready sympathy with mankind, and the intercourse into which he so naturally entered through the possession of this quality, with the natives of India, was of use to him in a variety of ways. He found often information as well as amusement.

The first step towards the fulfilment of Malcolm's mission on his arrival at Muscat, was an interview with the governor of that place, favourably disposed towards the English policy. This frame of mind Malcolm took all possible pains to foster by an eloquent demonstration of the advantages to be derived from an alliance of the Persian and British powers; and, as a further incentive, recapitulated the triumphs and possessions of the English in India, and the benefits derived by the people from their rule. "From Surat to Calcutta not a vessel could anchor without the consent of the ruling power. What, then," he asked, "would become of the famed commerce of Muscat if the harbours of the whole Indian peninsula were closed against it." He was next received by the Imaum himself, "a man of a mild and prepossessing countenance, and of polite but simple manners." After a repetition of his proposals, Malcolm paused, and was asked by the Imaum, what else he had to state. On replying, nothing, the monarch, in Arabian fashion, placing his hand on his head, and then on his heart, declared that he entirely consented to the treaty.

Having effected so far his enterprise, Malcolm retired to Bushire, carrying with him, as usual, an ample supply of presents in the shape of jewelled watches, guns, telescopes, pistols, and enamelled ornaments. This system of presentation-offerings he found no less indispensable to the support of diplomacy than a rigorous adherence to the intricacies of Eastern etiquette; and while he found the latter insupportably tedious, the distribution of gifts was, doubtless, felt as a pleasure; prompting him, perhaps, in the generosity of his nature, to a degree of prodigality. Moreover, he had the most honourable incentives to liberality in the conviction that, finally, it would best secure the interests of his country; and, as its representative, he desired as much as possible to realize the idea of its splendour and importance. But, while he wisely conceded much to the peculiar tenacity of habitude in the East which renders innovation so difficult, he exacted unflinchingly the respect and consideration due to him as the agent of a great European power, and on no account would brook the slightest deviation from the demand. On one occasion having suffered, as he thought, a breach of courtesy from the Persian prince, he demanded ample atonement, or declared his intention at once to depart from Shiraz, and report the outrage to the king. But, before

measures could be taken to that effect, a most humble apology was tendered. In no respect was the policy of Malcolm so admirable as in the rare combination it displayed of moderation with firmness of purpose, which extended peacefully and more surely the British sway by desisting from the contemptuous treatment of cherished rights, and the violation of a people's privilege.

From Shiraz the mission proceeded to Ispahan, and thence to Teheran, where the Envoy was presented to the Persian monarch, who received him in a lofty chamber, profusely ornamented, in one corner of which sat the monarch, magnificently attired, and who, seated on his cushioned throne, appeared a dazzling mass of jewelled brilliance. A gracious welcome was accorded him,—the affability of the monarch somewhat increased by the splendid array of presents laid at his feet. Watches glittering with jewels, caskets of gold beautifully enamelled, lustres of variegated glass,—the ingenious marvels of European science and skill,—precious stones, a diamond of great worth, and mirrors of colossal proportions, awaited his acceptance! His Majesty expressed himself curious as to the customs of the English court, —inquiring how many wives had King George. With the aid of such courtesies, diplomacy proceeded apace; and the treaties appeared on the point of a satisfactory settlement. But the ambassador's endurance had still to be tried, for after an interminable amount of negotiation, discussion, modification and surrender, the two treaties drawn up by the Persian ministers, were presented to Malcolm, but so “altered and mutilated as to have lost their original form!” This necessitated amendment and delay. Delighted, he at length took his leave of the Persian capital, and emerged for awhile from the entanglements of a diplomatic embassy to Persia. It had been an anxious and arduous task; but his success was all that could be hoped, and far more than might reasonably be expected in dealing with the craftiness and unscrupulous duplicity of an Eastern court.

The next capacity in which we see Malcolm is as private secretary to the Marquis Wellesley, who in every difficulty sought his aid and appreciated it; and during one of his many expeditions, Malcolm was detained as prisoner in the village of Keroli. But, so far from being discomforted by the incident, he regarded it rather as a pleasurable adventure, as he contrived, through some means, to acquaint the Resident of Poonah with his situation. The incident is pleasantly recorded by him:—

“I found myself” he says, “in a small village whose inhabitants were of the Mahratta tribe. They were buried among the undulations of wooded eminence at the top of the ghauts, and seemed, though only three or four miles from the great road between Poonah and Bombay, in a great degree out of the busy world, and exempt



from those cares to which their neighbours were exposed. Before two hours of the morning had passed, I was acquainted with the whole village. They had, none of them, except one man, who had been a tappal-peon, or post-office runner, to the post-office at Bombay, ever seen a European before. . . . The inhabitants of the hamlet hardly knew the names of the chiefs who were wasting the plains in their vicinity with fire and sword. They paid, they said, a trifle of rent to the lord of the country. They had, they told me, and they thanked God for it, no fields to be trampled. Their sole wealth was in their cattle and sheep, which, on the slightest alarm, were driven into the recesses of the hills. Their huts offered no temptation to plunderers, and, therefore, they were never plundered. The diet on which they principally lived was milk. What rice they had was bought by the sale of sheep or butter. They had, besides, a quantity of poultry, whose eggs were sold at the neighbouring villages to passing travellers. I never saw a more marked difference of character and habits than there appeared between the inmates of this retired village and those upon the high road and in the open country. And though nothing could happen more disagreeable than my detention, there was a novelty and simplicity of manners in my new friends which quite pleased me, and the two days I passed with them I have ever since remembered with satisfaction. I had made such advances in the good opinion of all ranks by talking to them, laughing with them, distributing a few rupees among the men, giving a silk handkerchief to the potail's (head man) wife, and a few pieces of sugar-candy to the children, that I found on the second day all were prepared to express their gratitude by giving me an entertainment. The place of assembly was an open *pandal*, or rude canopy, in front of the potail's hut, which was made with a slight, neat roof, and four bamboo posts. Under the shade of the pandal, some men began the ball with a shepherd's dance; next the little children, male and female, gave us two dances—the sheep dance and the fowl dance. In the former, they ran and skipped about on all fours, and bleated like the animals they imitated. In the second, they sat upon their thighs, and putting their right hand over their head to imitate the beak of a fowl, they hopped about and pecked at one another in a very ludicrous and amusing manner.

“But the important part of the entertainment was now announced. A small crowd opened to the right and left, and showed the tappal-peon attired as an English lady. If the dress of this post-office runner, which consisted of a piece of old muslin made into a cap or bonnet, a common white cloth which was tied at the sleeves and waist to look like a gown, and bulged out at each side with some sticks to make a hooped petticoat, was ludicrous, his dancing was still more so. He began by walking slowly up and down, which I concluded was meant as a minuet. During the ceremony, for such I fancy the spectators thought it, all were grave; and I felt compelled to seem the same. But the period of sufferance was not long; for in an instant the imitator of English manners began to sing, *La, la, la—Tol, lol de rol*; and danced, and jumped, and whisked about

in every direction. At the country dance, for such it was intended, all laughed, and expressed their admiration by loud plaudits. I joined the general voice. The old tappal-man, when it was over, came to me and said, 'It is now nearly thirty years since I looked in at the door and saw these fine dances; I wanted to teach them to the people here, but they have no sense and cannot learn.' "

The most gratifying testimony to Malcolm's exertions continued to be afforded from those whose position enabled them best to understand and appreciate his services, and, consequently, rendered their approbation the source of a peculiar satisfaction. The Duke of Wellington thus addresses him in 1824 :—

"I can answer no great transaction has taken place in the East, in which you have not played a principal, most useful, conspicuous, and honourable part; and you have, in many services, diplomatic as well as military, been distinguished by successes, any one of which, in ordinary circumstances, would have been deemed sufficient for the life of a man, and would have recommended him to the notice of his superiors."

The repulsion of the Mahratta power was the next important object for which we had to contend, and the victory obtained by the troops of Holkar over the Peishwa, by driving him to seek a closer alliance with the English, was propitious to that end. The treaty, therefore, with the Peishwa, known as the Treaty of Bassein, was concluded in 1802. Shortly after, Malcolm was appointed to the Residency of Mysore, a post of a peculiarly important character at that juncture.

A force was already assembled on the Mysore frontier, and another division under General Wellesley was about to take the field for the restoration of Peishwa to his capital. While Malcolm recruited his health at Bombay, tidings reached him of the victory of Wellesley at Assaye; a victory in which, Malcolm declared, he should regret to the end of his life, he had not been enabled to share. A repetition of triumphs proved a favourable period in which to treat with the defeated Mahrattas, and Sir John Malcolm's next expedition was to the Court of Scindia.

"We were well received," he writes to General Wellesley, "by the Maharajah, who is a good-looking young man. He preserved great gravity when we first came in, and probably we might have left him without seeing that his gravity was affected, had not a ridiculous incident moved his muscles. A severe shower took place while we were in the tent, under which Mr. Pepper was seated, when all at once it burst in a torrent upon his head. From the midst of the torrent we heard a voice exclaim "Jesus!" and soon after poor Pepper emerged. The Maharajah laughed loudly, and we all joined in chorus."

Contentions and intrigues abounded in the Mahratta court,

and the anxieties and perplexities of statesmanship were felt in all their force by Malcolm. It was difficult to draw the attention of the Maharajah to negotiation, equally difficult to make him comply with the necessary terms, and still more so to rely upon his promises when made. Malcolm was imbued with the deepest sense of the responsibility imposed upon him, and the errors imputed to him could not, even by his enemies, be attributed to negligence or apathy. Nevertheless, his course of policy did not meet with the approbation of General Wellesley. The displeasure, however, was but temporary, and was entirely effaced by the explanations of Malcolm.

It was during a residence at Lucknow that the intelligence of an event, to Malcolm of momentous interest, reached him—the appointment of Lord Cornwallis as the successor of General Wellesley. His regret at the occurrence was awakened by the personal attachment to Wellesley which he united to the admiration he entertained for his policy; and this regret was heightened by the reasonable anticipation, knowing the feelings of the Government, that the same policy would scarcely be pursued by his successor, and the idea of a retrograde movement was abhorrent to a mind so energetic. By Lord Cornwallis equal apprehension was experienced lest he should not meet with his cordial co-operation. The situation of Malcolm at this period was sufficiently embarrassing, as he discovered that not only vigorous measures would be dispensed with, but that the absolute abandonment of our alliances and our territory was the course to be adopted by the new governor-general. To assist such a policy was to do violence to his conscience and his principles, and to labour to undo all that he had sought to acquire through the diligence of former years.

The death of Lord Cornwallis relieved him from the distraction of doubt into which he had been plunged; and he at once proffered his services to Sir George Barlow. The lapse of years saw him still occupied assiduously and honourably in the furtherance of the cause to which he had dedicated the energies of his existence. An enlightened statesman, a distinguished soldier, an able administrator, he proved himself adequate to every emergency. Prompt in action, fertile in expedient, and fearless in authority, though mindful of responsibility, the results of his beneficent influence were as remarkable as they were honourable. Of this, the most sufficient as well as gratifying testimony was afforded in the enthusiastic affection and respect manifested by all classes when, in later times, crowned with honours, he completed the circuit of the Residencies.

It was now that Malcolm had achieved the crowning work of his life—the political organization of Central I We have

already alluded to the effects of this remarkable settlement. But he said that Ireland was conquered less by English arms than by English law. A similar remark might be applied to India. It is a region where, more than in any other, conciliation is an overpowering influence. Malcolm understood this maxim, and applied it. The result was honourable to his foresight, to his energy, and to his discretion. He left in Central India a reputation which will not soon die away. If we refrain from discussing in detail the policy he adopted with so much success, it is because justice could not be done to his skill and perseverance without a minute enumeration of facts, which would lead us beyond our limits. After all, the events of Sir John Malcolm's youth are those which chiefly fascinate an English reader. We see the seed sown and the harvest ripening. In later years we accompany Malcolm to England; we notice his correspondence with the various members of Lord Liverpool's government, his receipts of rewards and honours, his Bombay administration—distinguished by acts of great moral courage, as well as by an extraordinary knowledge of Indian necessities. Then, once more, we return with him to England, where, in the fulness of years, with the energies of a young man, and the prejudices of a superannuated agriculturist, he re-enters Parliament, fights on behalf of the failing Tory faction, is struck off the rolls of the House by the Reform Bill; and, retiring into private life, dies the calm death of a Christian. His ambition had been fulfilled, so far as could moderately have been expected; and if some projects had failed, and some honours had been denied to his aspiring hopes, he felt, upon his death-bed, that he had received, in this world, all that he could reasonably desire. The nation felt its loss when John Malcolm died. There was a universal testimony to his greatness and virtue. But, we repeat, until Mr. Kaye's volumes appeared, not even Chantrey's sculpture had constituted a fitting memorial of such a man.

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#### ART. V.—THE HERMETIC PHILOSOPHY.

*L'Alchimie et Les Alchimistes : Essai Historique et Critique sur La Philosophie Hermétique.* Par Louis Figuier. Deuxième Edition, revue et augmentée. Paris : 1856.

ALTHOUGH it is now almost universally admitted that the pursuit of the philosopher's stone was a vain and pernicious delusion, the offspring of imperfect knowledge, false conceptions,

and excited fancies—that the golden vision which, age after age, gleamed before the eyes of the philosophers of Europe, was unreal as the mirage that mocks the thirsty pilgrim, and bright and deceitful as those wandering fires that sometimes mislead the traveller—still it must, at the same time, be acknowledged that the belief in man's ability to discover for himself a substance, which should at once be capable of converting the viler metals into silver and gold, of supplying an infallible remedy for all diseases, and of prolonging life far beyond its natural limits, though but a dream, was the most magnificent that has ever dazzled the human imagination. During a period of more than a thousand years it fascinated some of the wisest of mankind, and, even in the nineteenth century, its allurements have not entirely departed. Alchemy, indeed, unfolds to us a most interesting chapter in the history of human error and credulity; while the lives and opinions of its votaries present a strange combination of strength and weakness, wisdom and folly, illusion and reality, truth and falsehood. They sought what could not be found, and found what they did not seek. Many a valuable drug and chemical, many a substance useful in the arts, was discovered by these old and earnest searchers, in the course of their long and laborious pursuit of the golden phantom that ever lured them onwards, yet always eluded their grasp. They were the pioneers of modern science, the unconscious founders of the splendid edifice of modern chemistry; and the opinion which would condemn all their labours as vain and ridiculous, upon many points is false, upon almost all exaggerated. On this account, therefore, as well as from its being the least known department of the history of the sciences, although it occupied so prominent a place in the Middle Ages and during the revival of letters, the science of Alchemy well deserves a careful and unprejudiced consideration; and this it has met with in the learned and entertaining volume of M. Figuier, some account of which we shall now proceed to place before our readers.

His book is divided into four parts. The first of these is devoted to a statement of the opinions and doctrines maintained by the Hermetic philosophers, including a sketch of the labours undergone by them in their search after the philosopher's stone, and a summary of the principal chemical discoveries which are due to them. In the second part, an attempt is made to determine the influence which Alchemy has exercised upon society during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the two epochs in which it exerted the most powerful sway over the human mind. The third part, entitled "History of the Principal Metallic Transmutations," contains a detail of the strange events which

have contributed to keep up, for so long a time, throughout Europe a belief in the doctrines of Alchymical science; and the last part, "Alchymy in the Nineteenth Century," has for its aim to demonstrate that, even in our own day, Alchymical beliefs have not been entirely abandoned, and to state distinctly the arguments which some persons yet rely upon, as their justification for still adhering to them.

The following are the general conclusions at which M. Figuier arrives:—

"The present state of the science of chemistry prevents us from considering the transmutation of metals as an impossibility; it results from recently discovered scientific data, and from the actual spirit and tendency of chemistry, that the transformation of one metal into another might be accomplished. But history shows us that, up to the present day, no one has succeeded in realizing the fact of metallic transmutation."

During the long period of twelve centuries, the great object of chemistry was the changing of inferior metals into gold and silver; and it was not until the sixteenth century that some enlightened philosophers endeavoured to rear up a barrier between Alchymy—the pretended art of the gold-makers—and chemistry, considered as a separate science, apart from and independent of any special or private aim. Some writers have endeavoured to trace the origin of Alchymy to Tubal Cain, and others to the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistus; but these are mere fanciful and baseless conjectures, for there are no written documents relating to Alchymical science which ascend higher than the fourth century of the Christian era. These belong to the *literati* of the Byzantine empire, among whom it seems extremely probable that Alchymy had its origin. About that period it was common to regard Egypt as having been the cradle of all human knowledge; and, in order to lend the sanction of a great name to their works, some of the Byzantine authors had the audacity to attribute them to the great Hermes himself; but it is easy to see from the style, the writing, and the paper of many of these MSS., which still exist in various European libraries, that the pen of Hermes has been in reality guided by the hands of a Christian monk. These Byzantine philosophers were on intimate terms with those of Alexandria, and both pursued Alchymical researches with equal ardour. In the seventh century, however, the Arab invasion of Egypt for a time suspended the studies of the sages of Alexandria; but this proved only a temporary check, for the conquerors soon surpassed the conquered in the eagerness with which they devoted themselves to the study of Alchymy. In the eighth century they carried it, along with their victorious arms, into Spain,



which speedily became the chief centre of the Hermetical philosophy. In that country the precious jewel of the sciences was preserved, from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, amidst surrounding darkness and ignorance; and the few learned men who were to be found in other parts of Europe, repaired to the schools of Cordova, Seville, or Toledo, to imbibe the lessons of wisdom from the lips of Mahomedan sages. From them Arnold of Villanova, Thomas Aquinas, Raymond Lully, and Roger Bacon, acquired a fondness for Alchymical studies; their renown and writings contributed to diffuse Hermetic science throughout Europe; and to such an extent did its doctrines spread, that, in the sixteenth century, Alchymy was cultivated throughout the length and breadth of Christendom. The seventeenth century was its culminating point; from that era it has rapidly declined, its decay and downfall being precipitated by the extravagance, follies, and frauds of some of its most celebrated votaries. From that period, also, dates the schism which gave rise to modern chemistry. The struggle between the true and the pretended science was long and obstinate, and was not finally decided until after the memorable reformation brought about in chemical science by the genius of Lavoisier.

A false theory with regard to the composition of metals lay at the foundation of Alchymy. The doctrine of transmutation rested upon two principles, constantly dwelt upon in the writings of the Alchymists. These were the theories of metallic composition and generation. According to the Hermetical philosophers, the metals were composite bodies, and their composition was uniform; that is to say, they were all formed by the union of the two elements of *sulphur* and *mercury*, and the different properties of the metals were supposed to be the result of the various proportions of these two essential elements. According to them, gold was formed of a great deal of very pure mercury, united with a small quantity of very pure sulphur, and copper of a nearly equal proportion of these two ingredients. It must, however, be remembered that the sulphur and mercury, the elemental parts of all metallic substances, were in no respect identical with the sulphur and mercury of ordinary speech. The *mercurius* of the Alchymists signified that peculiar metallic base or element which imparts to metals their brilliancy and ductility; or, in a word, their metalleity; while sulphur was considered as their combustible element. Such, then, was the Hermetical theory of the composition of metals, one effect of which was to produce a belief in the possibility of transmutation; for, supposing that precisely the same elements entered into the composition of all metals, it would naturally follow that, if by proper means the proportions of these elements could be

to vary, the substance of one metal might be changed into the substance of another. Mercury might become silver, or gold. It is not known who was the author of this remarkable theory, generally received until the middle of the thirteenth century. The first writer who mentions it is the philosopher Geber, in the eighth century; but he does not claim it as his own. With regard to the generation of metals, it was considered to be, in all respects, similar to that of plants. The generation of the vile metals, such as lead, copper, and tin, was viewed as an accident or defect of nature. It was believed that as the sun uniformly endeavours to give to plants the utmost degree of perfection, so, in the case of metals, the sun must be constantly tending to the production of gold, the generation of other metals being only the result of accidental derangement. It was a fundamental principle of the Alchymists, that the metals, and in general all inorganic bodies, were endowed with a sort of vitality. The nobility or vileness of a metal was estimated by its mutability, and the reverse. Thus gold and silver, unalterable in the fire, and the majority of chemical agents, were deemed the noblest and most perfect metals; while lead, copper, and tin, easily corroded or oxydizable, were considered as vile and imperfect. The vile metals were, however, believed to be in a sort of transition state, tending to pass into gold or silver, and to be aided in this process by the action of the stars. Some alchemists asserted that, once arrived at the state of gold or silver, a metal remained stationary, while others insisted that it was constantly going on, and that, after having attained the state of silver or gold, by a further mutation the metal would gradually pass into a state of imperfection. Such were some of the strange doctrines of the Alchymical philosophers; the consequence of which was to establish, in principle, the possibility of metallic transmutations. It remained, however, to show it experimentally, and to this all their energies were accordingly devoted. They believed that there did exist a substance whose discovery would enable them to realize their dreams. This substance was the philosopher's stone, or, known also as the great *magisterium*, the great elixir, or the quintessence. When perfect, it changed viler metals into gold when placed in contact with them in a state of fusion; but, if ever, it had not obtained its highest degree of strength or perfection, it only transmuted them into silver; and, in this case, it was termed the little philosopher's stone, the little elixir, or the little *magisterium*.

The philosopher's stone is first met with for the first time in the works of the twelfth century. Before that period the Greek

and Arabian Alchymists, with the exception of Geber, had contented themselves with endeavouring to establish theoretically the doctrine of transmutation, without pointing out any special agent calculated to accomplish that object. The Hermetic philosophers differ greatly in their descriptions of the appearance and substance of this wonderful stone. Van Helmont says, "I have seen and made the philosopher's stone; it had the colour of saffron in powder, and was heavy, and sparkling like glass." Paracelsus represents it as a solid body of a dark red colour, transparent and flexible, but brittle as glass. Berigard of Pisa attributes to it the colour of a wild poppy, and the smell of calcined sea salt. Raymond Lully speaks of it under the name of *carbunculus*; Helvetius asserts that it has the colour of sulphur, while many other Alchymical authors describe it as a red powder. Strange inconsistencies these, but easily reconciled by an adept. Thus the well-known Alchymist who writes under the name of Kalid, says of the philosopher's stone, "it unites in itself all colours, it is white, red, yellow, green, azure." The little philosopher's stone, on the other hand, which, as before mentioned, only possessed the power of changing the vile metals into silver, is always spoken of as a substance of a brilliant white colour. It is, however, but seldom spoken of in the writings of the adepts, who loved not to do things by halves.

The Alchymists attributed to the philosopher's stone three essential properties; the changing of the viler metals into silver and gold, the curing of all diseases, and the prolonging of human life beyond its natural limits. But, although all of them are agreed as to its power of changing other metals into gold, there is a remarkable discrepancy among them as to the proportions necessary to be employed to produce this transmutation. The Alchymists of the seventeenth century are comparatively moderate in their pretensions; Kunckel, the most modest among them, calculates that it will convert into gold but twice its own weight of baser metal, and another author of the same period, from thirty to fifty times. But in the Middle Ages the pretensions of the adepts were far more extravagant; thus, Arnold of Villanova and Rupecissa, attribute to the grand magisterium the power of changing into gold 100 times its weight of impure metal; Roger Bacon, 100,000 times; Isaac the Hollander, 1,000,000; while Raymond Lully goes far beyond the highest of these computations. According to him, the philosopher's stone possesses such innate virtue, that not only will it change mercury into gold, but also impart to the gold thus made its own transmuting power:—

"Take" (says he, in his "Novum Testamentum") "of that exquisite medicine the size of a haricot bean, project it upon 1000 ounces of

mercury, it will change it into a red powder; add an ounce of this red powder to another 1000 ounces of mercury, a similar transformation will take place. Repeat twice this operation, and each ounce of the product will change 1000 ounces of mercury into philosopher's stone. An ounce of the product of the fourth operation will be sufficient to change 1000 ounces of mercury into gold purer than the best gold of the mines."

It would seem difficult to surpass the extravagance of this, but Salmon, another of the adepts, has succeeded in doing so. He asserts that, "at each contact with mercury, the powder of projection increases its power tenfold; and so on, always increasing, even to infinity,—a thing which the human spirit cannot comprehend."

The property of curing all maladies and prolonging life, was not attributed to the philosopher's stone until the thirteenth century; and this belief in its vital powers probably arose from the Western Alchymists misinterpreting the metaphorical and inflated language of their Eastern and more ancient brethren. Thus, when Geber says, "Bring me the six lepers that I may cleanse them;" he means to say, "Bring me the six vile metals that I may change them into gold." But, however this may be, the later Hermetical writers agree in holding the philosopher's stone, taken internally, to be the most precious and infallible of all medicines, by whose use a man may live out all the days of his appointed term in perfect health. Basil Valentine says, "that he who possesses the philosopher's stone will never be attacked by sickness or infirmities, until the last hour which has been assigned to him by the King of Heaven." But all the adepts were not content with limiting the powers of this medicine to the prolonging of life, in unbroken health and vigour, to the extreme of its natural limits. Artephius claimed for himself 1000 years of age; 400 were attributed to the Venetian Frederic Gualdo, a brother of the Rosy Cross; 140 to the Hermit Trautmansdorf, and more than 100 to Alain de Lisle, all owing to the use of this invaluable medicine. Raymond Lully, at an advanced age, was said to have been restored to youth and vigour by the same means; and Solomon Trismosin, another of the adepts, boasted that he possessed the power of restoring the freshness and beauty of youth to women of seventy and eighty years of age; and that for him to prolong life to the day of judgment was "a mere bagatelle." Vincent de Beauvais has attempted to show that Noah's having children when 500 years old, was owing to the possession of the philosopher's stone; and two English adepts have written elaborate treatises to prove that it was owing to the use of the same means that the Patriarchs attained their prolonged term of existence.

But besides these material opinions with regard to the philosopher's stone, there were others characterized by a mystical and theosophical tendency; and the works of the Hermetic adepts, generally considered, will be found to arrange themselves into two great groups; the one in some degree practical, recording the results of observation, and the experiments and toil of the laboratory, while the other is principally abstract, mystical, and speculative. The works included under this last group, do not date farther back than the twelfth century. The Arabs and Moors had applied themselves to the study of facts, without troubling themselves with metaphysical abstractions; but, once established in Christendom, Alchymy was not long in acquiring a new and more transcendental character. Religious inspiration was judged indispensable to the success of the great work, and the metaphysical and religious soon claimed for itself a superiority over the practical part of the art,—a result brought about by the writings of some of the most eminent philosophers of the time. The philosopher's stone was supposed to possess a mysterious and occult influence over the faculties of the human mind; and the grand operation of transmutation was frequently compared to the peculiar relations of the soul and body, and to the mysteries of the Christian religion. Up to the thirteenth century, Alchymists had been content to limit the powers of the philosopher's stone to the three dynamical properties previously mentioned, but after that era a moral influence was also imputed to it. It was supposed to confer upon its fortunate possessor, not only wealth, but also wisdom and virtue. As it ennobled the viler metals, so it purified the human spirit, and eradicated from the soul the bitter root of sin. As a consequence of these opinions, it was believed that the ancient sages had possessed the philosopher's stone; that Adam had received it from the hands of God, and that the Hebrew Patriarchs and King Solomon, were adepts initiated into the innermost mysteries of the Hermetic art; while some even went so far as to affirm that God has promised the philosopher's stone to all good Christians, quoting in support of their opinion that verse of the Apocalypse, "To him that overcometh, I will give a white stone."

The mediæval Alchymists were fond of assimilating the operation of transmutation to the death and resurrection of the body; and, in some of the Hermetic authors of this period, the resurrection is spoken of as an Alchymical operation—as a transmutation of a higher order. This idea pleased the great Luther, and conciliated his protection for Alchymical science, "on account of the magnificent comparisons which it presents to us, with the resurrection of the dead and the day of judgment." The com-

parison, or rather the identification of the Hermetic work with the mysteries of the Christian religion, is constantly to be met with in the writings of the mystics of the seventeenth century ; in the works of Argill, of Michaëlis, and especially in those of Boehme, whose fanaticism contributed to give a powerful impulse and extensive circulation to his fantastic opinions. The adepts of this period believed the Divine favour to be necessary for the attainment of the philosopher's stone, and that it would be denied to those of a wicked life, or who neglected to implore the favour and assistance of the Deity. Many of them were men of blameless life, and of most sincere piety ; but, in spite of the numerous proofs which they gave of their devotional fervour, and of the strength and orthodoxy of their faith, they were constantly reproached with devoting themselves to the study of magic, and invoking its assistance for the accomplishment of their work. It will, however, be found, upon a close examination, that magic really played a far less prominent part in the Hermetic philosophy than is generally supposed. The Byzantine adepts, indeed, were believers in the power of astrological influences, and named the metals after certain planets ; thus, to Saturn, they consecrated lead, litharge, agate, and other similar materials ; to Jupiter, tin, coral, sandarach, and sulphur ; to Mars, iron, the loadstone, and pyrites ; to Venus, copper, pearls, amethysts, asphalte, sugar, honey, myrrh, and sal-ammoniac ; to Mercury, quicksilver, the emerald, amber, and mastic ; and to the Moon, then numbered among the planets, silver and glass.

The Egyptians and Arabs, also, who had received from the Hebrews the traditions of the Cabala, conformed themselves to its principles, and held that a knowledge of astrology was necessary for a proper understanding and successful practice of the Hermetical art. This belief was promulgated by Geber and Rhasis in the eighth century, but their works belong to a very early era in Alchymical science ; and, in later times, when the search after the philosopher's stone was transferred to the West, the astrological and magical parts of the process were generally abandoned, and fell into great discredit. Some distinguished adepts, such as Paracelsus, Arnold of Villanova, and Basil Valentine, did, indeed, turn their attention to astrology and magic ; but, upon the whole, it may be safely affirmed that, although the Western Alchymists were, to a certain extent, impressed by the prevalent ideas of their time with regard to the nature and influence of supernatural beings, these ideas exercised but a feeble impression upon their works. History shows us that magic has played a very secondary



part in the Hermetical philosophy. In the various accounts of metallic transmutations which have come down to us, no mention is anywhere made of invocations to occult intelligences; and, although the history of Alchymical science points out to us certain individuals who toiled to conjure demons, or who boasted of retaining familiars in their service, the event proved that they were but false adepts and unworthy Alchymists. Such were Bragadino, Léonard Thurneysser, and Francois Borri, three charlatans, whose lives afford striking examples of human credulity and imposture. In fact, the reproach of magic so generally urged against the Alchymists, has been brought upon them by a few miserable pretenders; none of the great men, whose renown gilds the annals of Alchymy, ever believed or practised such folly. Whatever were the errors into which they fell, they were at least positive philosophers, having a determinate aim, and thoroughly knowing what was the object of their researches. To them magic was useless; and, if they were sometimes tempted to have recourse to its aid, their good sense soon showed them that no satisfactory result could be hoped for from the employment of such means.

The obscurity of the Hermetic writings has been often and justly complained of; and, in most instances, this obscurity appears to be wilful; it was their intention to be mysterious and impenetrable. Never having succeeded in the art of making gold, they could have nothing distinct or definite to say of its practice; but they themselves assigned a very different reason, namely, their fear of producing a complete revolution in the framework of society. "It would not be proper," says Salmon, "to profane and render public so precious a thing which, if it were known, would cause a prodigious disorder and overthrow in human society." The adepts also, considering the philosopher's stone to be a Divine gift peculiar to the elect, and to those spirits whom grace has touched, believed that it would not be lawful to communicate such a secret to the wicked, or to the vulgar crowd, and therefore shrouded their writings in mystery, holding that temporal and eternal punishment awaited the profane wretch who should rashly reveal the grand secret. Of this, it would be easy to cite abundant proofs, but the obscurity of these writings, and the fancifulness of their contents, is sufficiently indicated by the titles of some of the most celebrated among them. Such are "The Chymical Apocalypse" and "The Twelve Keys of Philosophy," by Basil Valentine; "The Mirror of Secrets" and "The Alchymical Honey" of Roger Bacon; "The Collar Bone" of Raymond Lully; "The Book of Light," by Rupecissa; "The Tomb of Semiramis opened to Wise Men," and "The Entrance Opened to the Shut Palace of the

King," by Philalethes ; "The Tincture of the Sun and Moon;" "The Glorious Sun in the Chymical Firmament of the German Horizon;" and many others equally absurd and magniloquent.

It must be remembered that the Alchymists believed that metals were produced in the same way as organized bodies—that they were generated by the union of the male and female; and their science consisted in bringing about artificially the union of the two powers necessary for the production of gold. These first essentials were then left for a certain time in a vase, designated from its form "The Philosopher's Egg," in which, after a sufficient period had elapsed, the perfect metal was expected to be found. But, it may be asked, what are these two substances that play so important a part in metallic generation? According to the best authorities, they are ordinary gold which represents the male organ, and "the mercury of philosophers," also termed "the first agent," which represents the female. The grand difficulty consists in procuring this mercury; that once found, all is simple, but its discovery is no easy task, requiring either an immediate Divine revelation, or the friendship of an adept, who has himself so received it. This essential element has been sought in various and most dissimilar substances; in arsenic, mercury, and antimony; in salts (for which the passage in St. Luke, "salt is good," was cited as an authority), such as sea salt, saltpetre, and vitriol; in plants and animals; in bones, flesh, blood, urine, and excrements; in virgin soil, in rain water, and in dew-drops fallen upon roses. Such were the follies into which the Alchymists, once launched upon a wide sea of extravagance, soon found themselves hurried; starting from a principle whose correctness they had taken for granted, they pushed their conclusions to the verge of insanity.

The researches of the Alchymical mystics were directed to the discovery of the Alcahest, the Palingenesy, and the Homunculus. Palingenesy was the art of making plants revive from their ashes, and the Homunculus was a miniature man, fabricated by Hermetic art; whilst the Alcahest was the universal solvent, supposed to be capable of reducing all substances to the liquid form. It was not sought after until the sixteenth century, and Paracelsus is the first author who alludes to it. Repeated attempts were made to discover it until the middle of the eighteenth century, when their futility and absurdity were exposed by Kunckel, who made the very simple and obvious remark, which, however, seems to have escaped every one for 200 years, that, if the Alcahest had ever existed, it would have been quite impossible to preserve it, as, possessing the pow

dissolving all substances, it would necessarily have dissolved the vessel which contained it.\*

There is one point of view from which the labours of the Alchemists, in spite of their many aberrations and follies, may be regarded with pleasure, and examined with advantage, and from which they are seen to have the strongest claims upon our gratitude and admiration. Viewed in connexion with their influence upon modern chemical science, they will be found to have been equally useful and important. The Alchemists were the first to make use of the experimental method in philosophy, that is to say, of observation and induction as applied to scientific research. So far back as the eighth century the Arabian Geber put in practice the rules of the inductive philosophy, of which Galileo and Lord Bacon developed the laws 800 years afterwards; and, in the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon, by the use of the same method in his physical researches, was led to the most astonishing discoveries. Thus, the Alchemists were the forerunners and pioneers of the positive philosophy, by making the interpretation of phenomena rest upon the careful examination of facts, and, in this way, breaking through the metaphysical fetters that had so long held the human mind in bondage. And this may be fully admitted without at all detracting from the well-earned fame of those great men who accomplished the mighty scientific revolutions of the seventeenth century; for the researches of the Alchemists occupied but a narrow field, and gave birth to no school of philosophy. They, indeed, made experiments, often most costly, elaborate, and long-continued, but they were ignorant of the benefits of the inductive method as a mighty engine for the discovery of truth; and, therefore, cannot claim the discovery of that great system which, ages afterwards, was destined to revolutionize the world. But it is difficult to overrate the services which they rendered in preparing the elements necessary for the creation of chemistry; compelled by the direction of their researches to study attentively the nature and action of simple and composite bodies, they succeeded in collecting an immense mass of valuable facts, and these observations, the results of fifteen centuries of labour,

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\* Fluorine, an element discovered by modern chemistry, almost realizes the properties of the long-sought Alcahest. It enters into the composition of Derbyshire spar, and, for a long time, no vessel could be found to resist the intensity of its chemical action in a separate state. At length the idea occurred to two brothers of the name of Knox, that vessels formed of fluor-spar, a substance already saturated with fluorine, might answer the purpose of holding this modern Alcahest, and their experiments proved to a great extent successful.

constitute the materials of that imposing temple of chemical science whose strength and harmony we now admire.

A rapid glance over the discoveries of the most distinguished masters of the Hermetic art, will enable us to form some conception of the important services which they have rendered to modern chemistry and its cognate sciences. Geber, one of the most ancient of their number, was the first to describe precisely our ordinary metals, and he has also left remarks of great distinctness and value upon sulphur and arsenic. He points out the mode of preparing nitric and nitro-muriatic acids, the action of the former upon metals, and that of the latter upon gold, silver, and sulphur. He also describes several important chemicals, such as caustic, corrosive sublimate, red precipitate, and many others. In the succeeding century (the ninth), the Arab Rhases discovered the preparation of brandy, and of several other alcoholic compounds; and was also the first to mention orpiment, realgar, borax, certain sulphates of iron and copper, and various mercurial salts. Rhases conducted the scientific studies prosecuted at Bagdad, the capital of the eastern Caliphate, and used every exertion to give them a practical and experimental direction. "The mysteries of the chemical art," he tells us, "reveal themselves only by dint of labour and perseverance; but what a triumph when man can succeed in raising a corner of that veil which covers the face of nature."

Albert the Great describes the caustic potash now in use in our laboratories; the cupellation, that is, the method of refining gold and silver by means of lead, and many other preparations and experiments. To Roger Bacon we owe the rectification of the error committed in the Julian calendar with regard to the solar year; the physical analysis of the action of lenses, and that of convex glasses, the invention of achromatic lenses, and, perhaps, the first construction of the telescope. In chemical science, the same great genius investigated the properties of saltpetre, and if he did not invent gunpowder, which is precisely described in the writings of Marcus Græcus, fifty years before his time, he at least contributed to perfect its preparation, by pointing out the method of purifying saltpetre by means of its dissolution in water, and subsequent crystallization. He also directed attention to the chemical influence of the air upon combustion. Raymond Lully, whose "*Ars Magna*" forms a kind of encyclopædia of the whole system of philosophy known in his time, also contributed materially to improve the dawning science of chemistry. To him we owe the preparation of carbonate of potash by means of tartar and of wood-ashes, the rectification of spirits of wine, and the preparation of essential

oils. Basil Valentine, in his "*Currus triumphalis Antimonii*," has so thoroughly investigated the properties of antimony—a metal scarcely heard of before his time—that facts with regard to it have been there found described, which were for some time regarded as modern discoveries. In the same work, he mentions several highly important chemicals, such as muriatic acid, which he prepared, just as we now do, by means of common salt and sulphuric acid. He also describes the means of obtaining brandy by the distillation of wine and beer, and the mode of rectifying the product by re-distillation over carbonate of potash. He points out the method of separating copper from its pyrites, by changing it first into sulphate of copper, and then plunging an iron plate into the aqueous solution of that product. The "Treatise upon Salts," of the same great man, contains most of the interesting chemical facts with regard to the nature and action of saline compounds. He understood the preparation of fulminating gold, and of sulphuric ether; and, in short, there were scarcely any among the chemical agents known in his time, upon which he has not left useful and practical observations.

The existence of oxygen, which was only demonstrated by Priestley towards the end of the last century, was divined by Eck de Sulzbach, a German Alchymist of the thirteenth century; and even before the revival of letters, the Alchymists knew how to volatilize mercury, to purify and concentrate alcohol, to prepare sulphuric and nitro-muriatic acids, and the different kinds of ethers. They were also acquainted with the means of purifying the fixed and carbonated alkalies, and had discovered the means of dyeing scarlet, even better than we can now do.

Paracelsus, one of the most celebrated among the adepts, has obtained a high and justly merited medical reputation by being the first to bring into use as medicines the chemical compounds of the various metals; he substituted simple medicines for the old pharmacopœia of the Galenists, overcharged with complicated and often inert preparations, and he was the first who had the sagacity and boldness to perceive and inculcate the propriety of the application of chemistry to human physiology and pathology. Van Helmont, a believer in the philosopher's stone, though not a practical Alchymist, was the author of the greatest chemical discovery of his age, that of the existence of the gases, and the works of Rudolph Glauber, who was also a believer in metallic transmutations, are full of valuable chemical knowledge, and are especially remarkable for the fulness and accuracy of their practical details.

It would be easy to extend this list of chemical discoveries due to the Alchymists, to almost any length, by referring to names somewhat less celebrated in the Hermetic annals than

those already cited. We might mention, for example, J. B. Porta, who discovered the manner of reducing the metallic oxides, the preparation of the oxide of tin, and the mode of colouring silver; Brandt, who discovered phosphorus whilst seeking the philosopher's stone in a product of the human body; Alexander Lethon, and Michel Sendivogius, his pupil, who, while cultivating Alchymy, discovered the methods of perfecting the dyeing of stuffs, and the preparation of vegetable and mineral colours; and, last of all, Bötticher, who, while shut up in a fortress by the Elector of Saxony in order to extort from him the secret of transmutation, succeeded in discovering the method of preparing porcelain, since carried to such perfection at Dresden. But we have surely said enough to prove the important benefits for which modern science is indebted to the patient labours of the too rashly despised Hermetic philosophers.

"It is, then," says M. Figuier, "with the numerous discoveries effected by the Alchymists that modern chemistry has been able to establish itself. Undoubtedly, all these facts are not connected by any common bond of union; they do not constitute a systematic whole, and they cannot, consequently, present the characteristics of a science; but they furnish the elements indispensable to the creation of a scientific system. It is owing to the powerful influence which the grand idea of metallic transmutation exercised upon the minds of the Alchymists during fifteen centuries, that they have been able to accomplish the preparatory labours necessary for establishing, upon a solid foundation, the monument of chemistry. Before arriving at the conviction that the philosopher's stone was a chimera, it was necessary to pass under review all the facts accessible to observation, and when, after 1500 years of labour, the day came when the conviction of that error dawned upon their minds, with that day also commenced the science of chemistry. Chemists of our times pass not too severe a judgment upon the Hermetic philosophers—do not insist on depriving us of all respect for their ancient heritage! Mad or sublime, they are our true ancestors. If Alchymy has not found that which she sought, she has found that which she did not seek. She has failed in her long struggles for the discovery of the philosopher's stone, but she has found chemistry, and that conquest is more precious than the vain secret pursued with such eagerness by our fathers. Chemistry has transformed into inexhaustible sources of riches gifts of God formerly valueless; she has lightened the painful weight of evils which press upon human nature,—improved the material conditions of our existence, and enlarged the limits of our moral activity; and, although she does not reveal the philosopher's stone of the ancient adepts, she may be said to contain the philosopher's stone of nations."

On casting a general retrospect over the doctrines of the



Hermetic philosophers, it is difficult to deny that they had the effect of arresting, for a long time, the progress of the human mind in the knowledge of natural truths; and, on this ground, it is impossible to withhold from them our strong condemnation. But, at the same time, it is worth while inquiring whether many of these doctrines were not the inevitable results of the false philosophy then universally prevalent. The most flourishing period of Alchymy corresponds to the second half of the historical period of the Middle Ages, when the philosophy of Aristotle and the New Platonism were exclusively dominant in the schools; and the dynamical properties attributed to the philosopher's stone, as well as the strange and fantastic means often employed for its discovery, seem but the natural consequences of the philosophy of the period; just as the speculations of the Alchymical mystics resulted from an exaggeration of the religious passions of the same epoch.

We have already stated that the long-continued prevalence Alchymical beliefs was owing to a false, but universally received, theory of metallic composition; and the final blow which led to their general overthrow and abandonment was dealt by Lavoisier: according to his theory, which soon met with almost universal acceptance, the metals, instead of being composite, were simple bodies, that is, indecomposable into their elements; this view was clearly incompatible with the Alchymical idea, that the nature of the metals was uniform, and might be varied at pleasure; and, from the date of its reception, we may date the expulsion of Alchymy from the domains of science. But, long after this period, many individuals still continued to adhere to the doctrines and practice of the Hermetic art. Thus, in the seventeenth century, arose the fraternity of the Rosicrucians, a sect of enthusiastic Paracelsists, who believed in the transmutation of metals, the art of prolonging life during several centuries, the power of knowing what passed in distant places, and the application of the cabala and the science of numbers to the discovery of the most hidden secrets. Still later, towards the close of the last century, the Hermetic Society of Westphalia was founded in Germany, and continued in existence until 1819. In 1832, there appeared a *brochure* entitled "Hermes Unveiled," in which the author claimed to have succeeded, after thirty-seven years of labour, in performing a transmutation into gold; and M. C. Théodore Tiffereau, teacher of chemistry in the preparatory school of Nantes, has addressed six successive memoirs to the French Academy, the last in December, 1854, in which he defends the doctrines of the Hermetic philosophers, and asserts that he himself has successfully performed the operation of transmutation.

The second and third parts of M. Figuier's work are not of equal interest with the first, and we can only briefly allude to them. In the former is a long list of sovereigns favourable to Alchymy. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many monarchs were ranked among the number of adepts. The Emperor Rudolph II., surnamed the Hermes of Germany, was the most distinguished of these Alchymical monarchs. He ascended the throne in 1576; and at his court all adepts were sure of a kind reception and hospitable entertainment. He was generally believed to have been among the fortunate possessors of the philosopher's stone; and the immense wealth discovered in his laboratory after his decease gave countenance to this idea. It is said to have amounted to eighty-four hundredweight of gold, and sixty of silver, melted into the form of bricks. Augustus, Elector of Saxony, was another royal patron of Alchymy, and his successor Christian, also partook of his fondness for the Hermetic art. The former is said to have left at his death seventeen millions of rix-dollars, which were commonly reported to have been obtained by transmutation. Frederick III., Emperor of Germany, with his own hands operated a transmutation of mercury into gold with some of the philosopher's stone, which had been sent him by the adept Richthausen. Frederick I. and II. of Prussia also patronized the professors of Alchymy, although, towards the end of his reign, the latter severely satirized their extravagant pretensions. In Spain, Alphonso, surnamed the Wise, applied himself to Hermetical researches; and Edward III. of England, according to Alchymical authorities, received from Raymond Lully, then his prisoner in the Tower, the gold which was coined into the money known as "rose nobles." Charles XII. of Sweden and Gustavus Adolphus are also said to have profited by the labours of the adepts. The latter was reported to have received from a pretended merchant one hundred pounds weight of gold which was struck into ducats bearing the marks of their Hermetic origin; and 1,700,000 crowns are said to have been found in the repositories of the mysterious donor. An Alchymist was a very common appendage to the courts of the sovereigns of this period; and many of the German monarchs seized upon the persons of those adepts who were said to be in possession of the great secret, and confined and tortured them, with the view of compelling them to exert their art for the benefit of the royal treasury. With regard to those adepts who were convicted of fraud and imposture, their punishment was summary and peculiar: they were clothed in a robe of gold tinsel and hanged upon a gilded gibbet.

The third part of M. Figuier's work contains an elaborate

account of the principal instances of metallic transmutations which have been handed down to us. It will amply repay an attentive perusal; but we prefer passing on to the concluding part, entitled "Alchymy in the Nineteenth Century," which is exceedingly interesting and well written. M. Figuier there points out that Alchymical belief and practice still exist, in spite of the accumulation of adverse facts and arguments which modern chemistry has brought together; that dreaming and meditative Germany is still distinguished for the number of her Hermetical students; that in Bavaria and Hanover whole families might be mentioned who still occupy themselves with Alchymical pursuits; and that, in various towns of France, and especially in Paris, the philosopher's stone is still made an object of anxious and persevering research. M. Figuier gives anything but a flattering picture of the Alchymists of modern Paris:—

"I frequented" (he says) "in 184— the laboratory of M. L——; it was the rendezvous of the Parisian Alchymists. When the pupils had left the lecture-rooms after the labours of the day, one saw, with the first shades of evening, the modern adepts entering one by one. Nothing could be more singular than the appearance, manners, and costume of these strange men. I met them occasionally during the day in the public libraries, bent over huge folios; in the evening, in remote places, near the solitary bridges, with their eyes fixed in dreamy contemplation on the bright and starry vault of heaven. Old, or faded before their time, a shabby black coat, or a long riding cloak of an indefinable shade, covered their emaciated limbs. An unshorn beard half concealed their features, furrowed by deep wrinkles, where might be read the tale of long labours, night vigils, and devouring anxieties. In their slow, measured, and solemn speech, there was something of the tone which we attach to the *illuminati* of the last centuries. Their countenances, at once proud and desponding, bore traces of the agonies of ardent hopes, a thousand times lost, and a thousand times caught up again in despair."

There was one exception, however, to the general repulsiveness of these adepts of the nineteenth century; a man, still young and of striking external appearance, who, instead of combating like his companions the doctrines of modern chemistry, was constantly citing them as affording the strongest support and confirmation of his Hermetical beliefs; and the greater portion of the last part of the volume is occupied by a dialogue, in which this young Alchymist and our author are the speakers. The former gives a clear and eloquent summary of all the arguments in favour of Alchymy arising from analogy and history, and M. Figuier successively answers and disproves the whole of them.

“For our part” says the former, “enlightened by the discoveries of modern philosophy, we condemn the mystical aberrations of the ancient adepts. We disown the idea of a universal panacea and of an *animus mundi*. At present the whole Alchymical doctrine is confined to the belief that there exists a substance, having within itself the secret power of transmuting all chemical substances, and, in particular, of operating metallic transmutations. The object of Alchemy is the discovery of this agent, which many adepts have formerly possessed, but which is now lost to us. That is the question in all its simplicity.”

He then goes on to show that modern discoveries prove that the transmutation of metals is a phenomenon perfectly realizable; and he particularly refers to a recently discovered property in bodies called *Isométrie*, which is thus explained:—

“The perfection of chemical analysis has made us understand that mineral or organic productions may present a complete identity in their composition, although their external properties are of the most opposite nature. Thus, fulminic acid, which enters into the composition of fulminating powders, contains exactly the same quantities of carbon, oxygen, and azote, as cyanic acid; yet the fulminates detonate with violence on the slightest elevation of temperature, while the cyanates require a red heat. Hydrocyanic acid, the most terrible of poisons, differs in its composition in nothing from formiate of ammonia, one of the most inoffensive salts; and chemistry furnishes a crowd of similar examples.”

The modern Alchymist then goes on to argue that this isomeric property of compound bodies most probably belongs also to the elementary ones, such as the metals; and, that though this cannot be proved directly, as they resist our present means of analysis, yet that the analogical proof in its favour is almost irresistible; and he brings forward in support of this reasoning a recent discovery of M. Dumas, the chief of French chemistry, who has observed a remarkable similarity between the general properties of isomeric bodies and those of the metals. He then goes on to contend that, if this be so, it proves that—

“The metals, though differing in their external properties, present one and the same substance differently arranged or condensed. But, if it is true that the metals are isomeric, the first deduction to be drawn from this fact is, that it is possible to change the one into the other, that is to say, to realize metallic transmutations.”

To this M. Figuier answers at length, concluding his reply in the following terms:—

“The arguments which you invoke in favour of metallic transmutation, rest upon no solid foundation. But I go further; I admit for a moment with you that these considerations possess a certain

weight; I admit, in particular, that the remarkable comparisons made by M. Dumas between the equivalents\* of simple substances of the same family, and that other extraordinary affinity found by Dr. Prout between the equivalent of hydrogen and the equivalents of all the other elementary bodies, may authorize the conclusion, which you do not fear to deduce, of the *isométrie* of the metals; I say that, granting all this, the question will still be very far from being decided in your favour. Accepting, indeed, all these data as available, we would be led to the following conclusion:—In the present state of our knowledge, we cannot prove, in an absolutely rigorous manner, that the transmutation of metals is impossible: certain circumstances are opposed to the rejection of the Alchymical opinion as an absurdity at variance with facts. This, in its utmost extent, is the only concession to which you are reasonably entitled. But it by no means follows that a fact has existence, because we are not prepared to demonstrate its impossibility. We may not know how to prove that lead will never be changed into gold, but it does not result from that, that the transmutation of these metals can be effected. I insist upon that last reflection, because it alone appears to me to cut the thread of your whole argument.”

To this the modern Alchymist replies—You admit all that I require; for, if you once acknowledge the possibility of transmutation, it only remains for me to show that it has actually been accomplished, which history enables me to do triumphantly; and he then proceeds to recapitulate the most striking instances of transmutation which have descended to us. These, however, are boldly met and explained away by our author, who points out that the facts alleged are destitute of that degree of proof which a sound philosophical criticism is entitled to demand; that although human testimony is receivable without reserve in the case of ordinary facts which only require for their establishment an unprejudiced mind and faithful senses, it is otherwise with the proof required for the truth of a physical fact or scientific result. These require other and stronger testimony, and such, in the case of Alchymy, is entirely wanting. And even admitting all the facts alleged, it remains to be explained how it happens, that a discovery, such as that of the philosopher’s stone, once made, could ever have been lost. But, besides, there is a more effectual reply to be found than even this, in some of the treatises in which the opponents of Alchymy have exposed the collusions and frauds practised by the adepts; and particularly in the dissertation of the academician Geoffroy, “upon the frauds connected with the philo-

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\* By “equivalent” in chemistry is meant the weight, or quantity by weight, of any body which is required to unite with another body in order to form a definite compound.

sopher's stone," presented, in 1722, to the Academy of Sciences at Paris. There will be found the key to all these pretended mysteries; the exposure of that incredible series of frauds, impostures, tricks, and sleight of hand of all kinds, by which the Alchymists, for ten centuries, succeeded in imposing upon human credulity.

Our limits now warn us that it is time to bring this article to a close. We have lingered over M. Figuier's work, attracted by the interest and variety of the subject, and by the able and comprehensive manner in which it is treated. We have seen that a single false theory, with regard to the composition of metals, could retard for 1000 years the progress of humanity, and cast the spell of falsehood over the keenest intellects of the Middle Ages, numbering among its votaries philosophers, nobles, and kings. We have seen that false theory at length exposed, mediæval darkness disappearing, the steady light of modern science springing up phoenix-like from the smouldering ashes of Alchymy, and the human intellect, aroused and enlightened, advancing onwards with giant steps in the path of discovery. It may be urged that our subject has been the history of error, and this, to a certain extent, is correct. But truth is one; error is various, and the investigation of its history has always a tendency to place us a step nearer to the path of truth. And although, from the lofty eminence of positive science, we may now look back with pity upon the aberrations and follies of the Alchymists, we ought never to forget our obligations to them, while we should respect and imitate the earnest piety, glowing energy, and unwearied perseverance, that sometimes dignified and redeemed the vanity of their pursuit.

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#### ART. VI.—THE HULSEAN LECTURES FOR 1856.

1. *The Glory of the Only Begotten of the Father, seen in the Manhood of Jesus Christ*: being the Hulsean Lectures for 1856. By the Rev. Harvey Goodwin, M.A., Cambridge. Deighton: Bell & Co.
2. *The Christian Cosmos: The Son of God the Revealed Creator*. By Edward William Grinfield, M.A. London: Seeley & Co.

THE religious thought and life of the great Evangelical party, both in the Church of England and among the various Nonconformist denominations, still exhibit numerous and remarkable traces of their origin and early history. Whitfield and Wesley roused a slumbering and godless nation into religious



earnestness by preaching a few elementary truths about the danger of the sinner, the necessity of forgiveness and the new birth, and the fulness of the Christian salvation ; and these truths still constitute the substance of evangelical preaching. Whether, however, those aspects of Christian doctrine which alone could compel religious indifference to become anxious, and transform gross wickedness into some faint resemblance to the bright image of God, are the only elements of truth required to discipline and perfect a cultured Christian life, thoughtful and devout people are beginning to consider. And whether the highest type of spiritual life is that which is naturally originated in the midst of the excitement and restlessness of a national religious revival, is another question of equal and, perhaps, greater importance ; for it is obvious to every man who has any acquaintance with the interior condition of evangelical communities, that every development of the religious nature which does not conform to the revival model is suspected and undervalued.

But the two books we have placed at the head of this article remind us rather of the early history than of the origin of Evangelicalism in England. Very soon after its rise, and while its theological system was assuming a definite form, and being permanently consolidated, its divines had to engage in a hot polemical warfare on behalf of the divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ ; and it is one of the natural and almost necessary results of the Unitarian controversy, which troubled the close of the last century and the beginning of this, that Evangelical Christians are less influenced than they should be, by a vigorous and practical faith in the manhood of the Lord Jesus Christ. While our fathers were exhausting their strength and their learning to demonstrate his divinity, we cannot wonder that they were more earnestly concerned about the truth their adversaries denied, than about that which was in no peril. One of the surest methods to bring an acknowledged truth into emphatic prominence is to deny it. The wealth we have earned by hard work is most dearly prized, and what has cost us nothing is commonly very lightly valued ; it is an illustration of precisely the same principle that the truths we have to fight for, have the firmest hold on our hearts, while those which nobody denies are too often neglected and forgotten. Some Gibraltar rock, won at first and retained afterwards by desperate valour, is more cared for, even apart from the importance of its position, than thousands of square miles of richest corn-land, which were gained without fighting, and have never been desolated by invading armies, or endangered by the intrigues of diplomacy. What is universally admitted is seldom thought of ; and what

is seldom thought of is gradually forgotten. Truth is like a torch, "the more it's shook it shines."

That it is absolutely necessary, however, to realize the manhood of the Lord Jesus, with its infirmities, sorrows, and dependence, in order to attain a true and vivid conception of his earthly history, needs no proof or illustration. And we are more and more deeply convinced that in an age of speculation and scepticism, there is nothing either in the external evidences, or the contents of our Christian faith, in the presence of which doubts so swiftly vanish as that wondrous history in which all that is human and all that is divine, are so mysteriously intermingled. Long after the gloomy but resistless flood of scepticism has rushed over the continent of our early beliefs, the conviction that God was in Christ rises in solitary strength above the dark and restless waters; and if ever even *that* is submerged, it is the first to reappear above the receding tide.

The New Testament itself should teach us the supreme importance of a full and perfect faith in the Personal Christ. Of the seven-and-twenty separate documents which constitute the Christian Scriptures, the first four are biographies of the Lord Jesus; the fifth is a history of the formation of a community of which he himself, and not any creed about him, was the recognized foundation, and of the labours of heroic men, who under the inspiration of a burning zeal for his honour, and at the impulse of an unflinching obedience to his commands, traversed a large portion of Europe and Asia, telling men what he had suffered on earth and the glory he was crowned with in heaven; and a careful study of the Epistles will result in the conviction that the object of the apostles was not so much to teach or demonstrate a system of truth, as to explain the works and the laws of One whom most of them had personally known in his earthly humiliation, and whom the greatest of them had seen in his celestial glory. They were not philosophers but historians; they preached not a creed but a Person. In the pages of the New Testament it is Christ that stands in the centre of all teaching, and precept, and labour, and worship. Not even the majestic form of truth is permitted to share the throne with him.

But we repeat, that in order to know Christ fully, we must know him in his manhood as well as in his divinity. Although few details of his infancy are recorded in the Gospels, we are told enough to know that he came into the world, not in the fulness of physical, intellectual, and moral strength, in a sudden and startling way, but like the rest of mankind in a condition of helplessness and dependence. As a child, we can imagine him wandering over the hill on which Nazareth was built, plucking

handfuls of wild flowers, and bringing them to his mother before he clearly understood the awful dignity of the nature which was hidden within him. That we might not suppose he was exempted from the ordinary conditions and laws of humanity, we are distinctly told that he was subject to his parents, and "grew in wisdom and in stature." In his after years, short as the evangelical histories are, we have proof in abundance that his body, soul, and spirit, were really, and not in appearance only, human. He hungered in the wilderness, thirsted on the cross, slept in the ship; when he was dead, blood and water, as John significantly tells us, flowed from his side; and even after his resurrection, he could say, "a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." His knowledge not only grew in childhood, but was limited in mature life; for he spoke of an "hour" the time of the coming of which even he could not foresee. Such a heart as good men have throbbing in their breast, the Master had too; he was grieved because of men's unbelief, and once at least looked round upon his tempters with anger; he had select friends whom he loved with peculiar affection; he wept with mourning women, even when he was about to raise their dead brother to life again; he shrank from suffering and death, and, "with strong cryings and tears," prayed to God who was able to deliver him. His spiritual nature was as truly human as his intellect and heart; being susceptible of temptation, sanctified by the power of God, disciplined by suffering, and dependent on prayer. All the attributes of perfect manhood were his, and he had a human history, human duties, human relationships, and spoke of himself and was spoken of by others under titles which can belong only to a man.

But he must have read the Gospels with a dull eye and a sluggish mind, who has not remarked that, while every circumstance has been given which we need, to verify the Humanity of Jesus, nothing is recorded which strips him for a moment of an unearthly dignity, or tempts our loving trust to become irreverently familiar. We are told that Jesus was an obedient child, a gentle and sympathizing friend, sensitive alike to injury and to affection, that he went to a marriage feast, walked in the corn-fields, sat at supper, rested in his weariness, slept in his exhaustion; and yet, not for a moment is the divine glory altogether eclipsed by the human feebleness. Even more than this can be said. Mr. Harvey Goodwin has shown with equal power and beauty, with singular eloquence and felicity of illustration, that in those very aspects of Christ's nature and history, which constitute the most impressive evidences of his humanity, there may be discovered a glory which can shine forth from none save the Only Begotten of the Father.

The prayers, the sympathies, the friendships, the very death of Christ, are shown to present to thoughtful and spiritual consideration traces of the divinity within. Through the veil of the Holy of Holies, through its thickest, darkest folds, some rays of the inner glory are intense enough to penetrate.

But undoubting as is our faith in this fundamental truth of the Christian religion—that in Jesus Christ God became personally one with a creature, how hard it is habitually to realize it! We speak of the vast descent from the ancient majesty of the Eternal Word to “the form of a servant,” and “the death of the cross;” but the greatness and the humiliation are, each of them, beyond the range of our conception; and the attempt to bring them together in one Being quite confounds and overwhelms us. Perhaps no better method can be chosen by which to aid our feebleness than that suggested by the second of the books at the head of this article. Mr. Grinfield has exhibited in his “Christian Cosmos,” the scriptural proof and the various applications of the great orthodox doctrine that Christ was the Creator of the world; and we can bring together the magnificent history of creation, the imperial splendours of the first chapter of Genesis, and the narrative of the crucifixion, with its gloom, its humiliation, and its horror. These are two chapters in the history of one person,—though in the first, we hear God saying, “Let there be light,” and there is light, and see the green earth and the tumultuous sea, the beauty and grandeur and wealth of this fair world, and the glories of heaven come into being at the impulse of his will, and in obedience to his word; and in the other, all that common observers perceive is a wretched man suffering shame, anguish, and death. But the outline of the luminary may be seen by a keen eye, even in the depth of the eclipse; the Christian recognises in the crucified One, God made flesh.

Surely there it a new significance in the history of creation when we remember that it was he who in the beginning made the heavens and the earth, who afterwards came to reconcile earth to heaven. We do not forget that though God became man in Christ Jesus, it was not God, but man, that died on the cross; but we err from the guidance of the apostles if we fix a great gulf between the divine and the human elements of his complex nature. Christ suffered; and though on the Creator suffering cannot rest, Christ was, nevertheless, the Creator. And as, during the process of creation, the world presented day after day new features of loveliness and increasing fitness for its future inhabitants, he knew all that was to happen to it; knew that it would be filled with confusion, wickedness, and misery; that crimes so great and so numerous would be committed by the race

which was to people it, that only through an atonement effected by himself could any individual among the millions of mankind escape from appalling ruin ; he knew that after the earth had been burdened with the wickedness of forty centuries, he himself, in the person of Jesus Christ, would be “numbered with the transgressors,” and that the very world he was making would be first the prison in which he would languish, and then the scaffold on which he would expire. He had clearly before him, as day after day of creation passed by, the day of crucifixion and death. When the dry land rose out of the waters, he looked upon a narrow strip of land on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, and anticipated the miracles, and the teaching, and the suffering which were to make that land illustrious through eternity ; he knew who would hunger in the wilderness which he saw there ; and who, through nights of prayer, would experience the keenness of the winds which visited its open mountain sides ; he saw the place under which the exhausted sufferer was to sink under the burden of the cross ; and recognised the very spot on which that cross would be erected. But he went on creating ; and in all this was not the victim of an iron necessity or a blind fate ; what he did was done freely ; his heart went with his hand. He rejoiced in all his work, and felt that it was good.

The man who has once known what it is to see the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, will be conscious of oppressive and intolerable darkness if ever, through the corruption of his heart or through invading doubts which his intellect cannot repel, that bright presence is obscured or lost. The vigour of faith, the depth of joy, the beauty of holiness, the rapture of hope which, blending into one, constitute the perfection and blessedness of the Christian life, are the result and evidence of spiritual union with the Christ of God, and can only be found in him.

We trust that our readers will prove for themselves the worth of Mr. Goodwin's lectures and Mr. Grinfield's little treatise. We should be ungrateful if we did not acknowledge that to both of them we owe—not, indeed, a stronger faith in the truths on which we have been writing, but a profounder conviction of their practical importance and spiritual power.

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## Quarterly Review of American Literature.

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AMERICA has recently completed the eightieth year of her Independence, and during the last half-century has made rapid advancement in science and literature. The foundations of her mental culture were laid by the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, who deemed human learning second only to divine. Within ten years after their voluntary exile, in the midst of many privations and sufferings, they founded a college, and dedicated it to God and the church. Thus they prepared young men to be preachers, legislators, judges, and defenders of civil liberty. These enlightened men also provided, by legal enactment, for free schools. The result of their measures was soon manifested in the department of theological literature.

Early in the eighteenth century appeared Jonathan Edwards, of Connecticut, styled, both by Robert Hall and Dr. Chalmers, the greatest of theologians, and whom Dugald Stuart and Sir James Mackintosh eulogized as unsurpassed among metaphysicians. President Edwards imparted a new distinctness and prominence to theological doctrines which had been vaguely believed by good men in all ages of the Christian church, but had been obscured by scholastic subtleties. His opinions had an important influence, not only in his native country, but in Great Britain, where they were embraced by Dr. Erskine, Andrew Fuller, and other eminent divines.

Among President Edwards's contemporaries, or immediate successors, were Dr. Samuel Johnson, the father of the American Episcopal Church; the learned Dr. Jonathan Mayhew; President Styles, famous for his acquirements in almost every department of learning; the eloquent Doctors Dwight, Maxcy, and Mason, men of great abilities and profound scholarship, who, from the important stations they occupied, as well as by their writings, gave a powerful impulse to the literature of their country.

There have been many obstacles to retard the successful cultivation of letters in America, one of which is the want of a *just law of international copyright*, equally a cause of complaint by authors there and in England. Nevertheless, much has been accomplished, and she now annually pours forth from the press many valuable works in every department of knowledge.

There were published in that country, during 1854, 765 new books and new editions, of which only 277 were reprints of English books, and 41 translations. During 1855, 1,092 new books and new editions, including 250 reprints of English books, and 38 translations. And during the six months to July, 1856, 751 new books and new editions, of which but 102 were reprints of English books, and 26 translations.

In this Review of American literature, our limits will not permit us to give a thorough analysis of the books noticed, but only a condensed view of some of those which we think will be the most



interesting to our readers. Among the theological works, Dr. Murdock's "*Literal Translation of the New Testament, from the Syriac-Peshito Version*,"<sup>1</sup> will be useful to Biblical students, who are anxious to acquire a critical knowledge of the sacred volume. This is the most valuable English translation of the New Testament ever made from the Peshito. The books of the New Testament are divided into paragraphs, according to the sense; the common divisions into chapters and verses are noted in the margin, and the verses are also placed in parentheses in the middle of the lines. Deviations of the Syriac from the Greek text are likewise indicated in the side margin. Dr. Murdock appears to have adhered, in this translation, to the following principles: to translate, as literally as possible in consistence with idiomatic and perspicuous English—to use Saxon phraseology in preference to Latin—to adopt the solemn style of the English Bible—to avoid the use of technical theological terms, &c. The Peshito is pre-eminent among the versions of the New Testament, for its high antiquity, the competence and fidelity of the translators, and the affinity of its language to that spoken by our Lord and his apostles. It is generally admitted, by the most distinguished Oriental scholars, to be the oldest translation of the New Testament that has come down to us in any language. The character of the version—its simple, lucid, and direct style—affords evidence that it was produced in the very earliest ages of the Christian church. The translation has been skilfully executed, and may be relied on for its fidelity to the original; but, in several instances, we should have preferred a closer adherence to the venerable phraseology of our own English version. It will be useful, not only to ministers and theological students, but to all who desire to read the Word of God with understanding. The learned translator was formerly Professor in Andover Theological Seminary, and is favourably known by his excellent translation of Mosheim's "*Ecclesiastical History*."

In connexion with the preceding notice, Uhlemann's "*Syriac Grammar*,"<sup>2</sup> deserves mention, as containing a complete apparatus for the study of the Syriac, and a method which supersedes the necessity of an instructor. The materials are skilfully arranged, and the Chrestomathy is composed of extracts from the Peshito, followed by a minute verbal analysis.

Professor Hackett's "*Commentary on the Original Text of the Acts of the Apostles*"<sup>3</sup> is more especially adapted to the instruction and assistance of theological students; but the general reader, not

<sup>1</sup> The New Testament; or, the Book of the Holy Gospel of our Lord and our God, Jesus the Messiah. A literal translation from the Syriac-Peshito Version. By James Murdock, D.D. New York: royal 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> Uhlemann's Syriac Grammar. Translated from the German, by Enoch Hutchinson. With a Course of Exercises in Syriac Grammar, and a Chrestomathy and Brief Lexicon, prepared by the translator. New York: 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> A Commentary on the Original Text of the Acts of the Apostles. By H. B. Hackett, Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution. Boston: royal 8vo.

versed in the principles of sacred criticism, will derive much benefit from a study of the volume. Professor Hackett has displayed sound judgment and discrimination in the arrangement; and it is the most valuable critical and exegetical work on the original text of this portion of the New Testament, yet published in English. He has presented us with the latest investigations, and his own notes are of sterling value. We understand that a new and revised edition will soon be issued in Boston.

We are pleased to see that Professor Hackett's "*Illustrations of Scripture; suggested by a Tour through the Holy Land,*" have been republished in this country. In this interesting volume, we observe the same careful observation and judicious criticism which characterise his other publications.

Professor Chace's "*Discourse on the Relation of Divine Providence to Physical Laws,*"<sup>4</sup> is a remarkable production, original and suggestive. It is obviously the result of conscientious study and profound thought. The author unites the severest analysis with the most comprehensive generalization. It would exceed our limits to present more than a mere outline of his arguments. The Professor says: "There are *three ways*, in which the power of the Divine Being, within the forms to which He has restricted its manifestation, may be exerted in directing the course of human events—remotely and indirectly through the organization and physical arrangements of the outward world; more nearly, through the constitution and endowments of each human being, whether immediately conferred, or transmitted by hereditary descent from the original progenitor of the human race; and yet more nearly by the direct influence exerted upon the hearts and consciences of men by his Holy Spirit." We believe that the intelligent reader, if he should not coincide in some of Professor Chace's views, will be impressed with the beauty of his style, the clearness of his statements, and his ingenious reasoning on a subject of great difficulty, but of the highest importance.

Dr. Sprague's "*Annals of the American Pulpit,*"<sup>5</sup> is a large contribution to the biographical literature of his native country. The two volumes, now published, contain biographical notices of about three hundred and fifty orthodox congregational ministers, and, in continuation of the author's plan, will be followed with similar sketches of ministers of other denominations. These will be arranged in chronological order, and thus give a general view of the progress of the various branches of the Christian church. From the well-known fidelity and ability of the author, we are persuaded the entire work will be one of great interest and value.

<sup>4</sup> A Discourse, delivered before the Porter Rhetorical Society of Andover Theological Seminary, August 1st, 1854. By George I. Chace, LL.D., Professor in Brown University. Boston: 8vo., pp. 66.

<sup>5</sup> *Annals of the American Pulpit; or, Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations, from the Early Settlement of the Country to the Close of the Year 1855. With Historical Introductions.* By William B. Sprague, D.D. Vols. I. and II. New York: 8vo., pp. 721 and 778. (London: Low and Co.)

Dr. Baird has published a revised and enlarged edition of "*Religion in America*,"<sup>6</sup> first printed in 1843, and translated into French, German, Dutch, Swedish, and Modern Greek. The author has now brought down his statements to the year 1855, with such modifications and enlargement as the progress of the country required. He gives the following statement of the five great evangelical denominations in the United States. The Congregationalists and Presbyterians being, in many important respects the same, he places *both* under the head of Presbyterians:—

	Churches.		Ministers.		Members.		Population.
Baptist .....	14,070	...	9,476	...	1,322,469	...	5,900,000
Methodist .....	14,000	...	8,740	...	1,593,794	...	5,500,000
Presbyterian...	10,566	...	8,472	...	926,318	...	5,500,000
Episcopalian...	1,323	...	1,742	...	108,850	...	1,012,000
Lutheran .....	1,900	...	1,000	...	225,000	...	750,000

Dr. Baird's work is written in a catholic spirit, and well adapted to give just impressions of the history, polity, and progress of religion, and what is done for the interests of education, philanthropy, and home and foreign missions in the United States.

Among the numerous works of *general* literature we select the following:—

A new and improved edition of "*Franklin's Works*"<sup>7</sup> has just appeared in the city which gave him birth. Everything that relates to the memory of Benjamin Franklin is interesting, and the deep veneration for his character that now prevails throughout the civilized world, would not permit his admirers to rest satisfied while any portion of his writings remained unpublished. Next to Washington, he has reflected most credit on his native country. It is fortunate that the preparation of these volumes has fallen into the hands of Mr. Sparks, who is so well qualified by his editorial experience, and who has bestowed unwearied labour on this undertaking. Almost all the writings of Franklin illustrate his practical and penetrating mind; and the work will form an enduring monument to the memory of this distinguished statesman and philanthropist.

The sixth edition of Wheaton's "*Elements of International Law*"<sup>8</sup> has recently been published. This work originally appeared in 1836; and it was the first, of any importance, upon the principles of the law of nations, in the English language. It is divided into four parts, which treat respectively of the sources and objects of International Law—of the absolute International Rights of States

<sup>6</sup> Religion in America; or, an Account of the Origin, Relation to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States. With Notices of the Unevangelical Denominations. By Robert Baird, D.D. New York: 1856.

<sup>7</sup> The Life and Works of Benjamin Franklin, containing several Political and Historical Tracts not included in any former edition; and many Letters, official and private, not hitherto published. With Notes, and a Life of the Author. By Jared Sparks. Boston: New Edition, 1856. Ten Vols., 8vo.

<sup>8</sup> Elements of International Law. By Henry Wheaton, LL.D. With the last Corrections of the Author. Additional Notes, &c., by William Beach Lawrence. Boston: royal 8vo.

—of the International Rights of States in their pacific relations—and of the International Rights of States in their hostile relations. Connected at its most brilliant period with the highest tribunal of the United States, Mr. Wheaton had an opportunity to familiarize himself with the laws of nations; and being subsequently long employed in the diplomatic service of his country, he was well prepared to supply a deficiency on an important subject. The leading journals in Europe and in the United States have been emphatic in commendation of the ability, research, and candour which characterize the entire work. He was elected a foreign member of the Prussian Royal Academy of Sciences; and, in 1842, received the same compliment from the French Institute. The present improved edition is enriched with introductory remarks, containing a notice of Mr. Wheaton's diplomatic career, and of the antecedents of his life, by the Hon. W. B. Lawrence, formerly *chargé d'affaires* of the United States at London.

Irving's "*Life of George Washington*"<sup>9</sup> is a biography worthy of the great American patriot. Mr. Irving has acquired a high and extensive celebrity, both at home and abroad; and this work will add to his well-deserved fame. The account of Washington's early life is copious, and narrated in a graphic manner. The founder of American Independence was born in 1732, in the county of Fairfax, in Virginia. The record of his services is the history of the whole war. The predominant features of his character were wisdom, consummate skill, and unsurpassed prudence. His integrity was incorruptible, and his principles free from the contamination of selfish and unworthy passions. Mr. Irving's admirers will recognise in this biography the same graceful style that marked his early productions.

Prescott's "*History of the Reign of Philip II.*"<sup>10</sup> is a valuable contribution to the historical literature of the world, and deserves a permanent place both in private and public libraries. The expectations excited by his previous works, "*Ferdinand and Isabella*," "*Conquest of Mexico*," and "*Conquest of Peru*," are, if possible, more than realized in this, and place him in the first rank of historians. The author collected materials for this work from the principal archives and private libraries of Europe, to the amount of nearly ten thousand folio pages. The "*History of the Reign of Philip II.*" is the beginning of the decline of the Spanish monarchy, and the narration is not confined to Spain alone, but extends to the relations of that country with many nations. Mr. Prescott's account of the remarkable and diversified events of this period is given in a candid and philosophic spirit, and in a style flowing, clear, and energetic.

The popularity of Dr. Kane's "*Arctic Explorations*"<sup>11</sup> is evinced

<sup>9</sup> *Life of George Washington*. By Washington Irving. In Three Vols. New York. Vols. I and II, 8vo. Portraits, pp. 1024.

<sup>10</sup> *History of the Reign of Philip II., King of Spain*. By William H. Prescott. Boston: Two Vols., 8vo..

<sup>11</sup> *Arctic Explorations: the Second Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John*

by the sale of more than thirty thousand copies in the United States; and the demand for the work is increasing. It is about to appear in Germany, under the auspices of Baron Humboldt; and in France is to be edited by M. De la Roquette.

The narrative and personal portion of these volumes will be perused with intense interest by those who read for mere entertainment, and the scholar will find a large supply of novel facts and scientific materials in the appendix. Dr. Kane was the principal historian in the Grinnell expedition, commanded by Lieut. J. De Haven; and, by his experience, was well qualified to take the command of this second expedition. The vessel was the "Advance," the same in which he had sailed before, and her entire force consisted of eighteen men—ten from the United States' navy, and eight volunteers. She sailed under private regulations, among which were absolute subordination to the officer in command, abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, and an entire disuse of profane language. The vessel's equipment was simple; and she sailed from New York on the 30th of May, 1853. On the 23rd of August they found their latitude to be  $78^{\circ} 41'$ , which was nearer the North Pole than the point which had been attained by any of their predecessors, excepting Parry on his Spitzbergen foot-tramp. After farther explorations, on the 10th of September they found themselves blocked up in a bay, which they named Kenselaer Harbour, and here they spent two winters. When they ascertained, in the summer of 1854, that the ice under their vessel was nine feet thick, they took to their boats and sledges, made four extensive journeys in different directions, in the hope of finding the Franklin party; and, in the aggregate, travelled more than three thousand miles, fourteen hundred miles of which were accomplished by the commander, with a single team of Newfoundland dogs, with Esquimaux. As the brig was in a vast field of ice, and their fuel exhausted, to remain there a third winter would have been certain death. The only alternative was to abandon the "Advance," which they did, May 17th, 1855, and forced their way southward, by means of boats and sledges. With no shelter at night, and with their food reduced to the smallest allowance, for thirty-one days they continued their terrible and perilous march; they then embarked on the water, reached Cape Alexander, Melville Bay, and finally, Uppernavick—the largest of the group of Danish settlements—after an exposure of eighty-one days, and a fearfully severe journey of thirteen hundred miles. They arrived in New York, October 11th, 1855. Dr. Kane's volumes are full of instruction, and will be welcomed in every country of Europe.

"*The Life of Charles Sumner*"<sup>12</sup> contains the private and professional biography of the distinguished senator of Massachusetts; with an account of the violent and brutal assault committed upon

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Franklin, 1853-54-55. By Elisha Kent Kane, M.D., U.S.N. Illustrated by 300 Engravings, from Sketches by the Author. Philadelphia: Two Vols., 8vo.

<sup>12</sup> *The Life of Charles Sumner: with Choice Specimens of his Eloquence, a Delineation of his Oratorical Character, and his great Speech on Kansas.* By D. A. Harsha, Author of "Eminent Orators, Statesmen, &c." New York.

him in the United States' Senate Chamber. This honoured martyr for freedom was born in Boston, January 6th, 1811. He graduated at Harvard University, in 1830, commenced the practice of law in 1834, and was soon afterwards appointed reporter to the Circuit Court; and published three volumes of reports. In 1851 he was elected to the United States' Senate, as the successor of Daniel Webster. Mr. Sumner is a ripe scholar, and is widely known for the extent of his legal knowledge and general attainments. He is an eloquent speaker, an ardent politician, and fearless in the defence of human rights and free territory.

The degree of excitement now existing in the Free States relating to slavery, is manifested by the number of publications issuing from the press on this subject. Among these, Barnes, the well-known commentator on the Scriptures, has published a new work, entitled "*The Church and Slavery*."<sup>13</sup> The object of the eminent author is, first, to show "the general relation of the church to slavery"—then "the position of the Presbyterian Church before the division in 1838"—and next, and chiefly, the position of the "New School," or "Constitutional Presbyterian Church." He maintains that slaveholding is "abhorrent to the innate feelings of the mass of mankind;" that "it is a violation of the principles of the Declaration of Independence;" that it is at variance with the opinions of several general assemblies; and that it is *a sin, per se*. Mr. Barnes still advocates the opinions, contained in his former work, as to the duty of "discussing and agitating" it in the churches, the pulpits, and ecclesiastical assemblies; and that "the churches must *detach* themselves from all connexion with slavery" until it shall be entirely abolished. The subject is ably and faithfully discussed; and an extensive circulation of the work must have a salutary influence.

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### THE REV. DR. BURGESS AND KITTO'S "BIBLICAL CYCLOPÆDIA."

SHORTLY after the publication of our January Number, we received a note from Dr. Burgess, in which he expressed his surprise that we could "allow an *enemy* to act towards him as he has done in the *ECLECTIC*," adding that he intended to "expose the *REVIEW* fully ere long." We immediately replied, that had we suspected the writer of any feeling of personal hostility, we should have refused to admit the article, as it has been our constant endeavour to maintain strict impartiality, and to allow no feelings for or against an author to interfere with the claims of literary justice. We further stated that as we had not seen the new edition of the Cyclopædia, we could offer no opinion on the *Review*, excepting such as might be formed

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<sup>13</sup> *The Church and Slavery*. By Albert Barnes. Philadelphia: 12mo. 1857. (London: Low and Co.)



by any other reader. The statements, we remarked, were at least very explicit, and free from ambiguity; and, therefore, if not consistent with truth and justice, might be easily met and answered. Towards Dr. Burgess, our feelings were those of perfect goodwill, and we should sincerely regret if he had been treated with any degree of unfairness. In conclusion, we said that the next number of the *ECLECTIC* would be open for any vindication he might be disposed to send. After the lapse of a fortnight, Dr. Burgess informed us that we might expect a communication from him in the course of a few days; we received it, but not till the materials of the present number had been arranged; and, though with some inconvenience, we now redeem our promise by inserting it. In justice to the Reviewer, and from a wish not to protract the discussion beyond the present number, we transmitted to him a copy of Dr. Burgess's remarks, and have been favoured with his reply. We present both documents to our readers, without attempting to influence the decision that may be pronounced upon them feeling confident that the cause of truth and of just criticism will be eventually promoted by their publication.

JAN. 27th, 1857.

*To the Editor of the Eclectic Review.*

SIR,—I avail myself of your permission to reply to a Review, in your last number, of my edition of the "Biblical Cyclopædia." I have a very strong feeling that the article I am about to comment upon, ought not to have been admitted by you in the form it bears, exhibiting as it does so plainly, an *animus* unfavourable to myself, apart from any statement of facts, or conclusions legitimately drawn from them. But I will leave this topic, since the error, if it is one, has been made and cannot now be corrected: I am, therefore, obliged to you for the courtesy which allows me to explain what has been misconceived or misstated, and to defend myself from the personal attacks of the writer who has chosen your pages for his invidious criticisms.

The first paragraph of the article contains a statement utterly unsupported, namely, that I was chosen by the publishers of the Cyclopædia to revise it, solely because I had succeeded Dr. Kitto in the editorship of the *Journal of Sacred Literature*. I am not aware that my connexion with that work had anything to do with the engagement proposed to me by the Messrs. Black, but I do know that there were other grounds on which those gentlemen might justly think me competent to the task allotted to me. They knew me as the author of learned works which had procured for me the degree of Ph.D. from Göttingen (at the immediate instance of Ewald), and of LL.D. from Glasgow—works to which they had subscribed and copies of which were in their hands. They knew me, further, as the writer of a work on general literature, of which they had purchased the copyright, and of some contributions to the "Encyclopædia Britannica." But, principally, I had been brought under their notice in a public manner, as a candidate for the Rectorship of the Edinburgh Academy,—an office I had been urged to apply for by several eminent Scotchmen, and the competition for which procured me a body of testimonials, such as any scholar might be proud to own, bearing on my oriental, classical, and theological attainments. While I feel a great repugnance to the publication of such matters in your pages, I also feel that justice to myself and the Messrs. Black demands

that I should extract a few sentences from the document I refer to, in order to make it appear that your Reviewer was either unacquainted with my literary position, or purposely endeavoured to lower it. The testimonials were given in the year 1854:—

“What I have known of the literary attainments of Dr. Burgess,” says Bishop Thirlwall, “leads me confidently to believe that he possesses very high qualifications for the mastership of a classical school.”—“Your various writings,” says Bishop Blomfield, “leave me in no doubt as to your ability, your knowledge of oriental languages, and your theological attainments.” To these unexceptionable episcopal testimonies, Bishop Singer, an equally competent judge, adds, “I conceive that Dr. Burgess’s attainments are such as to place him in the first rank of our literary men.”—Dean Milman says, “Dr. Burgess’s works display very considerable Biblical knowledge, and an accomplished mind.”—The Rev. E. H. Gifford, Head Master of King Edward’s School, Birmingham: “His published writings have convinced me that he is a scholar of varied and extensive attainments, of powerful intellect, and unwearied perseverance.”—Dr. W. L. Alexander, of Edinburgh, a contributor to the “Biblical Cyclopædia: “I have derived much instruction from your writings, and I have a high sense of the accuracy and variety of your scholarship;”—and Dr. John Eadie, of Glasgow, another contributor: “From all that I know of the Rev. Dr. Burgess I have no hesitation in declaring that, in my opinion, he is qualified in no ordinary degree to fill the office of Rector of the Edinburgh Academy. His scholarship is of a high order, his industry is a marvel, and his character that of an accomplished Christian gentleman.” Allow me to add to the above the following from laymen of known character and attainments:—Professor Fraser, of Edinburgh, says: “My intercourse with Dr. Burgess has afforded me varied evidence of the extent and solidity of his learning as well as of his general literary ability, and the unusual energy of his character in any service he undertakes.”—Sir Gardner Wilkinson: “I willingly add my testimony to your general scholarship, which is so fully proved by your works.”—The late Dr. Kitto: “The distinguished attainments of Dr. Burgess in general, as well as in sacred literature, have long been known to me.” Above all, as an opinion likely to have weight with men in Scotland, Professor Pillans, of Edinburgh, selected me from other candidates to be Principal of the M’Gill College, Montreal, and in his letter to the directors of that institution, said: “At the close of a long interview Dr. Jackson and I both agreed that Dr. Burgess was the very man to succeed Dr. Hannah in the Edinburgh Academy; failing which, to be the Principal of M’Gill College. The weight of his testimonials was fully admitted by all the Directors of the Academy, but the want of an Oxford degree turned the scale in favour of another.” I may add, that as an accident prevented my removal to Scotland, so an accident confined me to my native land, for it was discovered that the Principal of M’Gill College must be a *layman*—a fact omitted in the directions confided to Professor Pillans.

When, therefore, your Reviewer says that the publishers “were misled by my connexion with Kitto,” and regrets that I “should have given such ample evidence of making pretensions to scholarship beyond the reality,” he merely states his own opinion, unsupported by facts, and contrary to truth. I have nowhere made any pretensions; but have been honoured with abundant proofs that a life of study has not been in vain, both by the press, by competent individuals, and by learned universities. Neglect, carelessness, want of application to the *improbis labor* of a wearisome task, *might*, on a casual view of the subject, have been attributed to me with some show of reason; but pretensions to learning, defective scholarship, or a want of acquaintance with Biblical literature, are unsustained by the premises, and

are the mere figments of the writer's imagination, if not, as I much fear, the uncharitable products of his heart. That I may not have to recur to myself in this painful, though necessary manner, I will here dispose of another assumption of the Reviewer. He says that my not often citing foreign, and especially German authorities, arose from my "want of acquaintance with foreign literature"—a statement whose falseness is only equalled by its impertinence. I am not going to parade my knowledge in this department of learning before your readers, be it more or less; it will be sufficient to state that the resources of my own library, my acquaintance with foreign booksellers, and the fact that almost every new foreign work on Biblical and theological subjects passes through my hands, as editor of two highly influential journals, fully prove the utter baselessness of the inference. Had I not really been compelled to limit my additions within very narrow bounds, or abstained from quoting foreign works on principle, *because I thought they had already been adduced in undue proportion*, the task would have been easy to accumulate the titles of books published within the last ten years. I know it is the fashion with some men, like your Reviewer, to think that no treatise is valuable, unless staccatoed all over with German authorities; but I beg to state that I conscientiously pursue a different course. But, notwithstanding this, it will be found that a large proportion of German authors have been introduced by me into the revised Cyclopædia.

But it is time that I came to give an account of the *facts* adduced by your Reviewer to prove my dunceness. That the Cyclopædia is far from perfect, I am well aware; but there is something to be told which your Reviewer conceals, although aware of it, and which, when known, will relieve me at once of the burden of at least half the peccadilloes laid to my charge. That fact is, that the "Biblical Cyclopædia" was *stereotyped* at its first appearance, and that I revised the *plates* only—an entirely different affair from re-editing a work to be arranged and composed *de novo*. The late Dr. Kitto complained to me, before his illness, that he had a task to perform which could bring him no honour, for that it was impossible to revise the work as it ought to be done, unless the whole were set up afresh, and the original writers employed to improve their articles. When, therefore, I was applied to by the Messrs. Black, I knew well that I could secure no fame, or even credit, by what I undertook; and should have declined the proposal, had not the fact, that I, like Dr. Kitto, must live by literature, compelled me to accede to it. In a letter now before me, Messrs. Black explain their wishes; and a quotation from it will at once put your readers in possession of some *data* which entirely nullify many of the conclusions of your Reviewer, and exhibit the very restricted and peculiar circumstances in which I was called to act.

After alluding to Dr. Kitto's desire for *extensive* alterations—which they positively refused to listen to—Messrs. Black say:—

"It is our own opinion, which is fortified by the opinion of others better qualified to judge than ourselves, that the book is excellent, and requires very little in the way of correction or addition. We have a copy, interleaved and done up in parts, for Dr. Kitto's corrections; one of these was returned, but the corrections were generally very trifling—most of them merely verbal, and it was questionable whether the old matter or the new was the preferable—at least, it was seldom of such consequence, as to justify breaking the plates to make the corrections. Seeing, then, that the book is all stereotyped, we would only make corrections where they were *positively* necessary; and if words were struck out, employ just as much new matter as would fill up the space, or if small additions are necessary, strike out as much as would admit them; but where additions of any extent are necessary, there a full page or pages could easily be added, when we should

only have to alter the pagination. We have already made great alterations in the life of David, and some other articles, which really required correction. If you agree with us in what we consider necessary, and see that this can be done without much breaking up of the plates, we would allow you for editing a new edition," &c.

Having suggested that the original writers should be asked to revise their papers, and furnish corrections, the proposition was negatived as unnecessary, and as involving expense. I thus undertook the work, on the understanding that but little was needed, and that the remuneration, though small, was proportioned to the demands to be made upon me. On receiving the twelve parts of the work, interleaved for corrections, I found that *one* of them was that which Dr. Kitto had completed and returned to the publishers; and this gave me a pretty correct idea of what I ought to aim at in the other portions. On no other part but this had Dr. Kitto done anything; so that the insinuation of your Reviewer, that I had taken his rough notes, and used them as my own, is as false as it is uncharitable and slanderous. I proceeded to read the work carefully, going through the whole, except such articles as related to Natural History, to which I knew there was nothing I could add. Papers, too, like that on *Hook*, commented on so severely by the Reviewer, I often passed over, merely looking to the Hebrew and Greek characters, to detect any prominent error. *For I had a right to presume* that when so many writers and so competent an editor were employed on the original work, all of whom had the opportunity of having their errata corrected in the stereotype plates, long before I undertook the revision, *such papers were free from serious errors*; for if not correct when supplied and revised by the authors, could it be expected that a stranger would be likely to ensure more perfection? However, the reading of the work, in all the intervals I could give to it, occupied me *more than a year*, and I corrected or altered some thousands of places of more or less importance, as I have stated in the preface. The insinuation, that because I wrote—"some thousands of corrections *have been made*," I, therefore, did not make them at all, I meet by a direct assertion that *I made them all*, except in the first twelfth part of the work, and by "great and long-continued labour." I feel sure your readers will feel, that a writer who can thus employ the *suggestio falsi*, in order to injure me, is worthy of little confidence, whatever statements he may have made.

Now let me explain my exact position as to any *additions* which I might wish to make to articles in the Cyclopædia. When I came to a paper or a subject, the literature of which had been enlarged since the work was printed, I had to see to what extent my insertions of new matter were possible, and to act accordingly; for it was not enough to have the titles of half-a-dozen works ready to put in, but I must erase other matter to make room for them, and this was not always, or even often, practicable. It would have been unjust, in ordinary cases, to exclude an author already referred to in the work, merely to introduce the name of a more modern one. Many publications on the various topics were, therefore, excluded on this ground, and, in the case of those inserted, *something* had to be erased exactly equivalent in space; and *to that extent only*, the original writers were implicated in the work of another. But that was the business of Messrs. Black, not mine; and if those writers feel themselves aggrieved, I must refer them to those gentlemen. But, as I stated in the preface, I interfered as little as possible; and, while I *might* have done much, a feeling of honour prevented me from altering their productions further than my duty demanded.

By a careful compression, however, I managed to introduce a good deal of new matter, and to give fresh authorities to a far greater extent than is

supposed by the Reviewer. To take the first three letters of the alphabet only, I may mention, *inter alia*, the following works noted in their proper places. *Apocrypha*: three works of Tischendorf;—*Assyria*: the works mentioned in the Review, which were got in with great difficulty;—*Baruch*: the learned tract of Dr. H. Jolowicz;—*Bethphage*: Mr. Thrupp's "Ancient Jerusalem;"—*Bethsaida*: the "Bibliotheca Sacra;"—*Blood-revenge*: Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon;"—*Brother*: Mr. Swainson's paper on "The Brethren of our Lord;" *Canticles*: the works of Delitzsch, Hahn, and Hengstenberg;—*Capernaum*: De Saulcy, and a writer in the "Journal of Sacred Literature;"—*Captivities*: the learned treatise of Mr. Kennedy;—*Colossians*: Conybeare and Howson's "Life and Epistles of St. Paul;"—*Concordance*: the "Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance;"—*Corinthians, Epistles to*: Mr. Stanley's work;—*Creation*: Hitchcock, Dr. Prichard, and "Journal of Sacred Literature;"—*Biblical Criticism*: Davidson and Tregelles.

So much for additions. The corrections were of very various kinds, but I will mention two. Hebrew words were wrong in a vast number of places, and were set right. Then Josephus, quoted in almost every page, was mostly referred to only by book and chapter, obliging me to look out the *section*, which I did in hundreds of instances by a laborious consultation, more often than not of the Greek text. Those who are acquainted with my various publications, know that I am scrupulously accurate in all respects within my range of influence, and that being the case, I certainly am much vexed that so many errata still exist, and that in some few cases, new ones should have been made. But it must be remembered that I could only approximate to a guess as to what words would be sufficient to erase, in order to fit in the new matter; and much of the mere mechanism—a word more or less—had to be left to the parties in Edinburgh. The degree to which errors may creep into a stereotyped work from various accidents must be also taken into account. For example: your Reviewer says, on p. 87, in reference to the word *Hook*:—"Of the seven corrections made, four are wrong, and in making them, he has disfigured the book by employing a very different Greek type," &c. I do not believe I touched the article *Hook*, except to correct the Hebrew; and as I did not see the proofs of such little corrections, it is to be presumed the compositor might mistake the characters. But as to the different Greek type, how, in the name of Faust, can I be held responsible for that? A slight inspection of the page will show that the stereotype plate has here met with an accident, destroying part of a Greek word, which the printer has replaced with a newer character. Perhaps if there had been creases in the paper of your Reviewer's copy, or a fault in the binding, he would have held me responsible for them. For errors in the few proper names introduced I am not to be blamed, though I am responsible; for the articles were supplied by a gentleman in whom I thought I could place confidence, and I think he could defend himself were he to be consulted. For the statement that the life of David was rewritten, I was indebted to the publishers, who also are responsible for the information that the work was *thoroughly* revised.\* "Westcott on the Canon" was not published when that part of the work was completed. In the addition to *Babylonia* several errors are indicated, but not one of them was made by me, but by the misapprehension of my writing by the printer. How could I confound *cuneiform* with *cruciform*, or mistake the spelling of the name of my friend Dr. Hincks?

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\* In the notice of the Cyclopædia in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, July, 1856, we find it stated, "The present edition has received many hundreds of corrections, and *undergone a thorough revision*."—Ed. E. R.



But I cannot continue this style of exculpation, although there is abundant material. I will conclude by alluding to the very barefaced assertion, that the old edition is better than this new one. I quite agree with the Messrs. Black that the old work was excellent; but if so, the revised one must be better, unless indeed in the eyes of some over-sensitive writer whose papers are a little touched up. Granting for the sake of argument (what I do not admit), that I have introduced ten errors where I have corrected one hundred, the benefits to the purchasers of the new edition are as ninety to ten. But there is a feature the Reviewer has left in the shade, which alone gives a highly increased value to this edition, and that is the *Index*, to form which I read the work through a second time. In this there are about a thousand articles not to be found under the alphabet in the body of the work, yet relating to highly important topics. I have no doubt that if the Reviewer will take his new copy to a bookseller, he will be able to get the old edition in exchange, and a sum of money to boot.

I have perhaps taken more notice of the matter than it deserves—certainly more than a mere regard for my own literary character demanded, since the *animus* of the paper is so manifest. But I feel that I owe it to the publishers not to allow their work to be depreciated even by an anonymous and evidently prejudiced and uncharitable Reviewer.

I am, Sir,

Your faithful servant,

HENRY BURGESS.

Clifton Reynes, Jan. 24, 1857.

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*To the Editor of the Eclectic Review.*

MY DEAR SIR,—I am obliged by the opportunity you have afforded me of making some remarks on Dr. Burgess's reply to my article in the last month's REVIEW. They will of necessity be brief, the whole interval between my receiving his strictures and sending this letter not being longer than a few hours; and, were it otherwise, I have no desire whatever to protract a disagreeable discussion. I need not assure you that my censures were not dictated by any personal ill-feeling against Dr. Burgess; but I wish, at the outset, through you, to assure him that this is the case. I have just read the article through again, and I really do not see what ground he has for charging what I have said, with "exhibiting so plainly an *animus* unfavourable" to himself, "apart from any statement of facts or conclusions legitimately drawn from them." That I have said some things which are severe I do not wish to deny, but I am utterly unconscious of having made any statement from personal feeling. The facts which I adduced seemed, to me, to justify all that I said, and I have now nothing to retract. I thought I had a duty to perform to the public, and also to the original writers. It appeared to me that Dr. Burgess had done a wrong to both. Other less interested parties must judge whether the facts warrant the severity. It is satisfactory to find that not one of the statements of fact adduced is disputed. Many of them are ignored; in regard to others, an attempt is made to explain them, so as to shift the blame from the reviser; but there is no attempt made to disprove any one fact. Surely this may be taken as something like evidence that the reviser of the book, and not Dr. Burgess personally, or in any other character, was the object of the censure. Would a writer, whose object was to mask an attack on Dr. Burgess, under cover of the Cyclopædia, have been so careful in adducing his authorities? I know not, for I am not in the habit of writing so. But, at any rate, I distinctly and emphatically disclaim any *malus animus* in the case. Let me proceed to state very briefly the grounds on which, I think, the se-



my censures was justifiable. I must recall the charges which I brought in the Review. They relate to three points—1. The correction of errors of typography and arrangements. 2. The insertion of new articles. 3. The alterations in existing articles.

In regard to the first point, Dr. Burgess wholly passes by my statements in respect to erroneous references to articles professedly in the Cyclopædia. What I said is true—that the revision did not extend to this numerous and important class of errors; and I think I was justified in asking, “what claim has he to the character of a ‘careful’ reviser, who does not appear even to have noticed their existence?” As to corrections of typography, Dr. Burgess is indignant at my having suggested that they were not made by himself, and calls this a *suggestio falsi* on my part, by which, if these words have any proper meaning, he must intend to say that I made this suggestion knowing or believing it to be false. This I most decidedly deny. Dr. Burgess’s distinct statement—that he made them all—of course settles the question. Still, I am at a loss to understand the matter; for in a later part of the letter, Dr. Burgess says he does not believe that he “touched the article *Hook*, except to correct the Hebrew.” Certainly, seven corrections are attempted in that article, and only one of them is Hebrew; and as certainly two (or, more properly, three) mistakes in the Hebrew remain untouched.

In regard to the new articles introduced, the errors I have pointed out are not denied; but Dr. Burgess says “I am not to be blamed, though I am responsible, for the articles were supplied by a gentleman, in whom I thought I could place confidence.” I do not profess to understand the rule, according to which Dr. Burgess apportions blame; but one would have thought that he who was *responsible* for any statement, was blameable, if that statement were erroneous. Dr. Burgess, I take for granted, cannot intend to deny this. His meaning must surely be, that he is not to be blamed as being the actual perpetrator of such blunders. But who did blame him for this? Certainly, I did not; for I have distinctly said, in regard to the fabulous Augusta, wife of Herod, that “there is good reason to think that the mistake did not originate with himself.” I had conjectured these articles were taken from the rough and uncorrected notes of Dr. Kitto—and this, Dr. Burgess calls an insinuation, “as false as it is uncharitable and slanderous.” Really, where is the uncharitableness of saying that Dr. Burgess was not the author of such blunders; and where can be the slander, when, in fact, Dr. Burgess acknowledges that these very articles are not his own. It gives me very great pleasure, however, to know that Dr. Kitto was in no way concerned in them.

In regard to additions made to articles, the charges I brought were these: that one class of them, the insertion of recent publications, “had been made partially and at random;”—that in the additions of new matter, there was evidence of great carelessness and want of acquaintance with the subjects;—and, moreover, that a wrong had been done to the original writers, by making them appear responsible for these faults introduced. Not one of the statements of fact, on which these charges rest, is denied. But it is alleged that there is a reason for the incompleteness of the new matter, which “your Reviewer conceals, although aware of it,” viz., that the work was printed from the old stereotype plates; and, consequently, alterations could not easily be made. How I can be charged with concealing that which I have distinctly asserted, and more than once implied (as in the remarks on the article *Durid*), I am at a loss to understand. I know of no ground which Dr. Burgess can have, for saying that I was aware of this fact, except my own assertion of it in the Article itself—and of course every reader of the Article has the same opportunity of

knowing it. I have not, I think, even implied a censure on Dr. Burgess, for having made so few alterations. Certainly, I did not mean to do so. What I have said is, that the alterations made were of very little worth, and showed a want of acquaintance with the subjects. This is not disproved by the fact of Dr. Burgess's degrees, nor by the long list of testimonials to his scholarship, which he takes this opportunity of exhibiting. The question is, whether he has shown here—in this work—competent scholarship? Let any reader turn to pp. 93—95 of the Review, and judge for himself. The wrong done to the original writers, by the insertion, as theirs, of Dr. Burgess's additions, including the blunders, is very slightly noticed by him. He evidently does not feel it to be a wrong, and would, therefore, naturally think my remarks severe. It is, however, somewhat out of place, I think, to pass it over with an ill-timed pleasantry about "some over-sensitive writer, whose papers are a *little touched up*." In another part of the letter, he indulges in a vein of pleasantry, respecting my remarks on typographical errata, which is equally out of place, and which requires no answer.

I added as a sort of appendix, an account of the article *David*. This, Dr. Burgess disposes of by making the publishers responsible for the statement. Yet their account is inconsistent with his. He declared that "the life of David has been entirely re-written, from the pen of Dr. Kitto." They say in their letter (written after Dr. Kitto's death): "We have made great alterations in the life of David." Dr. Burgess seems inclined also to throw off somewhat more of his responsibility on to their shoulders,—they, he says "are responsible for the information that the work was *thoroughly revised*." The title-page states that it is "*carefully revised by Rev. Henry Burgess, LL.D., &c.*"

I have only one other remark to make. Dr. Burgess is indignant at my supposing that he is not familiar with German writers. I state the grounds on which I came to that conclusion to be, that the work itself shows no such acquaintance with German as to make it probable that he had derived information directly from that source. He says this is "a statement whose falseness is only equalled by its impertinence." That the statement is impertinent I cannot admit. If I found reason from the work for thinking that Dr. Burgess's acquaintance with German was very slight, as I surely did, it was not impertinent to say so. If the statement is false, it is another matter, and I will retract it as soon as I have evidence to the contrary, but it must be other evidence than that supplied by "acquaintance with foreign booksellers," or the number of "new foreign works" passing through his hands.

I am,

My dear sir,

Yours sincerely,

THE REVIEWER.

January 25, 1857.

P.S.—It is quite possible that in my haste, I may have passed over some parts of Dr. Burgess's letter which might seem to require an answer. I wish, therefore, distinctly to say, that I have not intentionally omitted anything, and I hope that what I have said will be a sufficient proof, that if there is any such omission, it has arisen from no other cause than haste.

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In consequence of the late period at which we received the foregoing correspondence, we have been compelled, in order to make room for it, to postpone our usual "Brief Notices" of Books, and other matter.—Ed. E. R.

## Books Received.

- Andrew's (W. P., F.R.G.S.) *The Euphrates Valley Route to India*. 267 pp. and maps. Allen & Co.  
*Anti-Slavery Advocate* for January. William Tweedie.  
 Barrett's (Rev. A.) *Consolator; or, Recollections of the Rev. Jno. Pearson*. 186 pp. Hamilton & Co.  
 Maikie's (Rev. Wm. G., A.M.) *David, King of Israel*. 439 pp. Edinburgh: Constable & Co.  
 Bomberger's (Dr.) *Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia*. Part III. T. & T. Clark.  
 Bonar's (Dr. H.) *Desert of Sinai*. 408 pp. James Nisbet & Co.  
*British Controversialist and Literary Magazine* for January. Houlston & Wright.  
*British Quarterly Review*. No. XLIX. Jackson & Walford.  
 Campbell's (Calder) *Episodes in the War-Life of a Soldier*. 248 pp. William Skeffington.  
*Church of England Quarterly Review*. No. LXXXI. Partridge & Co.  
 Clarke's (J. E., M.A.) *Heart-Music for Working People*. 122 pp. Partridge & Co.  
*Commentary Wholly Biblical*. Part III. Bags'ler & Sons.  
*Congregational Year Book*, 1857. Jackson & Walford.  
 Cumming's (Dr.) *Bible Revision and Translation*. 60 pp. Hall, Virtue, & Co.  
 Dickson's (Rev. John Bathurst) *The Temple-Lamp*. 376 pp. James Nisbet.  
 Doran's (Dr.) *Monarchs Retired from Business*. 2 vols., 416 and 420 pp. Richard Bentley.  
 Dulcken's (H. W.) *Book of German Songs*. In German and in English. 324 pp. Ward & Lock.  
 Edney's (A.) *Thoughts on Anti-Supernaturalism*. 16 pp. E. T. Whitfield, 178, Strand.  
*Educator* for January. Ward & Co.  
 Evans's (Alfred Bowen) *Lectures on the Book of Job*. 244 pp. Bosworth & Harrison.  
 Farr's (Ed.) *Every Child's Scripture History*. 124 pp. Dean & Son.  
 FitzGerald's (Jno., M.A.) *Duty of Procuring More Rest for Labouring Classes*. W. H. Dalton.  
 Guizot's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel*. 398 pp. Richard Bentley.  
 Harris's (Devon) *Lota; and other Poems*. 139 pp. Smith, Elder, & Co.  
 Hassall's (Dr.) *Adulterations Detected in Food and Medicine*. 712 pp. Longmans.  
 Heraud's (John A.) *The Judgment of the Flood*. 376 pp. D. Bogue.  
 Landel's (Rev. Wm.) *What is Religion; or, Religious Life Practically Considered*. Ward & Co.  
*Leisure Hour* for December. Religious Tract Society.  
 Lloyd's (Rev. Morgan) *Three Crosses of Calvary*. 193 pp. John Snow.  
 Loftus's *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*. 436 pp., maps & plates. Nisbet & Co.  
*London University Magazine* for January. Hall, Virtue, and Co.  
 Lorimer's (Rev. Peter) *Precursors of Knox: I. Patrick Hamilton*. 267 pp. Constable & Co.  
*Luther's Table-Talk*. 492 pp. Bohn's Standard Library.  
 Lyndhurst's (Lord) *Review of the Divorce Bill of 1856*. 146 pp. J. W. Parker & Son.  
 M'Gill's (Rev. J.) *The Four Centurions; or, Christianity and the Military Profession*. D. Bryce.  
 M'Intosh's (Marta) *Violet; or, Found at Last*. 305 pp. G. Routledge & Co.  
 Macleod's (Rev. N.) *The Home School; or, Hints on Home Education*. 175 pp. Paton & Ritchie.  
 Martineau's (Jas.) *Discourse on Commercial Morals: "Owe no Man anything."* 22 pp. Longmans.  
 Maurice's (F. D., M.A.) *Discourses on the Gospel of St. John*. 501 pp. Macmillan & Co.  
*Mind's Mirror: Poetical Sketches, with Minor Poems*. By M. J. J.—n. 280 pp. Jas. Hogg.  
 Muir's *Glimpses of Prophet-Life: Lessons from the History of Jonah*. 234 pp. Shepherd & Elliot.  
*National Review*. No. VII. Chapman & Hall.  
*Occasional Paper of Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society*. No. XIII.  
*Paragraph Bible in Separate Books*. Leviticus; 76 pp., and map. Numbers; 108 pp., and map. Matthew; 76 pp., and map. Mark; 52 pp., and map. Romans; 34 pp., and map. Corinthians; 54 pp., and map. Bagster & Sons.  
 Peace's (Wm.) *Comprehensive Review of the Denison Heresy*. 162 pp. Partridge & Co.  
 Phillipson's (Caroline Giffard) *Eva: a Romance in Rhyme*. 134 pp. John Moxon.  
*Positive Religion versus Negative Morality: Letters from the Protesters*. 51 pp. Wm. Freeman.  
 Ramsay's (Geo., B.M.) *Principles of Psychology*. 395 pp. Walton & Maberly.  
*Readings from the Best Divines*. No. 1. James Nisbet & Co.  
*Religion in Earnest: Tales from the German*. Transl. by Mrs. S. Carr. 334 pp. Shepherd & Elliot.  
*Review of Life, Character, and Policy of Napoleon III.* By a British Officer. 426 pp. Longmans.  
*Revue Chrétienne* for January. Paris: Ch. Meyrueis & Co.  
 Smith's (Dr. Wm.) *Student's Gibbon's Rome*. 677 pp. John Murray.  
 Spence's (Dr. Jas.) *Pastor's Prayer for the People's Weal*. 128 pp. J. Nisbet & Co.  
*Sunday at Home* for December. Religious Tract Society.  
*The Book and its Missions,—Past and Present*. Vol. I. 292 pp. W. Kent & Co.  
 Vicary's (Rev. M.) *Penellings in Poetry*. 224 pp. A. Hall, Virtue, & Co.  
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# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW.

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## ART. I.—THE TREATMENT OF THE INSANE.

*The Treatment of the Insane without Mechanical Restraints.* By John Conolly, M.D., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London, Consulting Physician to the Middlesex Lunatic Asylum at Hanwell. Smith, Elder, & Co.

THE grandeur of human nature is seen in the awful vastness of its degradation: the ruin is tremendous. That some grand moral catastrophe has fallen upon man is as certain a fact as any inscribed upon the rocky fragments of this broken world. Possibly the wreck of worlds and the wreck of man are more nearly related than we imagine. We need not, however, speculate upon the causes that convulsed the former crust of our globe, but we cannot dismiss the question—Why is man's mind permitted to lie waste? We know that this earth has been rendered habitable for us by the violent changes that preceded man's appearance on the scene. The final cause of the present condition of our planet seems to be man himself; the earth was thus prepared that he might be accommodated with a sphere fitted for his faculties. But it is the ruin of these faculties themselves that we witness; it is this sight that tries our faith; we can see no reason for the ruin; and while the sense of the disaster confounds all attempts to explain its purpose, we nevertheless cannot but endeavour to understand why the very highest work of creative power—the very mind that was made to image and reflect the Divine perfections—should itself be shattered. All that pertains to our existence is involved in the inquiry. The ruin of man's works—the grand achievements of his genius and industry—impress us with solemnity; but decay

and debasement are now the natural order of *his* works, and they rather interest than shock our minds. It is, however, far otherwise when we contemplate the Divine image—the mind of man itself, in confusion. The highest result of Almighty energy seems as if smitten by some interfering power from the hand that formed it. It is this contradiction that demands a light that shall reconcile the permission with the appointment of Omnipotence. Without this light our reason takes alarm ; our logic is not equal to the occasion ; nature owns no principle capable of explaining the difficulty ; our syllogisms are applied in vain to account for the ruin of a soul, and the upshot of our thought but refers us back through our inner consciousness to Omnipotence Himself for explanation. Thus, it is faith alone, faith in the faithful Creator, that can sustain our hope, and bid us look onwards in the direction of the growing light. Could a spirit ignorant as any of ourselves, have been told of the state of the elements of this earth ere the six days' work commenced, he could only have waited—the revelation made by those works themselves could alone have explained the mystery. Faith in God as the utterer of light will always lead the mind to expectations consonant with the Divine character as far as it is revealed ; and we shall not question that the seeming chaos is to be the ground of future order as much with regard to mind as with regard to matter. A world in confusion, desolate and unadorned, dark as the depths with the clouds upon their bosom, which the spoken Light had not yet touched into life and beauty, is a type of humanity in its ruin. But light has risen, and order has begun. The days of a new creation are advancing ; the Sun of righteousness, with healing beneath his wings, is above the clouds, and they will vanish. The Eternal Spirit already moves upon the face of the waters ; the elements of death are impregnated with an organizing vitality, and out of the warring elements, alike of mind and matter, life and loveliness are springing into view.

We find it necessary to console ourselves with this conviction after investigating the havoc which disease is making with the faculties of human beings. If we did not believe that the manifestation of Divinity must ever be as light springing out of darkness, life out of death, order out of confusion, good out of evil, God out of man,—we could not endure the visions that arise before us as we contemplate the awful mysteries of insanity. We could neither bear them nor see any reason for looking at them but in this conviction. Without the hopes connected with this faith, our efforts would die. It is the reconciliation of seeming contradictions—in the accomplishment of what no power less than Almighty could effect, that our God

is known. If it were not for this fact revealed to our reason as a necessary article of faith, the terrible history of human derangement would be but as a record intended to confirm despair. But as Omnipotence is revealed as the Creator of material worlds by not only calling them into being, but restoring them from ruin, so is the Omnipotent revealed as the Creator of minds, not only by endowing them with reason, but also in restoring what has been lost, and by erecting a nobler state of being out of disorder; for it is the business of the Almighty to manifest himself as a saviour in the reconciliation of all things to himself as the Perfect One.

As far as our reason and experience enable us to discern, it appears that the training of man's higher faculties, as at present constituted, requires that they should be exercised in enduring, and resisting, and overcoming evil. Regarding evil as disease in its widest sense—as involving the disorder of man's moral, mental, and physical nature—we assert that the remedial agencies put into our hands by the Author of Christianity are in fact so many methods of preventing or of curing derangement. As in the orderly on-going of man's mind, in keeping with the laws of wisdom or benevolence as evinced in the Divine works and the eternal word, man's capacity for intelligent action and happiness is growingly manifested, so in the innumerable disorders of mind and body, directly or indirectly resulting from the breach of those laws, man's capacity for error and suffering is in like manner revealed. Hence the study of insanity is the study, not only of the working of souls in confusion, but also of the causes and the cure of that disorder. It is, therefore, especially a proper subject of thought to Christian men. Probably, it is scarcely necessary to enforce this observation, since it is sufficiently evident that disease and disorder are the immediate effects of disregarding God's laws, either through ignorance or perversion of will; and it is equally evident that recovery cannot be secured unless by that rectification, both of the will and the understanding, which leads directly to the fulfilment of those laws. The spirit of Emmanuel is the spirit of salvation, because in curing evil it confers sanity. And as complete salvation is perfect health of soul and body, so the doctrines of salvation are truly exhibited only so far as they are brought to bear upon the recovery of man from disease, alike of mind and body. "I will, be thou whole," and, "Go, sin no more," are words of one meaning.

A right state of reason is a right state both of thought and will, that is to say, it is a coincidence of the created mind with the known attributes of the Divine Mind, morally speaking. This we are well assured is not acquired scientifically, and yet



it must be taught and learned in order to the successful treatment of wrong reason. Whatever be the causes which are now so constantly confounding human reason and perverting human will, it is evident that they commence and continue to operate through means, both physical and spiritual, that lie far beyond our scrutiny. It is, therefore, demonstrable that the Giver of moral law and the Author both of matter and of mind, must himself work in both in order to man's recovery. We as Christians firmly believe that we only require to work with God—that is to do what He commands—to insure the perfect success of every sanitary effort; and with regard to any amount of success in the treatment of that most awful of human maladies, insanity, we think it can be clearly shown to have been in exact relation to the observance of those rules in its management which have most fully coincided with the precepts of Christianity.

Let us fortify our spirits, and see what we or those we love may become. We will imagine ourselves in a large room, standing, as we have stood, in the midst of many human beings, not one of whom can think with us, and whose faces, as they turn towards our own, have no correspondence with us, answering not to our smiles, nor looking for our thoughts, but intent only on some phantom idea that claims all their attention, and keeps their hearts beyond the reach of our observation. There is a tall man with a book in his hand, into the contents of which he seems to look with all his soul, but yet without perceiving a word in it. He thinks himself a divinely commissioned minister, and puts the interpretation of his madness upon the records of the remembered Word, exhorting an imaginary audience to repentance, with intense and disjointed eloquence, to which not a soul that hears is listening. The book he holds is *Blackwood's Magazine* turned upside down, but he thinks it a New Testament. Beside us mutters one with pale, thin lips, of some mysterious personage haunting his steps with blasphemous upbraidings. The horror of guilt kindles his keen, glassy eye, and he wants to escape that he may give himself up to justice, and charge himself with the impossible crimes of his own hallucination. That haggard youth with coal-black, straight hair and lofty brow, labours with despair. He lately attempted suicide; his burning brain, wearied with the efforts and the hopes of a literary ambition and a disappointed heart, would not let him sleep. He now stands fixed like a statue, not a muscle moving from day to day, an image of hopelessness; the moving-spring of life seems worn out; having nothing to hope, he has nothing to desire; endeavour is at an end, and existence is to him a black blank,

memory and imagination being alike dead. Another believes himself a king, another a prophet, another a divinity, with the weight and wonders of his own small universe dependent on his will. One is all suspicion, another is all openness. This man thinks himself possessor of wealth beyond measure; that, supposes himself a naked savage. A man of seventy believes himself a youth of seventeen, in love with an invisible angel always at his side. In short, there is no conceivable phantasy which may not be found exercising all the force of reality amongst the subjects of diseased imagination. Every modification of sensation may become the basis of an illusive idea; every affection of the heart a source of confirmed delusion, and every faculty of the mind the centre of a fixed and dangerous madness. We have described real cases, but who can realize the facts, and actual thoughts, and feelings, and experiences of any one individual mind either in health or disease? Our human nature is this inconceivable thing,—this capacity of reason learning from every object the thoughts of God, and conversing with love and light,—this perverting spirit also which draws delusion from every utterance of truth, and makes every avenue of perception and every impression derived from God's own works, the exciting cause of terrific mistake, endowing imagination and the very reasoning power itself with ability to convert Divine goodness into torment, and rousing the indomitable will to the pursuit of ideal objects that arise from hell, people the thick darkness, and terminate only in death with its revealed eternities. It is this human nature, in its universal possibilities of light and darkness, that belongs to each one of us, and which He who is the Son of Man and the Son of God, has undertaken to rectify. With this history of God's own earthly mission before us, we can imagine the Healer of all our diseases speaking the word, and reducing each disordered mind at once to a sound state, while sitting in peace at His feet, and drinking in the calm sunlight of His wisdom and His love. And is it not He that inspires the desire and the skill, the science and the energy that bring forth so many from our asylums, with reason restored, to the enjoyment of society, and the touch of kindred and of love? It is He that works; and whether with a word, or with the slower processes of moral and material agencies, we shall see that the success of treating all the maladies of the mind is traceable directly either to the practice of the doctrines of kindness and patience that He taught, or else to the operation of those benevolent ordinances of nature which evince the working of His hand, and are in keeping with His purpose and His precepts as the Saviour.

These observations may seem very mystical to those whose

knowledge of the New Testament is only verbal. We delight to see that the advances of true science comport only with the doctrines of revelation. The records of disorder, both in the vital organization and in the mental economy, demonstrate the truth of man's fall, and they also demonstrate that remedial appliances—for the mind at least—are sought in vain except so far as they are sought in Christian principles. We do not mean that a man may not acquire a correct theory of therapeutics without being a good Christian, but we do mean to say that such a theory can be applied correctly only in a Christian manner, that is, on the principle of observing how God would have us exercise our knowledge in relation of mind to mind. We should not fear to say that a Christian physician, with equal mental powers, would exhibit more tact in the treatment of disease than an infidel, simply because he is more alive to the duty of man to man. Experience confirms this opinion, and we know of no fuller evidence in favour of it than that furnished by the improved method of treating insanity, which is generally a disease both of the mind and the body.

An insane man is helpless in himself: he cannot pursue truth nor goodness; evil and error have him at their mercy. Now let us see how this poor helpless being was treated before science as imbued with Christian principles was brought to bear upon his recovery. Abuse and cruelty are the sum of all that was done to recover the insane for more than 2,500 years. The records of madhouses are the records of barbarism, ignorance, unchristian stupidity, and hardheartiness, in every age and every country, until Pinel, in France, and William Tuke, of York, acting on New Testament principles, effected those reforms which at once ameliorated the condition of the insane, and by this amelioration often cured the insanity itself.

“Up to the middle of last century, and in many cases much later, harmless maniacs were allowed to wander over the country, beggars and vagabonds, affording sport and mockery. If they became troublesome, they were imprisoned in dungeons; whipped, as the phrase was, out of their madness, and then secluded in darkness in the heat of summer, and in the cold and dampness of winter, and forgotten, always half-famished, often starved to death. At length the condition of the mad obtained attention; massive and gloomy mansions were prepared for them. These were but prisons of the worst description. Small openings in the walls, generally unglazed, and whether glazed or not, guarded with strong iron bars; narrow corridors, dark cells, desolate courts, where no tree, nor shrub, nor flower, nor blade of grass grew; solitariness, or companionship worse than solitude; terrible attendants armed with whips, sometimes, as in France, accompanied by savage dogs, and free to impose manacles, and chains, and stripes at their own brutal will; uncleanness, semi-

starvation, the garotte, and unpunished murders: these were the characteristics of such buildings throughout Europe. People looked with awe on the outside of such buildings, and, after sunset, walked far around, to avoid hearing the cries and yells that made night hideous:—

“ ‘ Noise, other than the sound of dance or song,  
Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage.’ ”—P. 4.

Crime and insanity were formerly treated with equal barbarity. While the penal code exhibited the wild justice of the unchristianized ages, and the idea of recovering the guilty formed no part of prison discipline, it is scarcely surprising that the treatment of insanity then partook of the savage mode of dealing with inconvenient and disorderly characters. Disorders of reason are indeed so generally connected with disorders of the will, that crime and insanity are constantly verging on each other; and it is exceedingly difficult to convince ignorant persons that the common perversities of the deranged are not more under self-control than they are. The pertinent expressions of the insane, and the ingenuity of their reasoning in many cases, together with the strength of wilfulness generally evinced, render it somewhat difficult for hard, uninformed persons to believe that their violence or their obstinacy is altogether involuntary. Thus we find that some of the more brutish amongst the orderlies attending on the sick in the hospitals of Scutari and elsewhere, even under the eyes of the lady-nurses, resented the delirious ravings of the dying soldiers, and refused to help them, even when too weak to lift the cup of drink to their parched lips. Is it then to be wondered at, that cruelty reigned in madhouses when these were committed to the entire care of the ignorant, with no other means of control in their hands than those of inflicting pain, or subduing violence by force? The only wonder is, that murder under such circumstances was not more frequently the result. Our very decided forefathers, who magisterially countenanced the whipping of madness out of men, were not very far from the more decided and equally enlightened method of certain Red Indians, amongst whom the insane are generously knocked on the head.

The first attempt at improvement was to enact laws for the protection of the insane. In 1790, the period of the great Revolution, a law was passed in France which enforced the seclusion and imprisonment of the deranged who were dangerous. Now to prove that this law sprung from fear and not love, and so was likely to be cruel in its effects, it is only necessary to observe that no attempt at cure was proposed in its enactment. All that was aimed at was to guard the less insane public from the outbursts of individual and private madness,—a

precaution but very partially successful during the Reign of Terror. The idea of systematically proceeding to cure insanity did not present itself until 1792, when Pinel, an enlightened and humane physician, was appointed to the Bicêtre in Paris. As his eulogist Parisot observed, with him entered "pity, goodness, and justice." Before this "the insane, the vicious, and the criminal were mingled together, and treated alike. Wretched beings, covered with dirt, were seen crouched down in the narrow, cold, damp cells, where scarcely air or light found way, and where there was neither table, nor chair, nor bench to sit upon, but only a bed of straw very rarely renewed. The attendants on these unhappy lunatics were malefactors,"\* against whose brutality there was no defence.

\* In England, there was New Bethlem in Moorfields, of which we read only that there were chains, manacles, and stocks. A committee appointed to examine its condition declared it to be so loathsome and dirty that it was not fit for any man to enter. In 1770, this madhouse was opened to the gaze of the public at a penny a-head, like a cheap menagerie! In 1774, however, an act was passed for the better regulation of madhouses in England, but that it was sufficiently inefficacious we discover from the fact that thirty years after, Dr. Haslam states that lunatics being supposed under the influence of the moon, were atrociously bound, chained, and flogged at particular periods of the moon's age, to prevent accessions of violence!

Now that fashion, book-learning, accomplishments, and quackeries bewilder all professions, and all the excitements of gambling are distracting our commerce,—while suspicion watches in vain to guard against hypocrisy and fraud, and all life is artificial, both in its pleasures and in its graver pursuits, insanity is gaining upon us with the hurry of the times. It, therefore, becomes a matter of vast importance to learn what corresponding improvements in good sense and science have done towards the prevention and cure of the most prevalent and most miserable of maladies. What has been done for the better has been done very lately. Perhaps the extreme danger of insanity becoming the rule rather than the exception, has at last awakened alarm, and compelled the closer attention of thinking and sound-minded men to the subject. It is horribly instructive to review the curative measures that were until very recently adopted. Dr. Conolly says that he "used to be astonished even seventeen years ago to see humane physicians going round the wards of asylums mere spectators of every form of distressing coercion, without a word of sympathy, or any order for

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\* Conolly, p. 9.

its mitigation. Men's hearts had on this subject become gradually hardened." Restraints became more and more severe, and torture more and more ingenious. Among many cruel devices, an unsuspecting patient was sometimes induced to walk across a treacherous floor; it gave way, and the patient fell into a bath of surprise, and was there half-drowned and half-frightened to death. In some Continental hospitals patients were chained in a well, and the water was allowed gradually to ascend in order to terrify the patient with the prospect of inevitable death! The circulating-swing was a wonder-working machine, for the invention of which Dr. Cox generously gives the credit to Dr. Darwin. This machine turned the patient about at the rate of one hundred times in a minute. It lowered the pulse, produced great suffusion of the face and eyes, and excited excessive evacuations, often followed by fainting, and sometimes by death. Yet this was recommended in bad cases to be used in the dark, with the addition of unusual noises, smells, &c., and that by a benevolent physician in great vogue not long since. All this violence was to subdue mental irritation and over-action of that fine structure, the marvellous brain; that is to say, humane and scientific men very lately so far mistook the laws of mind in relation to nerve, that they actually endeavoured to produce mental repose by inflicting tortures! The peace and quiet produced by the inquisitor's boot and thumbscrew were nothing to the serenity enjoyed amongst the insane when the treatment was all torture! What was the end to be attained after all? It was only restraint. Every vagrant action of the limbs was to be suppressed lest the lunatic should inflict injury on himself and others—a very justifiable, because necessary proceeding. But it was rendered necessary only by ignorance, insufficient aid, and total want of science. The cause of the cerebral excitement, the irritation of mind and brain, was left out of thought. The action and re-action of soul and body were utterly disregarded, until, as we have said, Pinel commenced his great reformation of madhouses by setting the example at the Bicêtre,—treating men as men. Soon after this, the Retreat at York was built by the Society of Friends. Pinel acted on the principles of sound common sense when he introduced "pity, goodness, and justice," into the madhouse. He treated *mad* men as men still. The intimate connexion between good sense and Christian principle is more evident than many suppose. The Friends at York proved this connexion, for it was on Christian principles they carried out the improved methods of managing the insane. They did to others as they would wish to be done by under similar circumstances. Pity, goodness, and justice did their work; the transition was almost miraculous; the raging



demon was cast out of many; and men, whose frenzy made them terrible, sat down in peace. Instead of the mercenary and cruel management that had been the invariable rule in the treatment of madness, the voices of love and wisdom were heard, and light and music entered with them to the gloomiest cell; sympathy took the place of stripes; faith was engaged in the work; the patients were trusted where they could promise; the distracted were diverted from their griefs; hope came, and with hope rest; in short, from this wise confidence, neatness, order, quietness soon prevailed, and furious madness was nearly banished from the place. It was really a place of recovery to thousands who under the old system would have been condemned to the cell until the grave was ready for them.

In Samuel Tuke's admirable account of the Retreat at York, we find the most lucid views and the most graphic descriptions of insanity, together with the most convincing proofs that the true economy of such an asylum, both medical and moral, is founded on Christian principles: this at least is our view of the matter. As Sydney Smith says in his review of this work, "The Quakers always seem to succeed in any institution which they undertake."\* This is high praise. But what is the secret of success in any undertaking? Simply to work on right principles. In this case *good feeling* was one with *good sense*, that is to say, the Quakers did what they felt was right as Christians. They evinced more skill and patience in their endeavours to improve the condition of the degraded, in consequence of a sense of duty rather than a knowledge of science, or because their science was learned from the Book of Proverbs, and from the practice of the precepts of a greater than Solomon. In short, the life of their success, whether in the jail at Philadelphia or the York Retreat, was Christian kindness,—which is just the application of God's own wisdom in dealing with man. The most humane spirit is the most mighty,—*that* is the spirit of Christ. Those who act upon faith in *His* word not only manifest right feeling and right reason, but also find the readiest access to the human heart and understanding, if accessible at all; for if humanity be recoverable, it must be recoverable by the very spirit that constructed humanity. As Sydney Smith says, "When a madman does not do as he is bid, the shortest method, to be sure, is to knock him down." Yes, but what is the readiest method of knocking down a perverse will? that is the question. If a man is not too mad to feel kindness, that will kill the evil spirit in him. And supposing a man labouring under a mistake so terrible that he cannot believe in love, is he

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\* Edinburgh Review, April, 1814.

to be treated as if no human motive was ever to be awakened in him? So rare a case we have not seen, indeed, except in perfect idiocy and dementia. Common madness is excess of sensibility. There is the undue prevalence of some strong human motive, some fear, some hope, some love, some tender desire, oftener unselfish than otherwise, yes, not unfrequently the purest benevolence, and the highest religious sentiment, and the holiest truth, taking irregular hold upon the disordered brain, constitute the peculiar phasis of the madman's dream, and keep him apart wandering without aim in the wilderness of his own thoughts. Think of the tender-hearted Cowper, or the strong-souled Hall, treated with stripes, and pacified with chains; or the refined Collins robbed of his New Testament, and whipped into reason!

If we talk to a somnambulist, or to a sleep-talker, we find that he is not in his senses; his associations, being purely ideal and dreamy, are so far like those of the insane. But we can whisper in his ear, or we can get by some method at his mind, and so supply him with associations more and more in keeping with reality, by working upon his affections until we draw him into fellowship with ourselves, and gradually awaken him to the realities of reason. We find him, however, still actuated by the common motives of our nature in his dreamy and deluded state. This state largely illustrates that of the insane, for mental derangement generally assumes the form of a chronic dream, with the powers of speech and action remaining, only under the dominion of that dream. The moody man, either from excess of brain-action, or from cerebral torpidity, may be so far isolated as to be unable voluntarily to keep step with other minds, but he is still within reach of the words and actions of those about him; if he can still attend, he can be influenced through his sympathies; he is not uncontrollable; he is not beyond recovery; humanity and kindness can still—

“Unlock

The clasping charm, and thaw the numbing spell.”—*Milton*.

When we consider that any disorder of the nervous system may become a source of mental delusion, and that every faculty and every affection may be involved in the hallucination, we can well understand how infinitely complicated is the study of insanity regarded in relation either to metaphysics or to physiology. But still there is a simple law in operation; the disordered mind is so attentive to ideas, induced by states of brain, as to be unable to overcome the difficulty of giving due and consecutive attention to ideas presented through the senses, and the mind so afflicted requires the most skilful aids and appli-

ances to draw it by degrees from its morbid contemplation. About a fifth of the cases arise from disappointed affection, and about an equal number from disappointments in business; many spring from the reckless habits of a bad conscience, fearfully confirming the disturbance of the nerves, many from constitutional causes, either inherited or induced by mismanagement of the body. Not a few are reduced to the most pitiable insanity by the trouble and torment of endeavouring to reconcile truth with error, and by trying to persuade their intellect and their conscience to countenance their own conduct; as when they try, it may be, really to believe some unreasonable religious dogma to which their training, their station in society, or their pride may have bound them as with the force of a most solemn but unconsidered oath. Whatever the cause, the consequence is a habit of thought, more or less fixed, that will not allow due repose to the nervous system. Now, it is manifest from the nature of things, that mere medicine, in the restricted sense, can do no more than mere reasoning in bringing about the cure. The soul cannot be turned from its pursuits by a narcotic, nor will a cathartic remove a painful memory. The condition of body may indeed be rendered more favourable by medicinal assistance; but in order to the mind's working aright, it must be placed in a position so to work. It must have suitable objects presented when able to attend to them. It must have repose, time, and patience, that is, all that kindness can furnish. The exciting causes must be kept out of the way, the clash especially with other minds either too ignorant or too busy kindly to yield in patient firmness to the vagaries of unreason, must, above all things, be avoided. Relations or objects of affection are, of course, peculiarly apt to excite the sensibility of the deranged; and, indeed, they are frequently the causes of perpetuating the malady by their injudicious interference, and by attempts to persuade the insane by dint of argument or personal appeal, that they are mad, if they are not wicked. How should a man in a passion be treated? He must be left to cool. The violent madman is suffering from a prolonged rage, and he must be placed where his wrath may expend itself without injury to himself or others. As Seneca says, "*Si quis insaniam insaniam sic curavi æstimat, magis quam æger insanit.*" But we must remember that he is a sufferer, feeling himself grievously wronged, and incapable of perceiving what is wrong in himself. The mildest form of insanity is still a trouble too real to be cured by argument.

Over-action of the mind leads directly to insanity, but we know too well that it is not so much excess of mental labour steadily following out a purpose, either of ambition or of homely

usefulness, from day to day, that destroys the brain ; it is worry rather than weariness, that does the mischief. Mere labour, whether of mind or body, is the natural preparation for the enjoyment of rest in restoring sleep. Overwork of brain may, however, produce a permanent irritation, and so acting like a physical agency, such as strong drink, tobacco, or bad air, may break the natural order of action, render natural fellowship uncomfortable, and produce a habit of restlessness, simply because the brain has by inordinate stimulation been habitually hindered from resting at the right time. God's law in nature has been neglected, and the necessary consequence follows. Thus, a mighty mind resolves not to allow due slumber to his eyelids until some task is completed ; and, in the meantime, some heart-anxiety is also at work, so that silence and solitude only bring a more intense rush of ideas upon the burning brain. The sense of inability to rest becomes at length intolerable, and desperation suggests that it is only "this mortal coil" that is in the way. If, as in the case of a great mind whose awful exit lately startled us, the brain were predisposed to fear and vigilance, and these morbid feelings tend to the constant reliance on weapons of defence for safety, there is already a state of mind that would repulse an imagined foe at the expense of that foe's life ; and, therefore, such a man would be ready to sacrifice his own body the moment madness suggested that it alone was the impediment to the needed rest.

It is distraction of the heart that breaks the rest, and so directly conducts to derangement, both in its outrageous and its melancholy forms. The man of dominating energy thus becomes frenzied, while the gentle soul droops into a moody gloom. That man becomes restless as an untamed tiger in a cage ; *this*, becomes still and silent as a statue ; but in either case a fixed misery sits brooding on the chaotic world of thought. The words of one who experienced the horror, describe his own condition as that of "an inexpressible torture of the feelings, in which the mind was as if broken into fragments ;" and another, better known, in notes plaintive as those the wind might have swept from harps hung on the willows by the waters of Babylon, thus describes his own melancholy :—

"No wounds like those a wounded spirit feels,  
*No cure for such*, till God who makes them, heals.  
 To thee the dayspring and the blaze of noon,  
 The purple evening and resplendent moon,  
 The stars that, sprinkled o'er the vault of night,  
 Seem drops descending in a shower of light,

Shine not, or undesired or hated shine,  
Seen through the medium of a cloud like thine."

—Cooper's "*Retirement*."

Truly, therefore, does this condition demand our deepest commiseration, and the utmost gentleness in its treatment that may be compatible with safety.

We do not forget that pride, more or less predominating, is both the main cause predisposing the human intellect to insanity, and also the chief manifestation of all wrong-mindedness. There is true philosophy in the poetry of Milton, when he represents it to be the acme of Satan's art—

"To reach  
The organs of the fancy, and with them to forge  
Illusions, as he list, phantoms and dreams ;  
Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint  
The animal spirits, that from pure blood arise  
Like gentle breaths from river pure, thence raise  
At least distempered, discontented thoughts,  
Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires,  
Blown up with high conceits, engendering pride."

Madness is doubtless often the mere exaggeration of those evils of the heart of which pride is the mainspring. But how is the madness of pride, or the pride of madness, to be humbled in any of us? Surely not by making slaves of souls and bodies, nor by breaking down the will by torments. Are not tyrants and malefactors all akin, and already imprisoned in that pride and selfishness which the punishments neither of earth nor hell can cure? If the madman's malady is mainly that of wounded pride, how then is it to be met and conquered? We answer at once, *Be kind*. Pride itself is unkindness in the abstract; a self-separation from the demands of kindred beings; and to cure it, there is nothing more necessary than to recover the perverted soul to a true sense or enjoyment of kith and kind—the proper standing of a human spirit in relation to humanity, that is, to the whole family of mankind as equally with himself the object of God's love, and equally susceptible of weal or woe.

There is great practical wisdom in the remarks on the dangers of indulging imagination in solitude, which Johnson puts into the mouth of Imlac. (*Rasselas*, chap. xliii.) Fancy and Pride reign together where Truth does not preside. "He who has nothing external that can divert him, must find pleasure in his own thoughts, and *must conceive himself what he is not; for who is pleased with what he is?* He then expatiates in

less futurity, and culls from all imaginable conditions which, for the present moment, he should most desire, as his desires with impossible enjoyments, and *confers upon* *wide unattainable dominion.*"

Madness triumphs over pride and madness by sympathetically engaging its own spirit, not by constraint, but by influence, like light, by the irresistible might of its own gentleness. The instant a wrong-minded man can be brought in the smallest degree of sympathy with a right-minded man, that instant the right gets control over the wrong mind, and that wrong mind is to exercise a reasonable self-control the instant it feels it, which can only be through fellowship with a right mind. Reason is regulated only on the principle of self-interest; and from a feeling that other wills are to be respected, on the same grounds that we ourselves deserve respect, for the utility of loving and enjoying what is good. Hence, honour to men is the maxim alike of sound sense and holy love; and this is in all the madness of the world.

These remarks strictly apply to the treatment of insanity; their truth is substantiated by the history before us, both of successful and successful methods of managing perverted minds.

Pinel and Tuke led the way, as we have said, in the reason- and Christian treatment of madness. But the system of restraint was not fully adopted by them. It was attempted at Charlesworth, but first carried out by Gardiner Hill, and its utility confirmed, on the largest scale, by Conolly, at Asylum. It is to Conolly that the public are indebted for the strenuous efforts to demonstrate, by his writings, and by his better works of a long and successful practice, the great truth, that even furious madness is best managed by gentleness; and that without this, whatever be done, the natural chance of cure must be nearly altogether wanting. We shall deem it tedious to go over the ground with this enlightened physician, and see the contrast between the old plan and the new.

When we consider what was the state of the insane in England so lately as in 1818, when, after close inspection, Pinel reported it to France as glaringly bad; and when we remember what it was, as reported by our own Commissioners, only seven years ago, we need not arguments to see the importance of discussing the matter in the most public manner. By Esquirol, our insane were often found lying on the ground, or only protected by straw from the damp pavement on which they were lying. He saw them coarsely fed, without air, without light, without water to allay their thirst, and confined in cells or dens, worse than those in which the Romans



confined wild beasts. The only remedial measures resorted to were seclusion, or fastening to the wall by a chain a foot and a-half long, baths of surprise, or the use of Darwin's rotatory chair, and occasional floggings at the will of the keeper. What was a bath of surprise? Only an unexpected plunge, by force or trick, into a pit full of cold water. Not thirty years since, in certain provincial licensed madhouses, the patients were left without attendants, without warmth, and with only a few potatoes, given them now and then in a wooden bowl. In a large private asylum in London, women were chained to their bedsteads naked, even in the month of December. Dirty patients lay in their cribs naked upon the straw; and their window was an aperture without glass. There was no classification, no employment, no medical treatment, no cleanliness. One towel a week served 170 patients; and some were cleaned only with the mop and cold water, even in the severest weather. Seventy out of 400 were incessantly in irons.

Under such circumstances, we do not wonder that the disappearance of many patients was never accounted for. No one cared for them. It was the business of those who farmed them, to get as much profit out of them as they could. At the Old York Asylum, up to 1813, secrecy was the protection of all its officers. The physicians concealed their medicines, visitors were excluded, and all the managers were ignorant, and utterly without any sense of their duty. Dishonesty and speculation of course prevailed. It was but consistent with this state of things, that during the public inquiry that at length was instituted, an attempt should be made to conceal the iniquities of the place by setting it on fire. In this way, the books and papers of the Old Asylum perished, besides many of the patients.

In Bethlem, in 1815, women were chained by the arm or the leg to the wall, in such a manner as only to allow them to stand up by the bench fixed to the wall, or to sit on it. They had neither stockings nor shoes, and their only covering at best was a blanket-gown, without fastening. Some were offensive in the highest degree; and with those were associated others capable of rational conversation, refined and accomplished, with all their rational powers perfect. except, perhaps, on a single point. Esquirol gives a picture of a man named Norris, in illustration of what he found at Bethlem. His keeper was afraid of him, and so he invented a torture to suit the case. A stout iron ring was rivetted round the patient's neck, and a short chain passed to a ring, made to slide up and down an upright iron bar, inserted into the wall; a stout iron bar, two inches wide, was also inserted round his body, and on each side of his arms so as to pinion them to his body. He could not move a step, he

could not lie, except on his back. Thus he lived for twelve years without change, without exercise, without fresh air, without a sight of the blue heavens or the green earth, till cars and flowers were unknown and unremembered. Yet during much of this time he was perfectly rational. Nothing can more powerfully illustrate the hardening effect of fear, custom, and irresponsible power, than the fact that the authorities of the hospital approved of this outrageous violence to this innocent man. Even physicians witnessed this state of things, day after day, for years, and felt no occasion to complain. Does not such a fact justify the extremest jealousy of admitting any pretext for the use of mechanical restraints, now that we know that they are not necessary? Yet even now, after all the experience of Hanwell, there is a fear of casting off fetters, and substituting vigilance. Handcuffs, and chains, and strait-jackets, are, in short, cheaper than skilled attendants; so the system of non-restraint is likely to be condemned by certain armers of the insane. Of course, iron helps can only be advocated moderately. But if human hands and feet are once more to be left to the pressure of chains and the will of the keeper, who shall say that pity and kindness will not be dispensed with?

The Christian plan of treatment having been found best, why recur to any other? No other plan has succeeded; and we wish to preserve for others the method on which we should wish to be treated ourselves, should loss of reason leave us at the mercy of attendants and physicians.

Whether the Hanwell system of treatment was adopted from Christian principles, or only because it was the most sensible and scientific, it is a fact that, being the mode commending itself to good sense, it proves also to be precisely such as Christian intelligence would prescribe; for the spirit of true science is coincident with that of all truth, and seeing what is, and what ought to be, it seeks to follow the Divine method, and, honestly using Divine means, succeeds in a Divine manner. Hence, the joy and refreshment of reading how the happy results of the non-restraint system are brought about. It is nothing more nor less than curing by kindness—doing right in the gentlest possible manner. Several of the cases recorded by Dr. Conolly, recall that teaching case given in the New Testament to illustrate the love that casts out fear. A poor maniac had been bound and probably beaten by his friends. They had good reason to be afraid of him. They suffered him to burst his bonds. He fled from them, and preferred to live naked amongst the cavern-tombs, torturing himself, and terrifying all who approached him, until, on a certain day, one

who knew him well, came near enough to speak to him. The maniac thought this friend was coming to torment him; but, no; the words of kindest pity fell upon his ear, and a miracle was wrought. That voice—that gentle voice, had in it the authority of heaven; there was a feeling in the words then uttered that bade the possessing demons, named Legion, to go forth to their own place with swine, and to leave the poor lunatic to be clothed, and sit, in a right mind, at Jesus's feet. This is our pattern case; and it teaches us to meet violence, suspicion, and the insanity of every ill temper, by a determination not to be afraid to do good to the best of our ability, though against the will that we would win, and even in spite of our own hearts.

Now take the case of a female patient, admitted into Hanwell. (Page 36.) She is violent and frantic—she dreads some impending punishment—she is to be cut in pieces or burned alive;—and this for crimes, of which she imagines herself accused. With these impressions, her thoughts are bent on suicide, as an expiation, or as a means of escape from suffering. She is immediately released from every ligature, and bond, and fetter. She is surprised at this procedure,—the effect is a speedy tranquillity. But suspicion still lingers in the mind. The patient is taken to the bath-room, and, for the first time, has the comfort of a warm bath; and she expresses remarkable satisfaction. Now, clean and comfortably clothed, she is led to the day-room, and offered inviting food. All the simple furniture of the table is better than in her miserable, struggling life she has ever known. Her looks express the change that has come over the spirit of her dream, and she can scarcely be recognised as the poor, livid wretch, admitted only an hour since. The cure has commenced; but still delusion, anger, fear, so occupy her mind, that the kindest words fail to console. But the attendants limit their interference to the necessities of the case, and take care not to thwart every fidgetty impulse; and so the irritation of the brain gradually wears away, until at length the sufferer becomes capable of fully appreciating the kindness that surrounds her, and her asylum is to her a blessed place.

Dr. Conolly states that he—

“Has repeatedly known private patients, received from some of the worst old-fashioned establishments, reported to be incurably dirty, violent, or dangerous; the true explanation being, that such patients had been kept much in bed, often in darkness, having neither a due supply of good food, nor a proper change of dress. In these circumstances, they become fretful, negligent of cleanliness, reckless, and often violent. Amidst the wildness of madness, they are still,

to a certain extent, sensible of their degraded position ; and every feeling is concentrated into hatred of everybody about them, or connected with them. An officer of rank, in a distinguished cavalry regiment, came to an asylum with which I was acquainted, from one in which a more than commonly obstinate attachment to restraints had been maintained. His whole wardrobe consisted of two shirts, one night-shirt, two pairs of stockings, one pair of drawers, and the clothes which he daily wore, and which were old, dirty, and ragged. He appeared surprised when shown into a well-furnished room, and quite astonished when he saw a comfortable dinner before him, and when his tea was decently served in the evening. Patients who have been so negligently cared for, almost always improve when thus respectfully treated. They make an effort to conform to the decent habits of the house, and become civil, and even courteous, in their behaviour. The violent conduct, which caused them to be fastened in restraints, disappears amongst the comforts of their new and better abode."—Page 50.

The great object is to calm the troubled spirits of the insane, and to this end everything should be done regularly and quietly, under the supervision of a physician that will condescend to details, and do all in his power to obtain good-tempered and active attendants—Christian helps, such as manifest the fruits of the spirit—and to keep them so. Having in his mind a comprehensive system of treatment, he deems nothing which forms a part of it beneath his attention ; and on the same principle, that he would study to keep a consumptive or an asthmatic patient in an unirritating atmosphere, so would he, while employing every prophylactic and curative appliance, especially endeavour to preserve the insane patient from every influence that can further excite the brain, and to surround him with such as, soothing both body and mind, may favour rest and promote recovery.

In nothing is the value of medical science more manifest than in the treatment of such cases ; and if our knowledge of physiology, in relation to the mad, be still far below what it ought to be amongst the licensed guardians of health, it is a matter to be greatly deplored, and to be remedied as speedily as possible. The means suited to the prevention and cure of bodily disorder are in keeping with those best fitted to prevent and ameliorate the maladies of the mind, and it is a Christian duty for every one who can, to understand the nature of those means ; but for a medical man to be ignorant of the best management of so prevalent and terrible a malady, is a proof of an awful dereliction, for which our colleges should be made accountable. They ought to demand proofs that all candidates for medical degrees have familiarized themselves with the clinical instruc-

tion of the most successful and intelligent physicians of our lunatic asylums. And how desirable is it that the holder of a medical diploma should be a man of piety—not the piety of a clique, but of character; for as the great Dr. Johnson says, Christian conduct is the only safe guarantee for any man. The calling of the physician is positively a Christian vocation in its very nature, in so far as he is required to learn and to apply whatever can best promote the well-being of humanity. The Great Physician is his pattern. But this higher aspect of medical science is best seen in the facts connected with the treatment of insanity. Bodily disease and mental disorder are, indeed, in general but as interchanging currents; and both really demand the use of physical aids on moral principles. And while the accumulated evidence before us of the successful treatment of insanity, is a positive argument for the truth of Christianity, since it shows that the system of “pity, goodness, and justice”—the system that suppresses anger,\* and prevails, by comforting and encouraging, is the right one; so also does the whole practice of medicine demonstrate that the *vis medicatrix* is one that works best with gentle or soothing means, and by removing all causes of irritation. That these disorders of body and mind, which come under treatment in asylums for the insane, are mostly due to mental distress, may be inferred from the means found most effectual in their removal—such as improved diet and lodging, more comfortable clothing, pure air and genial temperature, cheerful faces, kind and patient attention, a certain amount of indulgence to morbid fancies, and a due alternation of repose and employment. As Dr. Conolly says: “By far the greater number of agents remedial in insanity, gradually influence the mind itself. Asylums, to be really instrumental of cure, must have gardens of flowers, agreeable views, convenient furniture, cheerful attendants, and everything, in short, that may afford comfort and rest, and soothing engagements for the senses.”

The poor often come to the asylums half-starved, and good food is not unfrequently of far more consequence than any medicine to them:—

“Among other patents admitted was a poor tailor’s wife; she had been insane some months, apparently from want of nourishment and

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\* *Irk*some is the old English word for *angry*, and truly an angry temper is the most tiresome and distracting, or deranging, of all dispositions; so that St. Paul might well say, “Fathers, provoke not your children, lest they be discouraged” (Col. iii. 21); or, as Tyndale translates it, “Fathers, rate not youre children, lest they be of a desperate mynde.”

comforts. She was a kind of mad skeleton. Looking as if she might at any moment drop down and die, she still danced and sung, and ran to and fro, and tore her clothes and all ordinary bedding to rags. We had just begun to meet these difficulties, without restraints, and she was indulged in some of her harmless fancies; supplied, among other things, with useless remnants, that she might amuse herself with tearing them into shreds. Good food was given her and porter. She became stouter, and she became calmer; and soon she employed herself in making dresses instead of tearing them. Thus a happy recovery was commencing, when her poor husband came to see her. The sight of him, half-starved and half-clothed, distressed her, and caused a temporary relapse. She became depressed, wept bitterly, and lamented that her husband could not come into Hanwell."—P. 115.

"When my first attempts to convey clinical instruction in the asylum were made, a remarkably fine-looking young woman (æ. 20) was brought in, wearing a strait-waistcoat very tightly put on. Her face was flushed; her eyes were animated; she was extremely noisy and excited; talked loudly, and frequently sung, but was very irascible with everybody who came near her. It was observed that both the wrists and ankles of this young person were ulcerated, as if by having worn iron handcuffs and leg-locks. The strait-waistcoat was taken off, and the patient being put into a warm-bath, ceased to be angry, and expressed her sense of relief in the liveliest terms. The treatment of bodily disorder by gentle medicines, combined with rest, tranquillity, and the general kindness of those about her, soon restored her to perfect health. The mere discontinuance of the restraints, and the friendly reception given to her on admission, had a striking effect; in two days she was introduced to the matron's room to do some needlework. On the third day she was considerably excited, disposed to laugh loudly and long; but influenced by quiet words, and perfectly good-tempered. She complained of those infernal fetters she had worn day and night for three weeks. She rapidly and entirely recovered. No doubt could exist in the minds of observers of this case, that many such, neglected in many miserable asylums, passed on to chronic and incurable stages."—P. 118.

Another young married woman (æ. 25), whose malady resulted from nursing and semi-starvation, was brought in, tied up in complicated restraints, although literally too feeble to stand. Her wrists and ankles were ulcerated, and her toes in a state of mortification. Good food, wine, liberty, fresh air, and the sense of having kind people about her, wrought wonderful effects. She soon became healthy and reasonable. She had a distinct recollection of all the events of her illness, and described her sufferings from the strait-waistcoat by day and the iron handcuffs by night, when both hands and feet were fastened to the bedstead. We might accumulate instances equally striking of the immediate good effects of the non-restraint system, but



since the Hanwell reports and the lucid appeals of Dr. Conolly to the public mind, it is scarcely necessary to do more by way of demonstrating the value of that system than to point attention to the results.

The evening parties of the insane at Hanwell are merely proofs of the necessity of harmless enjoyment as a means of animating the mind, even under the most unfavourable circumstances, to self-control and good feeling. There even the violent restrain themselves for the occasion, the convalescent wear an expression of serene satisfaction, and smiles play like sunshine on the face of the melancholic, and the attendants learn the luxury of doing good. And all this is attained at the cost of a little decoration and a few extra devices for the encouragement of those who have taste for fruit and flowers, music, dancing, tea, toast, and innocent good-fellowship; and who is so mad as to have no taste for any of these things, at least by sympathy with those who can enjoy them?

Any one with a sensible heart, who has ever visited a lunatic asylum, will feel the force of Mrs. Opie's exclamation on seeing a patient there: "What a world of woe is written on that face!" Yes, misery—the slow fire of a smothered wrath—is the prevailing possession of the insane. Whether arising from the perversions of a selfish will, or a sense of actual wrong, or from the misunderstandings of vanity and a love that seeks only to be loved for the sake of self—the most selfish form of all derangement—still the condition is the same; it is the madness of misery—a nervous system that cannot rest—a heart knowing no peace, because without faith in true principles, and finding no bosom on which to repose, and no peaceful engagement either of the affections or the faculties—a soul seeking rest and finding none. What an object of compassion is a human being without confidence either in God or man! It is but a fuller development of what is common to our nature; and yet this nature is the object of Divine law; and this insane, unsatisfied, restless soul is the very being to whom the evangelic message is addressed and adapted:—

"Verè scire est per causas scire."

Truly the seed of insanity, the vital principle of "unreason and unrest," is never to be dislodged from humanity by dint of medical skill, nor by education as a mere system of mnemonics. The rapidly growing necessity for more madhouses will not be stopped till those very principles which alone have been known to cure insanity are brought into full action upon society so as to prevent it. "Pity, goodness, justice," cure insanity in the hands of Pinel, Tuke, and Conolly, by furnishing what the poor

body and soul need; and when these Christian virtues work their way into the hearts and homes of our toiling myriads, the spread of insanity will cease, and not till then:—

“If all people were as careful not to provoke their fellow-creatures to wrath as the officers of good asylums are; were as indulgent to faults, and as accustomed to encourage and aid all attempts at self-control and improvement; and if, which cannot be, the sane were as much preserved as the insane in their retreat, from want and gnawing care,—the world without the walls of such places would far more abound in happiness, and far less in the causes by which so many distracted minds are driven within them for shelter and relief.”—P. 156.

But we must look higher for those means and motives which will enable men to bear with one another in the clash and struggle of their competing worldly interests and passions. It is in the very nature of human activity to aggravate all the evils to which humanity is liable when left to work its own way. Unless curbed by the restraints of a faith that not only teaches a man his duty, but by affording the highest motive, enables him to do it in the best manner, the more intense the intellectual effort, and the more commanding the commerce, the vaster will be the derangements of society. Labour will be undertaken only to find means for the indulgence of lust, and ingenuity be exerted only to delude. So that, after all, it remains with the men who hold the secret of renovating society by Divine truth as a practical thing, to exhibit by all means the vitalizing power of that truth as the only energy that can prevent all other influences from so acting upon man as to render his madness and his misery not only inevitable, but extensive exactly in proportion to the growth of his ability to think and act.

The remarks of Dr. Conolly on education, with a view to the prevention of insanity, are especially valuable as coming from so experienced, practical, and successful a physician:—

“Very little consideration is required to show that in the management of children of tender years, many customs prevail which directly tend to irritate and spoil the growing brain. The system of mental and physical training generally adopted for children and youth is so far from being adapted to secure a sound mind in a sound body as to be little better than a satire on the common sense of mankind. From the very beginning, nothing is so conspicuous as a steady disregard of physiological principles.”

Those institutions in which congenital defect and imbecility are clearly recognised and systematically trained, afford us hints

of practical importance in the management of all young minds. In those schools, the character of each pupil receives serious preliminary inquiry; qualities which appear naturally defective are not forced; faculties congenitally feeble are, if possible, strengthened, but never stimulated to diseased exertion; the moral qualities claim especial consideration; what is faulty is soon associated with a certain shame and sorrow; what is good receives generous encouragement; and while the intellect is trained, the affections are tenderly cultivated. There are juvenile victims, not a few, who with faculties unequally developed, but yet not so marked with malady as to be preserved from ordinary modes of education, are thrown into a crowd where they are unfitted to compete—trampled on and put aside. For many of these it would have been a happy circumstance if they had been educated in institutions where alone the common principles of physiology are applied to the development of the understanding and the control of the feelings. Many a wayward temper, inherited from half-insane ancestors, might be thus soothed and regulated, and many a young person saved years of useless efforts, of errors, and vices. Attempts to amend these inherited or acquired faults by severities are never successful. Unlimited indulgence is equally fatal. Ordinary education, pursued with no higher views than the acquisition of fortune and station, has no salutary results.

All who have peculiar opportunities of ascertaining the mental habits of insane persons of the educated classes, well know that, with few exceptions, their previous studies and pursuits have been superficial and desultory, and often frivolous; the condition of the female mind especially is too often more deplorable still. Not only is it most rare to find them familiar with the best authors of their own country, but most common to find that they have never read a really good author, and that the few accomplishments they possess have been taught for display in society, and not for solace in quieter hours. But there is a frequent perversion of intellectual exercise more fatal than its omission, and which fills our asylums with lady patients, terrified by metaphysical translations and bewildered by religious romances, and who have lost all custom of healthful exertion of body or mind, all love of natural objects, all interest in things most largely influencing the happiness of mankind. A large portion of the moral treatment resorted to in asylums consists in discouragement of the evil habits of mind into which such frivolous and unhappy beings have fallen. Exercise in the open air, customary and general activity, regular hours, a moderate attention to music and other such excitement, protection from fanatical exhortations, and the substitution of sensible

books for the worthless tracts and volumes with which well-meaning friends have generally loaded their boxes, and which are henceforth locked up as so much mental poison. The same kind of care might in many cases have preserved from derangement. (P. 161.) We could wish that the Doctor had named a few of the pernicious tracts and volumes as a warning to those concerned; and it would not have been un instructive had he informed us whether the majority of the inmates of Hanwell asylum had ever read tracts of any kind. As far as our knowledge extends, we have reason to believe that the absence of all truly religious instruction has been a marked antecedent of insanity amongst the lower orders. Bibles and prayer-books are no mean helps in confirming convalescents at Hanwell, and preventing relapses; and it is certain that many are daily sustained by religious truth who without a knowledge of the plan of salvation would have sunk into the darkest madness under the weight of trouble and the sense of guilt. Dr. Conolly expresses his pain and surprise that so little interest is taken in education as a means of preventing insanity, and in this we thoroughly sympathize with him. He mentions, with especial approval, the following works as useful helps to those who would carry out physical and moral training together: Dr. Andrew Combe's "Principles of Physiology," Dr. Southwood Smith's "Philosophy of Health," Mr. Charles Bray's work on the "Education of the Feelings," and a small volume on "Man's Power over Himself to Prevent or Control Insanity," by the Rev. John Barlow.

Mrs. Ellis, in her wise work on the "Education of Character," gives us an instructive passage in relation to this subject (p. 26). She informs us that she had been asking a question of the physician of a lunatic asylum in Lancashire, relative to the popular idea that gifted minds are more likely to be deranged than those of more simple structure; his answer was: "We find that our patients, considered as a whole, are not strictly speaking superior in their mental endowments, nor yet inferior. The largest proportion of them are persons in whom no just balance exists; persons in whose character one or more faculty or tendency has overweighed the others, so that the whole being may be said to have been disproportioned and distorted by the exaggeration of some powers to the injury or overthrow of others." "That," he added, "would be the best education, and the greatest blessing to mankind, which should bring early into constant exercise and use all the different faculties of the entire being." We take this to mean that the human brain is in the best condition for the improvement both of the intellect and the heart when engaged in acquiring a knowledge of God's

works in creation, providence, and grace, since these are in fact divinely adapted to all the faculties of man. That is the only safe education which shall unite the development of intellect with the happy engagement of our affections, and gradually fit us to fulfil our duties, relatively, socially, civilly, and religiously. Whatever, either physically or morally, puts us out of keeping with those duties, puts our reason as well as our happiness in jeopardy: and we must not forget that the laws of nature, as well as the laws of the two tables, are written alike for our observance by the finger of Him without whom was not anything made that was made.

The subject is one on which we might delight to enlarge, but enough has been said to indicate its interest and importance. Dr. Conolly's able work we commend to those who have reason to seek further information on the matter. They will there see that the great medicine for the insane is separation from the circumstances in which the insanity arose. They will see the salutary influence of patience and gentleness, and the good of amusement as well as of work. They will see that as in children, so in all weak, wayward, or perverted minds, encouragement to the slightest indication of good feeling is the secret of successful advancement to the highest well-being, while anger and discouragement necessarily confirm what is evil, and by leading to despair may freeze the very fountain of life. Wisdom, indeed, reproves sharply, but it also cheerfully sets to work to improve; because it has good principles it has good hopes, and is confident that all impediments shall be removed, and abuses conquered, by the recurrence of the will to the obedience of Divine order and law, which being followed, shall be found so productive of peace and joy, that to depart therefrom shall be the only dread. Without this wisdom a man can neither control himself nor others, but losing his own calmness, he becomes liable to be infected by the maniacal contagion of any ill-temper with which he comes in contact. The whole subject is in truth but a proof that He who gave us our religion understood what is in man, for the religion and the morality of the New Testament are so completely in keeping with the physiology of our minds and bodies, that the true physician can scarcely be distinguished from the true servant of Christ. The grand moral of the matter in relation to all our maladies of mind and body, is the universal applicability of the law of kindness, and the use of truth in love.

## ART. II.—THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

*The Journal of the Indian Archipelago.* Vols. from 1845 to 1856. Singapore.

THE Journal at the head of this article is replete with invaluable information regarding one of the most paradisiacal spots on our globe; and, for that reason, is worthy of a place in our leading libraries. As it is a subject rarely brought before the public, we shall cull from the pages of this repository, and condense within due limits, some interesting features about Malaysia, especially our British settlements there.

The Indian Archipelago stretches along the south-eastern coast of Asia. Extending from the western extremity of Sumatra, or  $95^{\circ}$  E. long., to the parallel of the Aroo Isles, or  $135^{\circ}$ , it embraces forty degrees of longitude; and lying between  $11^{\circ}$  S. and  $20^{\circ}$  N. of the Equator, thirty-one degrees of latitude. In other words, it comprehends four millions and a half geographical, or about five millions and a half square statute miles.

Its western boundary is formed by the Malayan Peninsula and Sumatra, and is washed by the waters of the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean. The southern boundary consists of a long series of islands connected together in a straight line of 1,600 geographical miles, and running almost due east and west from Java to Timorlaut. The eastern boundary is less extensive, and principally formed by the island of Papua, or New Guinea. The southern and eastern shores of the Archipelago are washed by the Pacific Ocean. The Philippine Islands, watered by the China Sea, form the northern barrier.

The general position of this Archipelago is between the great continent of Australia and the most southern promontory of Asia. It is situated adjacent to the Asiatic nations, Birmah, Siam, and Cochin-China, and lies along the entire route of maritime intercourse between them.

The northern limits are within three or four days' sail of the empire of China; its western, only twelve days' sail from Port Phillip. To its central and richest islands, it requires, on an average, only ten days' sail from China, twenty from Bengal, sixty from the west coast of America, and ninety from any part of Europe. Such is the peculiar position of this large Archipelago.

It has, moreover, the advantage of containing within its lines some of the fairest countries under the sun,—with the usual exception that “only man is vile.”



It is thickly studded with isles and islets of various sizes,—in chains linked together here and there by a great island. These groups are intersected by portions of the ocean, in some parts comparatively large and free, though uncertain on account of shoals and sunken rocks, e. g., the Java Sea, the Sea of Celebes, &c.; and from the proximity of the various islands to each other, there are innumerable straits and most intricate passages, such as the Palawan Passage and the Straits of Malacca.

Although it might seem unfair to nominate the relative value of the different islands by such a criterion, yet for convenience sake, we may class them according to their size. Thus, under the first degree, we have Sumatra, the longest, and Borneo, the largest; Java is to be classed second; the third class embraces Lycaonia, the chief of the Philippines, also Mindanao and Celebes; and of the fourth rate, we have an infinite number of small islands—Bali, Lombok, Penang, Timor, Singapore, &c.

Our Archipelago falls within the tropics, and almost the whole of it, with the exception of the Philippines, within ten degrees on either side of the Equator. Indeed, it is the only country in India that lies so close to the Equator. Not only so: the equinoctial line passes right through its centre, so as to cut those large islands Sumatra and Borneo, into two halves. Of course, this gives a uniformity, both to the general features of resemblance, and to the distinctive marks which characterize this from other portions of India, as to climate, animals, vegetables, and the different races of inhabitants.

The islands throughout are mountainous,—some of the mountains very high and volcanic. There are no sandy deserts, and few grassy plains; but all the groups are covered with deep forests of stupendous trees, which may be everywhere seen flourishing close to the water's edge; and sailing within hail of those sylvan shores, you cannot but exult in the delicious—"the spicy" breezes which blow off to regale you.

As to the natives, the Malays have become the dominant race. On this account, the entire Archipelago has been named Malaysia. Further inquiry, however, has discovered that two aboriginal tribes inhabit these islands. The one is a brown-complexioned people with lank hair; the other, a race of a soot colour, with woolly, frizzled hair. The former tribe—comprising a majority of the natives of Sumatra, Java, and Borneo—almost invariably displays a marked superiority over the latter. The sooty and wool-headed people are described as dwarf Africans, and bear as inferior a relation to the brown-coloured tribes as the negro bears to the white man in the Western World. They occupy chiefly the eastern part of the group,

or the islands adjacent to New Guinea. Indeed, the native name of New Guinea itself is *Puapua*, "wool-headed," which has been corrupted by foreigners into *Papua*. It appears that some of the islands are occupied by this race almost exclusively. They do not seem to have risen above the lowest barbarism; and whenever they come in contact with any class superior to them, they are powerless, and sometimes, it is said, "are hunted down like wild animals of the forest, or driven up to the mountains and fastnesses."

Of the various divisions of the Archipelago, the western portion has shared the largest intercourse with other nations, and for the longest period, so as to produce a material change in the condition of the natives. Its position, the character of the inhabitants, and the variety and costliness of its products, can easily account for this.

Mr. Crawford, in endeavouring to trace out a connexion between the aborigines of this Archipelago and any distant people, "has no hesitation in thinking that the extraordinary coincidences in language and customs, which have been discovered between them and the natives of Madagascar, originated with the former;" and after discussing this knotty question at some length, positively asserts that that connexion, one of great antiquity, must have "originated in a state of society and manners different from what now exists, and took place long before the intercourse of the Hindoos, not to say the Arabs, with the Indian Archipelago." Upon this question we can only say that, if the ancient tribes in the Archipelago opened and maintained an intercourse with Madagascar of so influential a kind as to create an extraordinary resemblance between their language and habits, and that of the negro races of Madagascar, they must have been of a far more hardy and enterprising stock than we find at present upon these islands.

Although from their geographical position, they are necessarily a maritime people, yet their voyages are chiefly confined to the coast. In merchantmen between Malaysia and Hindostan, or China, or even England, Malayan sea cunnies are often found; yet the adventures of the natives rarely extend beyond the islands and countries which are in their immediate neighbourhood. It was the people of the far West that were led by the spirit of daring and enterprise to open intercourse with these interesting spots.

Long before the topography of the Archipelago was known in Europe, or even the names of its principal islands, its productions had found their way westward, and got classed among the choicest luxuries of Asiatics and Europeans. Nearly three thousand years ago, during the reign of Solomon, part of his navy

—piloted by “shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, came to Ophir once in three years, bringing from Ophir gold, and silver, ivory, and apes and peacocks, great plenty of almug trees and precious stones.” The preponderance of opinion gives to this “Ophir” a situation beyond the Ganges,—some think Malacca, or Java, or Sumatra, or Celebes. The late Dr. Kitto remarks upon this point, after much research: “Perhaps the most probable of all is Malacca, which is known to be the *Aurea Chersonesus* of the ancients. It is worthy of remark, that the natives of Malacca call their gold mines *ophirs*.” But it is not likely that we shall ever be able to meet with a positive solution of the problem. Nevertheless, it may be regarded as certain that, at a subsequent period, a large trade was carried on by the nations of Hindostan with the islands of the Indian Archipelago. The natives of the Coromandel coast, in particular, have carried on this commercial intercourse from time immemorial. What the traders of India, who first visited these islands, sought for, was only their productions. *Kulings* is the name by which any part of India is known to the islanders; and they give the name *Kling* to those who come from that country,—a considerable portion of whom settle down and intermarry. The bulk of these colonists is to be found chiefly in this western division of the Archipelago.

“It was a passion on the part of the Hindoos, in common with the rest of mankind, for the spices and other rare productions of the islands, that gave rise to this commerce, which increased as the nations of the West improved in riches and civilization; for the trade of the people of Coromandel was the first link of that series of voyages by which the productions of the Archipelago were conducted even to to the markets of Rome.”

The Arabians must have opened their trade among these islands at a very early period, though we have not the means of arriving at the precise date. In the thirteenth century, whole islands and parts of islands had adopted the Mohammedan faith. The Arab merchants, who had ventured so far from their native shores, were evidently men of superior strength of character, ambitious and bigoted; and in the assertion of their religious tenets, readily proselytized entire masses of the natives in the Archipelago,—a majority of whom may now be said to be of the Mohammedan creed. Genuine Arabs continue to frequent these islands, and settle down there; and annually there are shiploads of pilgrims carried from the East India groups to visit the tomb of their Prophet and other sacred sites upon the coast of Arabia.

Speaking of Asiatic strangers that frequent the Malayas

Archipelago, it is impossible to overlook the Chinese. The number of these immigrants yearly increases. Every junk from the "Flowery Land" brings a large pack of such colonists to the Malayan Islands, the fame of whose golden products, having extended widely among the maritime "celestials," is tempting enough to entice these citizens in crowds from their father-land in search of food and fortune. Of foreign settlers in the Indian Archipelago, the Chinese are undoubtedly the most numerous. They are met with in every island, but chiefly congregate on islands like Singapore, Borneo, and Java. Compared with the islanders themselves, or with other Asiatic settlers, the Chinese are decidedly superior in enterprise and industry. On this account, they are seen on every islet to have got the upper hand in arts and commerce. They are principally engaged in trade,—almost all the traffic of the Archipelago with surrounding petty states being conducted by them. Some who have been long resident among these isles, have grown enormously rich, and live and die there, rather than risk their comfort or their wealth by returning within the grasp of rapacious mandarins. Very few return to their native country. Undoubtedly, it is the intention of every emigrant as he leaves his father's house, to revisit his kith and kin; but the vast majority are detained by the bonds of business and intermarriages with the natives. The half-caste progeny from such a source is much inferior to the original settler. They wear the dress, they profess the religion, they affect the manners of the Chinaman; but they have lost his language, as well as some of his energy and spirit; and if it be possible, they may be said to exceed him in sensuality and debauchery.

Of Europeans who have figured in the modern history of this western group of the Indian Archipelago, special mention must be made of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the British.

During the Middle Ages, the productions of these rich and romantic regions formed part of that "oriental commerce which lighted the embers of civilization in Italy;" and it was the search for them that led to the interesting maritime discoveries of Gama and Columbus.

The Portuguese were the first to reach the Archipelago by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The discovery is attributed to Diego Lopez de Sequeira, who made it in 1509, with a squadron of four Portuguese ships under his command. Following up this discovery, his countryman Alphonso Albuquerque, the Viceroy of the Indies, in 1511, with a fleet of nineteen ships and 1,400 men, wrested the town of Malacca from the natives. They held Malacca 130 years, during which term it was eighteen times besieged,—six times by the natives, seven

times by the King of Acheen, thrice by Javanese, and twice by the Dutch, who, at last, in 1642, drove the Portuguese from it, after a blockade of five months.

Dutch intercourse with these islands did not commence till the close of the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, their first visit was but a sample of that systematic injustice and treachery which a ravenous cupidity for gain has almost invariably pursued throughout the history of Dutch enterprise in the Indian Archipelago. In the year 1596, when their fleet of four vessels under Hautman, reached Java, they at once got themselves embroiled with the inhabitants of the country, here and there committing actual hostilities or horrible massacres. At Madura, they butchered the prince of the island and his whole family, while they were paying a visit of ceremony and friendliness on board one of Hautman's vessels. The result of so unprincipled a policy, carried on down to the latest period, has, of course, generated a train of evils and misfortunes among the native inhabitants, which can never be compensated for by whatever laudable efforts may be made for the improvement of the islanders.

The English made their first appearance in 1558, under Sir Francis Drake,—touching at Ternate and Java; but the first British factory was not established till a century after, at Bencoolen, on the island of Sumatra. Their occupation of other islands will be noticed presently. But, in 1811, when the Dutch settlements fell under the French flag, the British landed a force on Java, and compelled the governor to submit. However, after an interim of five years, during which Sir Stamford Raffles introduced many beneficial changes among the natives, Java was ceded by treaty to the Dutch, who have retained it to the present day. In 1824, by a treaty between Great Britain and Holland, all the English settlements in Sumatra were ceded to Holland, in lieu of the Dutch establishments on the continent of India and at Malacca. The British engaged that “no British station should be made on Sumatra, or on any of the islands south of the Straits of Singapore; nor any treaty concluded by British authority with the chiefs of those settlements.” At the same time the sovereignty of the island of Singapore, including the seas and straits within ten miles of it, was confirmed to Great Britain by that convention with the King of the Netherlands, and by a treaty with the Malay princes of Johore, to whom the island originally belonged. Thus, the only property which Britain holds in the Indian Archipelago is, to name the separate lots in the order of chronological occupation, Penang, Province Wellesley, Malacca, and Singapore. All these, from 1830, have been made subordinate

to the Bengal government; and since then, there has been a valuable accession in a portion of territory on Borneo.

To call special attention to the settlements at present occupied by the British in this garden of the East, we begin with:—

1. **PENANG**, or Prince of Wales Island, was made over, in 1785, to the commander of an East Indiaman, Captain Francis Light, by the King of Queda, a petty state on the opposite coast, as a marriage portion with his daughter. The following year, that captain transferred it to the East India Company, by whom he was appointed their first governor of the island. It is situated off the west coast of the Malayan Peninsula, from which it is separated by a channel from two to five miles in width; and it lies between that and the west end of Sumatra, in lat.  $5^{\circ} 25' N.$ , long.  $100^{\circ} 19' E.$  The island itself is very small, as denoted by its name, *Pulo Penang*; *pulo* being applied by the natives only to a spot the insularity of which is within the range of vision. In fact, it is but sixteen miles in length, north and south, and ten in breadth, offering an area of 160 square miles. The name *Penang* is given either on account of immense quantities of “areca nut” growing on it, or from some resemblance the natives imagine they see in its shape to that nut. The coast is bold, and studded with rocky islets. The harbour of Penang is capacious, and has a good anchorage; it has now become one of the principal stations of the China branch of the Peninsular and Oriental Company’s line. In the centre of the island there are two or three ranges of lofty hills,—the western range, which is the highest, rising 2,500 feet above the level of the sea, and presenting on its eastern face, an exquisite cascade of water, much to the gratification of any ship-passenger who has for weeks seen nothing but the blue sea. There are some hill-ranges that rise 2,300 or 1,800 feet, with a temperature eight or ten degrees lower than in the valley. These hills, from their elevation, supply convalescents with a climate like that of Madeira, and afford an agreeable retreat for European invalids from India; not only are they in a high state of cultivation, with flourishing and productive spice trees, but most of them have large bungalows built upon them. The soil of the island throughout is very rich. Fields are laid out for rice-cultivation. There are plantations of nutmegs, and the best and finest cloves. The hill-slopes are planted with tea, cotton, and tobacco; and, inland, there are jungles of fine rattans and bamboos, and first-rate timber, teak and cypress. From the appearance of the interior—particularly the discovery of numerous ancient-looking tombs there—it has been presumed by some visitors, that there is ground to credit the native tradition that, at an early date, it



was inhabited to a considerable extent. Strange to say, however, when taken possession of in 1785, there were only a few miserable fishermen upon its sea coast. At present, its population amounts to 50,000 ; yet, probably, there is no spot on our globe so small as this which has so large a variety of races and languages—British, Dutch, Portuguese, Armenians, Parsees, Bengalese, Birmans, Malays, Siamese, Chinese, &c. The commerce, already considerable, is represented by government reports as being on the increase. Its principal town, George Town, is remarkably neat and clean ; one part of which is entirely occupied by the Chinese colonists. A mission was opened here in 1819, for the benefit of the inhabitants, by the London Missionary Society, with its Chinese and Malay branches, but was relinquished in 1846, in consequence of the urgent claims of China Proper. Since then, one Continental missionary has pursued, single-handed, his benevolent efforts among the islanders ; but having been lately called to his rest, this post has been occupied by a missionary in connexion with the Chinese Evangelization Society. The Papists possess a seminary here for training up young Chinese as preachers to their countrymen ; this establishment is said to contain twenty inmates on an average ; they have also a female orphan asylum connected with their mission. In one of the recent reports of that mission, they state that “within the preceding ten years, there had been no less than 759 Chinese converted” to the Romish faith in Penang.

2. PROVINCE WELLESLEY is a strip of territory on the shore of the Malayan Peninsula, exactly opposite to Penang, and immediately under its jurisdiction. It extends only thirty-five miles along that coast, and but four miles across ; and is bounded on all sides by native states, except on the west, where it is washed by the sea. The face of this portion of British territory is undulating, and its soil varies from common sand to the richest alluvial ; it is partly covered with jungle and forest trees, and partly laid out into mango groves, coconut plantations, and rice fields ; moreover, there are on it wild uncultivated spots, the resorts of elephants, tigers, rhinoceroses, and snakes. The statistics of 1851 gave the population at 65,000. In this total, there were more than 50,000 Malays, about 8,000 Chinese, and 1,100 European settlers. Although this is a settlement occupied by the British since 1800, its name is scarcely known among the English ; nor does it appear that any distinct or direct movement has been set on foot for the moral improvement of its population, which exceeds even that of Singapore.

3. The settlement at MALACCA is situate upon the south-west

coast of the Malayan Peninsula, about 250 miles east of the island of Singapore. It runs forty miles along shore, and twenty-five inland. All its boundary lines are Malayan states; but to the west, where there are the well-known Straits, the climate is reputed as excellent, and suitable for invalids. The vegetation is luxuriant,—coffee, sugar-cane, indigo, chocolate, and pepper can be produced in any quantity. It is remarkable too, for its exports of gold-dust, tin, ebony, and rattans. The products of the ground and its internal resources do, without doubt, exceed those of Singapore or of any of the other territories already named, and may yet be augmented to an enormous amount. Still, although at one time it was an eastern port of some consequence, it is not likely ever again to rival Singapore in a commercial view. Its latest census does not exceed 60,000, composed of heterogeneous masses, and including 3,000 Europeans. The town of Malacca stands upon the shore, and at the mouth of a river. It offers a pretty and picturesque appearance from the sea. It is in two divisions, one on each side of the river, united by a bridge. The old town is on the left hand. There you have the hill “St. Paul,” topped by the church of our Lady “del Monte,” built by Albuquerque, and its base surrounded by the ruins of a Portuguese fort, and studded with barracks, court-house, jail, and government offices. The houses are built in the old-fashioned Dutch style—with out-houses, offices, and square. The new town and best part of the bazaars are on the right bank of the river. The town population is stated at 14,000. Malacca was the first station occupied by British Christians for missionary projects in this Archipelago. In the year 1815, both Chinese and Malay departments were opened by the late Dr. Milne, and sustained by the London Missionary Society until the year 1843, when in consequence of the wide openings in the Chinese Empire, the entire mission was removed to China. At present, there are no religious efforts made of a regular and systematic form, among the natives or colonists. It seems to be an opinion, growing among those who have had the opportunity of comparing the settlement in its existing state with its previous condition, that Malacca has in every respect declined much, and that there is little prospect but of its sinking still lower.

4. SINGAPORE originally went under the name *Singha-poor*, that is by interpretation, “Lion-town.” It is known to the Chinese only as *Sillah*. It is an island which, according to government papers, measures twenty-six miles in length and thirteen in breadth. It lies between the parallels  $1^{\circ} 5'$  and  $1^{\circ} 20' N.$ , and is separated from the southernmost point of the

peninsula of Malacca, by the straits of the same name,—formerly the common channel of navigation for vessels between India and China,—in some parts not more than half a mile wide, or so narrow indeed, that tigers are able to swim across from the main land. In the twelfth century, there stood, near the centre of the southern shore of Singapore, the capital of a Malayan state, founded by a colony of natives from the opposite peninsula; and the present settlement occupies the site of that ancient city. A passenger coming in his ship from the eastward, and entering the harbour of Singapore on a bright sunny morning, is met by a mixed variety of the most amusing and vexatious, enlivening and monotonous scenes that can, in the same amount of time, flit before one's eye during a voyage round the world. The harbour, lying south and south-eastern of the settlement—good, safe, and spacious—crowded with vessels bearing all flags, renders the place unusually gay: native canoes skimming the surface of the bay—little skiffs, very light and very fleet, worked by a couple or by four men, and still tinier boats, with fishermen casting their nets all around your ship; the whole line of shore bordered almost to the water's edge with large hotels, private residences, a battery, a church, educational institutions, a parade and carriage drive, &c.; and the back rising grounds studded with English villas and bungalows, in the centre of which stands the Government Hill, with the Government House, Observatory, &c. But, while you are eagerly eyeing this pleasing landscape, and before your ship is able to secure her berth, your attention is arrested by a number of curious people jumping on board to inquire the object of your visit or the destination of your vessel; hosts of washermen pestering you by their petitions for your patronage, and before you are aware of it, shovelling whole packets of certificates into your hands to assure you of their honesty, punctuality, cleanliness, and so forth; human beings of all colours, and in all colours, presenting hotel cards, surgeons' cards, marine-store cards; Kling bumboat-men, India toymen, Malay pedlers,—the one vying with the other to secure your notice and favours by every kind of the most humble and respectful grimaces and postures. One afternoon's excursion on shore will serve to give you some notion of the town, suburbs, and country. Roads, good and wide, though covered, and much to your discomfort covering your best suit with a fine red clayey dust; the grounds around the private bungalows dotted with nutmeg, gutta percha, sago, and bread-fruit trees, betel-nut, palms, &c.; long open highways leading into the heart of the island, pass between large and extensive cocoa-nut plantations. The climate you must pronounce to be unexceptionably fine.

Although upon the Line, the hot temperature of noon is checked almost every afternoon by a sudden squall of wind, sweeping over the settlement with clouds vomiting forth their discharges of electricity and volumes of rain. Upon the west side of the island there is a small village, called New Harbour, active and bustling, the depôt of the Peninsular and Oriental Company. The eastern part was at one time reputed as the resort of tigers, pirates, and outlaws. The face of the island undulates with low hills of jungle and forest trees, and many fertile valleys, for a long time scarcely known but to a few Chinese settlers. Fruits, spices, and vegetables of every variety thrive here; plantains, pineapples, guavas, nutmegs, cloves, pepper, sugarcane, &c. In 1819, when the settlement was founded by Sir Stamford Raffles, the census gave only 150 people; in 1833, there were 20,978; in 1841, it numbered 36,000; in 1848, it had risen to 57,421; at present, it exceeds 60,000. This population is mainly composed of immigrants from India, China, and the surrounding isles. The town is distributed into three parts,—the eastern and western occupied by Chinese, Klings, and Malays, and the central by Europeans. The native Malays, naturally unenterprising, jealous, and bigotedly attached to their own tribes, keep aloof from merging into other miscellaneous masses of people, and select for themselves sheltered and secluded retreats; accordingly, in a town like Singapore, they form but a minority. The majority of the population consists of Chinese, and of natives from the Madras coast and other parts of India. The Chinese may be classed into two orders,—the one, of descendants from a mixed parentage, and preserving the features and dress, but not the pride and industry of their Chinese fathers; the other, of recent arrivals from the south and south-eastern coasts of China in search of their livelihood. From the very founding of the Singapore settlement, there have existed among the Chinese colonists, secret societies, originally set up in China as political clubs to subvert the Tartar dynasty; these fraternities have, in Singapore as everywhere else, been turned into combinations for the most pernicious purposes, committing alarming outrages, extensive depredations, and lawless raids, greatly to the disturbance of the public peace and the annoyance of the foreign residents. Recently, there has been a considerable accession to these irregular lodges from Chinese rebels, who, having been driven from their native land, have taken refuge in Singapore; thither they have brought with them their spirit of insubordination, and in June 1854, a serious tumult among the Chinese settlers, in which these refugees took a prominent part, was put down, only after “above 300 Chinese had been murdered

or shot." In the mixed population of the settlement we find Jews, Armenians, Parsees, Portuguese, French, and Germans: there is but a handful of Americans. The British community is large, and yearly on the increase,—the majority consisting of Scotchmen. Of late, Singapore has been converted into one of the penal settlements of India, much to the annoyance of the residents. Though the island itself produces nothing in particular, the commercial business conducted upon it is most vigorous and of enormous extent. In 1852-53, the imports were valued at £3,487,695, and the exports at £3,026,986,—total six and a half millions pounds sterling. It has already become, and gives promise of increasing, as a point of congress for natives from all the surrounding countries; it is the half-way port for the ultra-Gangetic traders, and for vessels from England, America, France, Holland, Spain, Portugal, and India, which hold commerce with China or the islands of the Archipelago; and now there is prospect of a fine trade opening between it and Australia. From the harbour-master's table issued for 1853, it appears that the number of European and American ships which entered the harbour during the year amounted to 1,058; of these 733 alone were British, reckoning nearly 275,000 tons. During the same year there were 2,107 native vessels, with a tonnage of 70,194 tons. As to religions, the settlement has its Mohammedan mosque, Jewish synagogue, Kling shrine, Chinese temple, Armenian church, and Popish and Protestant chapels. The only proselytizing forms of religion here are Popery and Protestantism. Just three hundred years ago, Francis Xavier, "the Apostle of the Indies" made his appearance at Malacca; and the Portuguese ascribe to his presence the salvation of that city from a formidable attack of the king of Acheen, who came against it with a fleet of seventy galleys and an army of a hundred thousand men. After this, Xavier removed to christianize the Moluccas. Recently, the missionaries of that church have begun to put forth more than usual vigour in converting the colonists of Singapore, as well as extending their efforts over the Archipelago,—a field which they now discover to be open to them, and almost undisputed. Protestants at one time held a footing at this settlement, and vigorously prosecuted their work for a long time, both among Malays and Chinese; they readily mastered the language, spoken and written; they translated a portion of the Holy Bible into the Malay tongue; they prepared various useful tracts, and widely distributed them;—but, after labouring for thirty years in the field, they withdrew in order that they might occupy the openings which in China were so inviting to them, and which seemed to have a higher claim. Since then,

with a few solitary (and worthy) exceptions, direct efforts for christianizing our Singapore subjects have been relinquished by Protestants,—the prudence of which leaves room for serious question. But we must take leave of Singapore for Borneo.

5. BORNEO.—Except Australia and New Guinea, this is the largest island in the world. It runs ten degrees both ways, and is remarkable for its relative position. On the east, it is overlooked by the Great Celebes and the Spice Islands; on the west, by Sumatra and the Malayan Peninsula; on the south, by the fertile and populous Java; and on the north, by China and the Philippine Islands. Thus embosomed in a cluster of rich and fairy islands, surrounded by seas so shut in by the land that their waters are as smooth as those of a lake, affording every facility for the navigation of native craft, and lying almost in the direct course of vessels in the China trade, whether they pass by the Straits of Sunda or Singapore,—it is scarcely possible to conceive where else a location more convenient for commercial purposes in this Archipelago can be found. As we have to do at present with British intercourse here, we shall leave the Dutch in their glory over an empire on paper, which boasts of numerous territorial divisions in Borneo as “subjected to the Netherlands sovereignty.” The East India Company, and private adventurers too, early tried to open trade on the coast of Borneo; but through their own indiscretion, or the opposition of Dutch settlers, they were obliged to abandon Borneo entirely so far back as a century ago. The only recent and successful attempt to secure an honourable footing on Borneo is that of Mr. Brooke.

At the close of 1838, Mr. Brooke left England in the schooner “*Royalist*,” with the intention of visiting Borneo. He reached the island in the following year, and making for its northern division, called Borneo Proper, which hitherto had been an independent state uninfluenced by any European intrigue, Mr. Brooke settled down at Sarawak, a district lying on its south-western corner. This spot was selected on account of the soil and productions being of the richest quality, for within the same given space, there are not to be found so many mineral and vegetable resources in any other part of the globe. On his first arrival, however, Mr. Brooke found the country in a state of anarchy. A few petty chiefs had confederated to seize the territory from the legitimate sovereign, Mudah Hassim. The native prince was on the spot to suppress it; but being reduced to circumstances of great perplexity and distress, from the apathy of his followers and the falseness of his friends, he sought the counsel and aid of his foreign ally, who already had established himself on his territory. After



some delay, the appeal was acceded to. In a short time, the rebels surrendered at discretion; and, through Mr. Brooke's mediation, their lives were spared, and their families restored. In return for his services, Mudah Hassim presented to Mr. Brooke the governorship of Sarawak, under the following terms: "That the country and government of Sarawak be made over to Mr. Brooke to be held under the crown of Borneo, with all its resources and dependencies, on the yearly payment of 2,500 dollars; that Mr. Brooke was not to infringe on the customs or religion of the natives; and, in return, that no person was to interfere with Mr. Brooke in the management of the district of Sarawak."

In accepting the government of Sarawak, Mr. Brooke (henceforward titled "The Rajah of Sarawak,") set before himself three grand objects: "the extension of trade, the propagation of Christianity, and the suppression of atrocities practised on the Dyak tribes." From that time, through the urgent appeals of Rajah Brooke to his countrymen, and by his personal visit to his native country, the British government has been led to appreciate the advantage of preserving a commanding influence on Borneo, and of shaping a policy in pursuance of which no system of aggression or aggrandizement should be manifested. A few years back, on Mr. Brooke revisiting Great Britain, honourable notice was taken of him by the Crown, and he was appointed "Her Britannic Majesty's Commissioner-General in Borneo." Since his return to Sarawak, laden with the well-merited rewards of his countrymen, Sir James Brooke has continued to evince the same spirit of enterprise and benevolence in this wondrous field. Not the least of his efforts has been to promote the blessings of liberty and freedom among the surrounding tribes; and not long ago he assisted in the complete emancipation of the Hill Dyak tribes, numbering 25,000, who had been living in a state of the most cruel degradation and slavery to the Coast Malays. And also in "the extension of trade" in Borneo, the English Rajah has been remarkably successful. The *Examiner* in reference to this subject observed, a few months since: "When Sir James took possession of this little territory in 1841, its mere Malayan population was but 200; and it has now risen to 15,000. In 1849, its export and import trade each amounted to no more than £10,000; and in 1853, they had risen to £170,000, employing 30,000 tons of one kind of vessel or another. In short, Sir James Brooke's genius has created the most prosperous state that ever existed in Borneo, an island which, for the three hundred and fifty years it has been known to us, no European has been able to turn to any good."

We wish that we could speak with as much satisfaction or hope of the scheme adopted by Sir James for carrying out another of his projects, "the propagation of Christianity" among the aborigines of Borneo. This duty has been entrusted to the wisdom and routine of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." Under the superintendence of that society, there are at present four stations occupied by five or six missionaries. Schools have been established; a printing press set up; a translation of the Liturgy into Malay completed; a few converts enlisted, and to crown the whole (as appears by the *London Gazette* of May 18, 1855), "The Queen has been pleased to constitute the island of Labuan\* and its dependencies to be a bishop's see and diocese, to be called the 'Bishopric of Labuan,' and to appoint the Rev. Francis Thomas M'Dougall, D.C.L.,† to be ordained and consecrated bishop of the said see."

With regard to "the extraordinary proceedings of Sir James Brooke," which some people have long been trying to trumpet up, charging Sir James with the darkest and foulest atrocities, we have only room and inclination to say (what indeed the public are already aware of), that the most severe and impartial scrutiny has elicited that there is no real ground for the scandalous persecution to which the Rajah of Sarawak has been exposed. By the official report of the commissioners appointed to set on foot an inquiry into those accusations, and by the verdict of her Majesty's government based on the evidence therein adduced, Sir James Brooke has been thoroughly acquitted of acts of butchery and bloodthirstiness, and the estimate has been confirmed in which his fellow-countrymen have justly held him, as one who, in this field of self-devotion and sacrifice, has shown that his motto has been "*Humani nihil à me alienum.*"

In closing this rapid view of the Indian Archipelago, we must confess that it is matter of no little surprise to us that the growing facilities for British intercourse and adventure on its islands have not been followed up by a larger accession of merchants and true-hearted philanthropists. The independent investigations made by such men as Brooke, Tradescant Lay, and St. John, and the surveys instituted by our government under the eye of Belcher, Keppel, &c., have contributed a vast amount of information that ought to have awakened corresponding interest

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\* Off the coast of Borneo.

† At one time Demonstrator of Anatomy in King's College, London who went out to Borneo as Missionary in 1848.

about Malaysia. The Dutch know too well the advantage of holding islands in this quarter; and, it is said, they claim above a half of the Archipelago as their own. But this immense field continues open at numerous points, to other nations as well as to the Dutch. Why then should not Britons avail themselves of such openings, in lands that lie stretched before them, as if awaiting their arrival for occupation? There is scope enough here for numberless forms of enterprise, favourable to the promotion of religion, science, commerce, and philanthropy. Not to embrace opportunities like these, rich with interest and promise,—is it not sheer folly?

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### ART. III.—MILLENARIANISM.

*Millennial Studies; or, what saith the Scripture concerning the Kingdom and Advent of Christ.* By the Rev. W. P. Lyon, B.A.. Tunbridge Wells. Pp. vi., 244. London: Ward & Co.

To commend the subject of this work, as set forth in the title-page, is superfluous; not so, however, to say that the Millenarian question deserves more attention from anti-Millenarians than it has of late years received. The press has, indeed, teemed with volumes on the subject; but these have proceeded principally from Millenarian pens; and both by their quantity, and as the writings, for the most part, of very estimable men, have undoubtedly produced an impression beyond the immediate circles of their authors. If the views enforced in them were scriptural and healthy, this success would be ground for rejoicing: as we apprehend the case, it is to be deplored and counteracted. To be deplored, because we verily believe that what success they may have realized apart from the influence of their authors' characters, has resulted far more from the ignorance of their readers than from any depth, or truth, or power of any kind, that they have evinced; to be counteracted, because whatever the cause of their success may have been, it is certain that they have made many converts, and that their effect on them has been and must be, to involve in ruinous confusion the most precious and the clearest teachings of inspired Scripture. We greet, therefore, with a cordial welcome, these "*Millennial Studies*" of Mr. Lyon, as knowing, from repeated perusal, that they comprise a scriptural view of their important subject, and a solid refutation of the principal errors relating to it. We owe Mr.

Lyon an apology for not having earlier noticed his opportune publication; but we know that even in its earlier form, of detached periodical essays, it was highly valued by persons acquainted with the subject; and we are gratified to believe that having been so introduced to the public, it has not needed other public notice so much as it otherwise might have done. It is a volume which, to reflecting, unprepossessed readers, will very well commend itself. At the same time, the great importance of the questions at issue, and the wide circulation of plausible and complicated, though fallacious and often flimsy argument on the Millenarian side, render it by no means a work of supererogation to exhibit here the leading thoughts and character of Mr. Lyon's volume. We must premise, however, for those of our readers who are ill-informed on the subject itself, a few general remarks upon it.

Millenarianism is a peculiar theory of doctrine relating to the dispensations of grace and glory, not of recent origin, but handed down from the first age of Christianity, and clearly traceable to a Jewish source. It has for its basis or stock a single verse (Rev. xx. 4), in which John describes his vision of some thrones, and of some souls, evidently the souls of those who had suffered under the heathen (Rev. vi. 9) and Papal (Rev. xiii., 18) persecutions,—respecting whom he adds, “that they lived and reigned with Christ the thousand years;”—the thousand years, that is, during which he had just said (in verses 2 and 3) he had seen Satan bound, that he might deceive the nations no more till they were ended. On this stock, by first assuming that a special reign of Christ for that time is intended, but which the verse by no means indicates, and then engrafting on it every bud of prophecy, whether in the Old Testament or New, that refers to a future glory, they have reared a splendid show of dazzling but monstrous flowers, beautiful enough when lighted up by earthly passion and imagination, but which, wanting the strong health of truth, fall off in showers under the clearer light and genial breezes of an unclouded heaven.

The principal fictions of the Millenarian system are the reign of Christ on earth in person visibly for a thousand years; the reign with him of his universal church over the earth for the same period; the national supremacy of the Jews over all other nations then and for ever; Christ not reigning over the earth till the commencement, and ceasing to reign at the end of the thousand years; two distinct resurrections and judgments of the righteous and wicked—that of the former preceding, and that of the latter succeeding the thousand years; the opening of the Book of Life (as in Rev. xx. 12) exclusively to show

that none of those who shall then be before the judgment-seat have their names written in it; the assumption that the period between our Lord's ascension and second advent is an intercalated period, entirely overlooked in Old Testament prophecy; and the notion that God having elected the Hebrew nation to be a peculiar people to himself, and promised to settle them in Canaan, bound himself by his original and many subsequent promises to give them Canaan for an absolutely eternal inheritance, and to make them, as distinguished from all other Adamic races, the object of his supreme regard and special love for ever. Some also contend that, when the Hebrew nation is restored to Canaan, Jehovah's temple will be rebuilt on Mount Moriah according to the pattern in Ezekiel, and that the Levitical sacrifices and other rites will be re-established agreeably to the letter of his vision.

We cannot here draw out this system into its secondary and remoter ramifications; but enough has been said to enable the sincere, diligent, and prayerful reader of the Scriptures to test it by that sure and steadfast Word. Our object in this paper is not to exhibit our own perspicacity in refuting these unscriptural notions, but to show, as far as our brief limits will permit, how well Mr. Lyon has done so.

Among the controverted points relating to Christ's Mediatorial kingdom, the time of its commencement holds a prominent place. The ordinary view has been, that it commenced when the Redeemer took his seat at the right hand of God; and Peter's argument, from the effusion of the Spirit (in Acts ii. 33—36), "that God had made that very Jesus, whom the Jews had crucified, both Lord and Christ," has been customarily accepted as valid proof to that effect. Millenarians, however, reject this evidence, and defer the commencement of our Lord's kingship till the setting of the thrones in Rev. xx. 4. Mr. Lyon having quoted a long passage from Mr. Birks in support of this opinion, thus refutes it:—

"Very strange are the reasons which Mr. Birks assigns for that kingdom being still future, which began when visible fruits of redemption first appeared. . . . 'This kingdom,' says Mr. Birks, 'came with power *after* the King had withdrawn; and yet it has not come at all *because* he has withdrawn. It came with power when judgment was executed on the Jewish nation for unbelief; and yet it has not come because the execution of judgment is still delayed! It came with power in the preaching of the Gospel when the will of God was gloriously revealed by the Holy Spirit; and yet it has not come because that will has only been partially revealed to mankind!' The attentive reader will perceive that the reasons which Mr. Birks

assigns for the kingdom *not* having come, are identical with those which he assigns for its *having really come with power* !"—P. 19.

If it appear incredible that a writer of Mr. Birks's undoubted perspicacity should, even under the influence of a false hypothesis, be thus inconsistent, the reader of Mr. Lyon's volume has only to consult the extracts furnished him in pp. 16—18, and he may convince himself of the truth of the allegation. Further on Mr. Lyon thus resumes his notice :—

" We shall now consider Mr. Birks's description of what he designates ' the proper kingdom of Christ.' ' It must,' he says, ' be marked by three characters which have never yet been exhibited together. There must be the visible presence of the King, a full and clear manifestation of his righteous will, and the public enforcement of his just authority, by the punishment of the rebellious, and the open reward of his faithful servants.' By ' the proper kingdom of Christ,' Mr. Birks means the millennial kingdom. ' The gospel dispensation,' he says, ' is not the proper kingdom, but a time of waiting and forbearance before it is assumed; the millennium is the time when our Lord reigns.'—P. 193.

" When Mr. Birks affirms that ' the gospel dispensation is not the proper kingdom,' he seems to admit that it is in *some* sense a kingdom, though not in the sense which he intends. It might here be asked—What is a kingdom? When may a king be said to reign in his kingdom?—The word kingdom means territory or country ruled by a king, the inhabitants of which are subject to his authority. A king reigns when he exercises his authority; when he has full power to maintain that authority; to enforce obedience; to put down the evil doer; and to protect and reward the just. The question then arises—Is our world, under the present dispensation, the kingdom of Christ, or is it not? Does Christ now reign over it, or does he not? To our mind, Scripture answers these questions in the affirmative. [Here follow Acts ii. 36 (before noticed); Acts v. 31, and Matt. xxvii. 18.] In them alone we have everything we need for our argument. For, if Christ now possesses ' *all* power on earth,' if he is ' *head* over *all* things ' on earth, how can it be maintained that he does not *now* reign over the earth? Nothing is wanting to his *now* reigning so far as *power* is concerned, for he possesses ' *all* power on earth.' Mr. Birks tells us that he ' *exercises* all power on earth.' Now Christ cannot have *more* power on earth than *all* power. Were he visibly present on earth, he could not exercise *more* power than he already exercises, for he ' *exercises* *all* power on earth.' If he is now ' *head* over *all* things ' on the earth, he could not, by being visibly present, be *head* over anything over which he is not already *head*. Nothing, then, would be gained in *this* respect by Christ being visibly present on the earth. He could not possess or exercise more power, sitting on a visible throne in our world, than he already possesses and exercises sitting on his throne, to us invisible, at his Father's right hand."—Pp. 22, 23.



In reference to the alleged necessity of Christ's visible presence in order to kingship, our author adds:—

“ But Mr. Birks further affirms, that ‘ the visible presence of the King ’ is another character of ‘ the proper kingdom of Christ.’ The remarks we have already made will go far in refutation of this sentiment. We need only say further, therefore, that, if the visible presence of Christ be essential to his being properly a King, then he could be King only *where* he is visibly present! As this would be Jerusalem, it could be only in Jerusalem that he would have this ‘ proper kingdom.’ But this notion is too monstrous to require serious refutation. ‘ What!’ we might ask, ‘ is it only in those parts of her dominions where she is personally present that Victoria is queen? We thought that her sovereignty consisted in her right to rule being recognised; in her subjects yielding a willing obedience to that law whose majesty she is supposed to represent and defend; and in her having at command ample means of putting down the disaffected and rebellious. Even so is it with Christ. If his right to rule is recognised by the Father, who has given him the kingdom; if his laws are willingly obeyed by his faithful people; if he possesses all power to put down and punish the rebellious, when it is his righteous pleasure so to do; then it matters little whether he be in heaven or on earth; he possesses all the essentials of sovereignty, and is already our world's King.”—Pp. 26, 27.

The *principium et fons* of Millenarianism, Rev. xx. 1—6, comes under consideration in pp. 164—171. Though successfully handled, for the exposure of Millenarian error, there are some oversights in this chapter, as when, for instance, Mr. Lyon says (p. 167), “ that of the martyrs it is but a section that rises, such as were ‘ beheaded, &c.,’ ” overlooking those in ch. xiii. 15.; and again (same page), “ there is nothing said here of their reigning *on the earth*,” the locality being fairly supplied from ch. v. 10, according to the Millenarian hypothesis; and again (same page), where the expression in ver. v., “ this is the first resurrection,” is represented as the “ only argument which even Millenarians depend on, in support of a literal interpretation,” though Mr. Elliott has, in his “ *Horne Apocalyptrice*,” very adroitly and speciously argued for a literal resurrection, on the ground that the death, the beheading, had been literally fact. These oversights notwithstanding, however, the interpretation of this important section is well given, as the following extract, with which we entirely agree, will show:—

“ ‘ This is the first resurrection.’ The term *first* has evident reference to the preceding statement of the verse, ‘ The rest of the dead lived not again till the thousand years were finished.’ It is in allusion to this *second* resurrection that it is said, ‘ This is the *first* resurrection.’ But why may not this ‘ first resurrection ’ be figurative, like that of the ‘ two witnesses ’ in chapter xi.? Mr

Bonar will answer this question. 'This is evidently,' he says, 'the Holy Spirit's explanation of the previous scene. That scene presented to us a mighty multitude *living* and *reigning* with Christ. Then the explanation is added, 'This is the first resurrection;' just as in the first chapter it is said, 'The seven candlesticks are the seven churches.' In both cases the explanatory clause is added, not to carry out the symbol or add another to it, but to tell in plain and literal language what the preceding vision was. If so, then, *resurrection* must be used in its natural sense in the 20th chapter, just as *churches* are used in their natural sense in the first.' (P. 382). Mr. Birks uses precisely the same argument. He says of the words in question, 'They answer exactly to the similar statements. . . . 'The seven candlesticks are the seven churches.' 'Golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints.' (P. 104). We marvel at the blindness of these writers in using such an argument. Do they not see that, as the seven candlesticks were not *really* the seven churches, but were only symbolic of them; so also the souls of the beheaded saints seated on thrones, is not *really* their resurrection, but only a symbol of it? When they can make out that the seven candlesticks were *literally* the seven churches, and that the golden vials full of odours were *literally* the prayers of saints, then they may prove that the martyred saints seated on thrones is *literally* a resurrection."—Pp. 167—169.

Mr. Lyon's objection to the parallel set up is clearly well taken. The alleged instances are not parallel beyond the fact that in all three there is a scene and its explanation. But in those alleged by Mr. Birks there is a symbol and something else. In Rev. xx. 4, there is, even according to him, no symbol, but a literal fact, the very resurrection afterwards explained to be such.

Mr. Lyon has well observed, in his chapter on the alleged Jewish supremacy over the nations, that "one of the mischiefs arising from Millenarianism is the tendency it has to foster, in the minds of Jews, those same views of Messiah's kingdom which led their forefathers to reject and crucify the Saviour." To his remark, that had our Lord but gratified their carnal expectations, by establishing an earthly kingdom, they would have hailed him as David's son, we may add, that in the hope of his fulfilling such an expectation, they actually did so hail him, and on one occasion, would have made him king by force, had he not escaped from them, as conscious that his kingdom was not from men, and that he must receive it from the Father alone, and from him only as the reward of his obedience to death.

The argument in this chapter is very convincing. In fulfilment of our promise to let Mr. Lyon speak, we subjoin the following extract in reply to Mr. Birks and others:—

“But here Millenarians differ with us. ‘You are mistaken,’ they say, ‘in supposing that the veil is on the Jewish mind in the reading of the Old Testament. The veil is, indeed, *on* when portions are read which relate to the Messiah’s *character*, but it is *off* in the reading of those that relate to his *kingdom*. The Jews are correct in understanding the prophets to predict their coming elevation to supremacy among the nations.’ The following extracts will show that we are guilty of no misrepresentation. After quoting Isaiah lxvi. 20, “And they shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the Lord out of all nations, upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, saith the Lord, as the children of Israel bring an offering in a clean vessel into the house of the Lord;” Mr. Birks says, ‘This passage is sometimes quoted to prove, that converted Jews will be missionaries to the Gentiles. But this is entirely to misconceive a very plain statement. It is Gentiles who have escaped . . . the great hailstones of divine vengeance on the oppressors of Israel, who are the predicted messengers; and the effect of the tidings they bring is, to dispose all the surviving nations to restore these Jews, with humility and reverence, to the land of promise, in token of submission to . . . the King of kings.’ (P. 281.) ‘The children of Israel are to be brought in the arms of the Gentiles to their own land.’ (P. 275.) ‘Gentiles will have to renounce the fatal heresy which regards their present equality as an indefeasible right, instead of an undeserved boon, and to own once more their subordination to the chosen people of God.’ (P. 315.) He speaks of the ‘priestly dignity of the people of Israel,’ and of the open acknowledgment of it by all the other nations.’ (P. 279.) Besides this, there is to be ‘a periodical resort of nations to Jerusalem, there to offer a solemn worship in the presence of Jehovah.’ (P. 282.)”—Pp. 176, 177.

“In these extracts the future supremacy of the Jews over the Gentiles is distinctly affirmed. On this point we request attention to the following observations:—

“It can hardly fail to strike a thoughtful mind as being, if true, not a little remarkable, that it should be precisely for that people who have been guilty of the most horrid crime ever committed upon earth, and who, to this day, glory in that crime, that this earthly supremacy should be in reserve! The most pre-eminent of the world’s inhabitants in guilt are hereafter to be the most pre-eminent of them in glory! And this, not because of any peculiar excellence by which their repentance and faith are to be distinguished, or because of any peculiar services they shall have rendered to Christ. Their repentance and faith are to be of the lowest possible character. Jesus said to an unbelieving disciple, ‘Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.’ This implies that the faith which is produced by sight, is of a lower character than that which does not require such evidence. Now, according to Millenarians, the Jews, like

Thomas, persist in unbelief, and in enmity, till they *see* Jesus. After their return to their own land, when they are in the depths of trouble, but still hardened in unbelief, Christ is to *appear visibly* for their deliverance. Then, when 'they look on him whom they have pierced, they shall mourn, and be in bitterness.' Christ then begins to reign among them visibly and gloriously: and then these Jews, having thus persisted in unbelief till the eleventh hour; and having yielded at length only to the evidence of *sight*; their faith and repentance having been produced by this sign from heaven, even 'the glorious appearing of the Saviour' for their deliverance; and without having as yet rendered anything but the greatest possible *dis-service* to Christ, are to be exalted to supremacy and rule throughout the world! Then as Mr. Birks affirms (p. 277), 'they are to suck the milk of the Gentiles, and the breast of kings.' Then we Gentiles must 'renounce the fatal heresy which regards our present equality (with the Jews) as an indefeasible right, instead of an undeserved boon, and own once more our subordination to the chosen people of God.' Then, according to Mr. Molyneux (p. 261), 'the nation and kingdom that will not serve (the Jews) shall perish!' And then, communities of Christians, who, 'having not seen, have yet believed,' and have grown grey in the service of Christ, are, according to Mr. Bonar ('Coming and Kingdom,' p. 50), to 'bow themselves down at the soles of the feet' of those who 'believe, because they have seen,' and who shall have been, up to that time, the most virulent enemies of Christ's cause! We cannot help saying of this, 'Very strange, if true: very inconsistent with the principles on which he assures us, in his word, he will deal with men.' We shall see, by-and-bye, that it is inconsistent even with Millenarianism."—Pp. 178, 179.

We would willingly have lengthened our paper, both in the way of disquisition and extract, but that our readers now have it sufficiently in their power to judge for themselves as to the importance and character of Mr. Lyon's book. Few, we think, of those who are really interested in the question, will be willing to dispense with it when reading on the subject. Such will find Mr. Lyon a well-instructed and judicious guide. To those who have been captivated by any of Dr. Cumming's Apocalyptic readings, we would commend it urgently. The appendix (pp. 207—244), contains a review of Dr. Cumming's work on "The End," with Dr. Cumming's counter-criticisms and our author's replies. These papers contain an elaborate investigation of the sense of γενεα, in Matt. xxiv. 34—"this generation (γενεα) will not pass away till all these things be fulfilled." The controversy is honourable to both parties; and all the five papers are written with spirit, candour, and good-temper; but Mr. Lyon has very decidedly the advantage in the argument.

It will be obvious that there are many topics included in this work, to which, for want of room, we could not by possibility

advert. One feature of the subject, however, we must not entirely overlook—the moral and practical tendencies of the Millenarian system. We referred, sincerely and cordially, in the commencement of this paper, to the religious excellence of some of its advocates. We believe such advocates to be numerous. But we account for this excellence in part from their being converts, some of them late in life, to a new system; a circumstance which, as the history of even Puseyism shows, by inducing earnestness, leads to the development of the higher points of character, irrespective of the peculiar influence of the system embraced. And we are none the less convinced, on account of this admission, of the unhealthy tendency of Millenarianism as a system. We have seen its evil influence in generating morbid imaginations, material religious tendencies, fleshly conceits, superciliousness, and cliquism. The watchfulness it is presumed to cultivate is of a kind that, not being scriptural, often breeds fanaticism, and, *as a rule*, degenerates into either disappointment or nervous irritation. Many impressive suggestions and cautions occur throughout Mr. Lyon's book on this subject, and his sixteenth chapter is devoted to it. We cordially concur in and commend the sentiments which follow:—

“The eminent piety of apostles was not produced by Millenarianism. We regard it as proved in the preceding pages that the apostles were not Millenarians. They did not believe that Christ might come, while they themselves were yet alive, to establish his kingdom on the earth. Even Millenarians will surely not contend that those inspired servants of Christ could be so far mistaken as to have expected that Christ might come again while they themselves were yet in the body. This was not Paul's sentiment when he wrote his epistles to the Thessalonians. In the second of them he rebukes the Millenarianism with which some were seeking to indoctrinate these Christians, and mentions events which were to occur prior to the Saviour's coming, and which have now been in course of accomplishment for 1800 years. Elsewhere we find him expressing his satisfaction at the prospect of being ‘absent from the body, and present with the Lord.’ He had a ‘desire to depart, and be with Christ, which is far better.’ The language of this apostle, in 2 Cor. v. and Phil. i., proves that he was no Millenarian.

“So with the Apostle Peter. We find him saying (2 Peter i. 14), ‘Knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus hath showed me.’ He is referring here to what Christ said as recorded in John xxi. 18, ‘signifying by what *death* he should glorify God.’ The Apostle Peter thus knew, from Christ himself, that he should *die*.

“If these two chiefest of the apostles were not Millenarians, we may be sure that neither were the others. Their eminent piety and devotedness to God was not, therefore, the fruit of their looking for

the *speedy* coming of the Saviour. Mr. Bonar says, in connexion with the passage quoted above, 'We mourn that so many of the saints should disbelieve the nearness of that day.' But the apostles, like ourselves, 'disbelieved the nearness of that day.' Paul warned the Thessalonians against believing its nearness. The apostles rejoiced, indeed, in prospect of its coming, but they had no expectation of its *speedy* coming. The views which they held themselves they taught to the early Christians. It was not Millenarianism, therefore, that produced the eminent piety either of apostles, or of apostolic believers."—Pp 199, 200.

We shall be sincerely glad to hear that the work we have been considering has proceeded to a new edition. If in time for such a contingency, we would respectfully counsel Mr. Lyon to leave out the inverted commas between which he sometimes places his representations of the views he opposes, thus confounding them with quotations. There is an instance in our first extract, and another in the fifth, where though the reader on proceeding finds that there is no intention to pass the passage off as extract, the effect is still unpleasant. This is a trifle, but Mr. Lyon's book would lose nothing by correcting it, and we would not willingly see any blemish of this kind in a work so deserving of commendation.

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#### ART. IV.—THE SOUND DUES AND LAND TRANSIT DUES QUESTION.

1. *The History of the Sound Toll.* By Scherer. Berlin. 1845.
2. *The Sound Dues in their relation to the Commerce of the World.* (I. and II.) Leipsic. 1854 and 1856.
3. *Diplomatic Correspondence between Denmark and the United States; and Supplementary Documents with reference to the Message of the President of the United States of Dec. 31st, 1855.* Leipsic. 1856.
4. *The Debates on the Sound Dues Question in the Prussian Chambers, 1854-55.* Berlin. 1855.
5. *Report of the Select Parliamentary Committee of the United Kingdom on the Operation of the Sound Dues.* London. 1856.
6. *Germania: a Central Organ of the Economical and Social Interests of Germany.* Heidelberg. 1856.
7. *The History of the Danish Land Transit Dues, with reference to the Cities of Lübeck and Hamburg; and in relation to general Commerce.* By Dr. Fred. Crome. Lübeck. 1856.



8. *The Danish Project of a Capitalization of the Sound Dues.*  
Copenhagen. 1857.

THE question of the abolition of the Sound Dues has assumed a literary importance, by the number of works and pamphlets that have been contributed, especially by German writers, to the elucidation of that important matter. This Sound Dues question, popularly supposed to have reference only to commercial interests, offers ample materials for being treated in a more philosophical sense, affording, as it does, a wide field for the labours of the historian, the diplomatist, and the student of international law. The historian, in tracing out the origin of this most vexatious toll, has to record a varied tale of struggles the different maritime nations of the earth have sustained against Denmark, in vindication of the freedom of the seas. Beginning with the German Hansa, he has to sketch the wars this great commercial league, in the fifteenth century, waged against the Danish exaction. Then, passing to the attitude the other naval powers assumed in the question, the historian has first the melancholy duty of showing how a petty rivalry converted the Netherlands into the enemies of the Hansa and allies of Denmark, thus neutralizing the efforts of Germany in the cause of maritime freedom. Proceeding with his narrative, the faithful chronicler would have to state how the Netherlands themselves, after being the accomplices of the Danish buccaneer, at last turned round upon his growing insolence, and coalesced with Sweden in order to check the Danish pretensions. In the course of this historical *resumé*, some graphic chapters might also be given concerning the intrigues by which Denmark, with the aid of the French court, sought to sow dissensions among her antagonists, or to creep out of the obligations she had solemnly sworn to observe. Nor would more modern times be barren of interest in this respect. Though the struggles which have of late taken place on the part of Germany and the United States, against the continuance of the toll, no longer assume the form of armed resistance, the history of the negotiations on this topic is yet a subject both important and instructive.

The diplomatist, on his part, in turning over the numerous documents connected with the Sound Dues, will be equally recompensed for the trouble he may take in the investigation. He will find himself immersed in a redundant collection of protocols and treaties, the evidences of a statescraft rarely equalled for chicanery and duplicity. It may be safely said, that the careful perusal of the intricate negotiations that have during past centuries taken place on the question of the Baltic

toll, would admirably serve as a fitting introduction to the mysteries of diplomatic double-dealing. On the other hand, the philosophical student of international law may also investigate with some benefit this vexed question. It is true, he will not find in the different phases it has as yet assumed, a proof of the rapid progress of right and justice; but the very absence of such signs, will at least induce him to increase his exertions for bringing about the recognition of more enlightened principles of international intercourse.

We must, however, state here that the question of the Sound Dues, although generally considered from a more extended point of view than commercial topics usually are, has not yet been properly analyzed by public writers. In this country, in spite of the near relations we entertain with the nations of the Baltic, scarcely a publication, worthy of mention, has appeared on the subject. The French, too, albeit ready writers on the questions of the day, are found wanting in this case. Moreover, the few treatises that have appeared in France on the Sound Dues are, though cleverly worded, and with a liberal sentiment pervading them, yet now and again deficient in historical accuracy. The most valuable publications, relatively speaking, on this question, have been produced in Germany. If their scientific solidity could have been blended with the clearness of arrangement characterizing French writers, these German treatises might be considered standard works. But, whatever the outward difference in the style of composition, all publications, whether in the German, English, or French language, arrive very nearly to the same substantial judgment. The press of Europe can hardly produce a single champion to fight the battle of the Sound Dues. The task of defending this venerable iniquity is left to the hireling scribes of the Danish court.

Let us, however, calmly inquire into the origin and the actual working of the Sound toll. Let us quietly examine its effects on commerce; and then ask, in the name of the civilization of the age, whether it must not be pronounced, by all sensible men, a public evil and a flagrant nuisance.

There are three available pleas on which Denmark could alone be able to rest her claims for exacting the toll. Of these pleas, the first is, the general stipulations of the "Law of Nations;"—the second, the "International Treaties;" the third, the title a power derives from traditional possession, or the "Right of Prescription." Now we contend that *neither* of these pleas holds good for the court of Copenhagen.

The Law of Nations recognises no right in any power to subject vessels on the high seas to the payment of a black mail;

and the Sound, although a strait, is, to all intents and purposes, under the denomination of the high sea. It is true that a much-abused custom has been recognised in international law, of permitting the sovereignty of maritime states to extend as far on the ocean as the ocean could be defended from the shore—in other words, the power of the state ends with the range of its guns. To quote but one author of note, Bynkershoek, “on the dominion of the sea,” we find him saying, “*Dominium maris proximi non ultra concedimus quam e terra illi imperari potest;*” and in the same chapter, “*Generaliter dicendum est potestatum terræ finire ubi finitur armorum vis.*” Not that we can accept this as an axiom; for the progress of modern science, in perfecting the instruments of war, and increasing the distance at which they can be effective, would naturally every few years be altering the geographical jurisdiction of all the maritime nations of the world. Yet, if we could hold as feasible so antiquated a principle as the one enunciated by Bynkershoek, even *then* Denmark is unquestionably *not* warranted in her pretensions to the sovereignty of the Sound. It is a well-known fact that the Sound, from its considerable width, cannot be commanded from the shore. In 1658, the Dutch admiral Opdam victoriously forced this Baltic strait, although the Dutch fleet was cannonaded from *both* shores. Again, Nelson, in 1801, by hugging the Swedish coast, steered safely through the Sound, without suffering the least harm in his squadron from the hundred guns of large calibre, which the Danes vigorously worked with shells and red-hot shot. Thus, if the general test of maritime sovereignty is applied, Denmark must be condemned before the international Areopagus. The verdict would be the more certainly against her, as she could not put forward any other pretence of the slightest value in international law. Neither can Denmark assert that the Sound has the characteristics of what is often called a “territorial sea;” for, *one* shore only belongs to her, the other being Swedish; and Sweden puts forth *no* claims to any dues. Nor can Denmark rest her pretensions on the fact of superior soundings or anchorage being found on her side of the strait; for, strange to say, the contrary is the case,—the Swedish coast offering the greatest depth of water!

But if the Law of Nations establishes no valid title for the use of the court of Copenhagen, it may be supposed that the Treaties do? Far from it, however. It is true, the maritime states, in bygone times, have allowed themselves to be saddled with various conventions for the payment of the Dues. England herself, since the treaty of September 25th, 1654, has, at different periods, renewed the agreement then entered into.

But, on the other hand, almost all the naval powers, although for a time consenting to pay the toll, from deference to, or longanimity towards Denmark, have only concluded the treaties for a fixed and limited epoch, always protesting against the legitimacy of this practice of piracy. European history since the middle of the fourteenth century, is replete with struggles and protests against the Dues, and with efforts to bring about a recognition of the freedom of the Baltic. Moreover, the treaties have generally been concluded under certain important reservations; and in any case, at this moment they all have either expired, or are about to expire: there being no provision made which would bind the Powers to renew the conventions after they will have run out their term. Denmark consequently is, even in this respect, without the support of any legal pretext.

It may be interesting here to specify the date of the conclusion of these treaties. The treaty with the United States, signed on the 26th April, 1826, was to last for *ten* years, and one year more after formal notice had been given of the cessation of further payments. The treaty with Sweden, of 2nd November, 1826, was equally for ten years, the same clause being added as in the case of the United States. The Netherlands, on 10th July, 1817, renewed their treaty of 1701, declaring that the new one would only be valid for twenty years. Great Britain has bound herself, in 1841, only for ten years, and the usual year of notice in case of the treaty being renounced. France, on 9th February, 1842, renewed her treaty of 1742 for but ten years. Russia, in 1841, bound herself for twelve years. Belgium, on 13th June, 1841, stipulated for ten years. Oldenburg, on 31st March, 1841, for ten years. The Two Sicilies, on 13th January, 1846, for ten years. Sardinia, on 14th August, 1846, for the same period. Prussia, in the treaty of 26th May, 1846, bound herself for no longer a period than to the 1st July, 1851; six months being stipulated in case of the convention being broken off. It will be seen from this statement that, in all the cases mentioned, the treaties have either ceased to be obligatory, or will be lawfully abrogated in a comparatively short time, as soon as the maritime powers take the trouble of giving notice to Denmark.

It only remains, therefore, for Denmark to appeal to the third plea, to the "Right of Prescription"—that is, to the title which emanates from a traditional exercise of buccaneering. Indeed, the court of Copenhagen, if wishing to make out a case in its favour, can advance nothing better to justify the toll, than the plea of the notorious corsair King Helsing and others having done the same in times heretofore:—

"For why? because the good old rule sufficeth them—

The simple plan:

That they should take that have the power,

And they should keep who can!"

We apprehend, however, that Europe is hardly in the humour to acknowledge as a "right," in Denmark, a custom annulled at the cannon's mouth before Algiers, whose Dey, no doubt, could boast of as venerable rights of piracy as any that King Frederick can produce.

Having thus shown that all the pretences on which the court of Copenhagen might rest its claims, are as "rotten" as things generally are in the Danish empire, we may well ask now, whether the Sound Dues must not be pronounced by all clear-headed men, a public nuisance and insult? The Black Sea is accessible to the commerce of the world. In the Mediterranean, barbarian Algerine deys are no longer allowed to plunder. Of all the wide seas, the Baltic alone is closed! and only by means of a golden ransom, paid to a petty northern ruler, who owns himself the vassal of the Czar, can the merchant marine of Europe obtain an access to, or an egress from, an important European sea. What reason, we may demand, can governments advance for continuing to pay in the Baltic a tax which at the Dardanelles and in the Mediterranean would be considered a downright robbery? Were the Sultan, who yet holds *both* shores of the Sea of Marmora, to make a similar demand to that of the King of Denmark, whose kingdom occupies but *one* coast in the Baltic, people would not be long in hooting down the "fanatic Turk," and calling out for the despatch of a squadron to the Golden Horn. Were the United States to assume the monopoly over some channel across Panama, and to set up a toll there which would injure general commerce, all conservative statesmen, noble lords, and courtiers, would break out in spasmodic fits of patriotism, and find that the dearest object of their heart was the interests of the world's commerce; and great would be the outcry against the republican robbers of America! But when the question applies to Denmark—the future inheritance of the House of Romanoff—behold! how cautious, how full of longanimity all European courts are.

It appears high time that public opinion should be brought to bear upon governments, in order to effect, *not a redemption and capitalization*, but an unconditional abolition of the Baltic tribute. Right and interest alike dictate strongly the necessity of no further hesitation. After the remarkable confessions which have fallen from the very lips of Danish statesmen, none can assert that any wrong would be inflicted on Denmark by refusing to submit to her insolent demands. In September,

1848, when the United States' Envoy at Copenhagen contested the right of Denmark to levy this toll, Count Knuth, the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, in an unguarded moment of good temper, himself frankly acknowledged, that "he was unable to justify the principle of the Sound Dues!" When such is the language of Danish ministers, it would be little short of the most fatuous imbecility in other nations, for a single moment longer to pay the Dues. The only reason, in fact, Denmark ever has advanced for the necessity of continuing the impost is, a reason of *haute politique*,—or, as we might say, of despotic statecraft. With this, however, free peoples, at least, have nothing to do. Their *haute politique* must be to have the highways of the ocean open to commerce, and not to allow the Baltic to become the preserve of some petty power, or the lurking place of some barbarian autocrat. The people of this country, especially as a maritime nation cherishing the traditions of Blake and Nelson, are, before all others, called upon to vindicate this great principle of the freedom of the seas. It has been the traditional boast of Englishmen that "Britannia rules the waves." What meaningless vaunt these words become when Britannia allows buccaneering Denmark to treat the Baltic as a closed sea, and gradually to convert it into a Muscovite lake!

The United States, albeit, financially speaking, they have no very considerable trading interest in the Baltic, justly hold the opinion that the principle of freedom of the ocean is to be maintained intact, under all circumstances. Though the statistical tables only exhibit annually the insignificant number of about a hundred United States' vessels proceeding to the Baltic, it is, nevertheless, the government at Washington which stands foremost in the ranks of those who demand an unconditional and entire abrogation of the tribute. Why, then, should the government of this country lag behind in its exertions? We have before us the official shipping statistics published by Denmark,—statistics, unfortunately but little known to the English public at large; and the results appearing from these irrefragable documents are truly astounding, and must fill with apprehension every Englishman who has the prosperity of his country at heart. A simple glance at these tables, drawn up at the order of the government at Copenhagen itself, at once shows what baneful influence has been exercised of late upon the Baltic trade of this country by the increasing vexations of the Sound Dues, and the other evils attendant upon the payment of that mediæval corsair's impost. From the figures given we see that, since 1849, the number of English merchantmen passing the Sound has decreased to a lamentable extent, whereas the number



of vessels from those countries whose commercial and geographical position is more favourable with regard to the Dues, has increased in proportion to the English losses. Thus, while in 1849 England sent 6,885 merchant ships into the Baltic, in 1850 she had there only 5,448; in 1851, but 4,811; in 1852, but 3,092; in 1853, 4,665; and in 1854 and 1855, when the pressure of war was added to that of the Dues, respectively but 2,042 and 2,424. Consequently, in the years of peace, from 1849 to 1852, there was a decrease of English bottoms of not less than 2,983; or 2,220, if we take the difference between 1849 and 1853.

It would be erroneous, no doubt, to attribute this decrease in the Baltic trade of England entirely to the operation of the Dues. Still, the decrease being a fact, the government and parliamentary representatives of England are only the more called upon to do away with all and any shackles that might restrict the commercial movements of the country. Indeed, a Select Parliamentary Committee has been sitting, last year, to inquire into the question. This Committee, however, for some reason we cannot fathom, has studiously applied itself to one side only of the question, altogether ignoring the other. It has carefully foreborne any scrutiny into the "*right*" of Denmark to levy toll on ships and merchandise between the German Ocean and the Baltic; and it has confined itself solely to hearing the details of witnesses who testified as to the *effects* the aforesaid black-mail has upon English trade. We regret this unsatisfactory, because incomplete, mode of procedure, as well for the interests of the Baltic trade as of the British tax-payer. At a time when Denmark is propounding her "capitalization schemes," it was certainly important that the real origin of the tribute the world is called upon to redeem, should be made clearly manifest. It may be, that historical inquiry of this kind would not have been in accordance with the tastes of the court of Copenhagen.

Still, even by their restricted mode of procedure, the Parliamentary Committee have arrived at conclusions of great importance. In their report they have no alternative but to denounce the collection of Dues in the Baltic channels as "a fertile source of mischief and needless expense." Having given a description of the unbearable pressure that weighs upon the Baltic trade, and made a succinct delineation of the loss of time and money that is occasioned by the detention of vessels, they present us with a picture of the devices by which Denmark obtains a monopoly over all the practicable routes between the German Ocean and the Baltic. The pith of their remarks is the announcement, that the time has come, when, in the interest of British

commerce, the abolition of the Sound toll, as well as of the so-called "Land Transit Dues," can no longer be delayed. But true to the spirit that appears to animate them, of refraining from striking too hard a blow at the Muscovite vassal at Copenhagen, they do not counsel an unconditional abrogation, but will be satisfied with a redemption of the impost. With this latter conclusion we cannot agree. We hold it to be unreasonable that a nation, simply because it has tamely submitted for so long a time to unjust exactions, should now, for that fact only, pay a further tribute, in the shape of ransom, equal to the Dues for fifteen years! What we alone grant Denmark to have a right to, is an indemnification for keeping up the beacons and other institutions of maritime precaution. This indemnification, however, must needs be of too trifling a nature to render it necessary to dwell on so secondary a point.

It would exceed the limits of this Review to sketch out the numberless vexations that are imposed by petty Denmark upon the commerce of all sea-going nations, and to offer a complete picture of the advantages she derives from her system of robbery. Be it sufficient to say that, while in 1756 the Danish state revenue from the Sound toll only reached the figure of 200,000 thalers, in 1770 it had risen to 450,890 thalers; in 1820, to 1,500,000 thalers; in 1844, to 2,258,000 thalers, and in 1853, to 2,530,000 thalers. These are the revenues. As to the outlays Denmark has had to make, they have reached, if we take the year 1855, only the modest dimensions of 300,000 thalers, which comprise the costs of administration, the maintenance of beacons, the payment of pilots, and every other item connected with the toll at the Oere Sound and the Belts. Thus, putting together the income of 2,500,000 thalers, and the outlay of 300,000 thalers, there remains a balance in hand, in favour of poor Denmark, of not less than 2,200,000 thalers annually. After this, it will be understood why Danish authors, in government pay, sometimes humorously call the Baltic toll a "royal dowry" and a "new California" to Denmark!

Of the magnitude of the evils that result to the mercantile interest from the oppressive financial system of the Dues, we need scarcely speak. Heavy duties are not only levied on the cargo and the ship, but a host of minor charges, often in the aggregate exceeding the amount of the Dues themselves, are likewise imposed upon the luckless trader. An example of this system, in the shape of an agent's account, was submitted to the Committee, showing that the "Dues, properly so called," amounted only to one-fourth of the whole charges for which the owner of a cargo was made liable. The remaining three-fourths consisted of minor items, some of which are sanctioned

by treaty, whilst others bore the mark of the most barefaced extortion ; for which, however, as the report properly says, it is impossible to obtain redress. Indeed, the Baltic merchants all declare that they are entirely in the hands of their agents. Though fully convinced of the iniquity of these imposts, they have no means of checking the rapacity that levies them, unless they enter into a lengthened correspondence, which, considering the peculiarity of Danish proceedings, it would be difficult to assign any probable limit to.

The manner in which the Danish Government evades the very rules it has itself laid down for collecting the toll, contributes still further to make confusion worse confounded. According to former treaties, a charge of one per cent. was to be made upon articles exported into, or imported from the Baltic ; but in reality goods are now much higher rated. Thus, the duty upon coffee, sugar, wine, rice, cotton, spices, iron, and several other articles, rises above one per cent. Nay, according to the evidence of one of the Liverpool manufacturers, who exports salt largely to the Baltic, the duty levied upon that article is even twelve per cent. ! Indigo, according to another witness, pays at the rate of 10s. to 12s. a chest, while the whole charge for freight upon that article to St. Petersburg is only 8s. ; so that the duty is 2s. more than the actual freight ! Upon worsted yarn, the duty is nearly 1d. a pound ; the freight being about 6d. a foot, or about 20s. a ton, while at 1d. a pound, the Sound Dues will amount to £9 10s. a ton !

If to all these charges we add the exceptional expenses incurred by captains who, for the sake of clearing their Dues, are compelled to go on shore,—if we consider, moreover, that the roadsteads, where the ships are forced to lay, offer very unsafe anchorage in spring and autumn, and that either from this circumstance, or from the attempt of ships, pressed for time, to proceed through the dangerous channel by night, frequent accidents, entailing great expense, occur,—if we still further remember the well-known fact that, at Elsinore, the honesty of captains, as well as of the crews, is most injuriously influenced by the worthless agents who are herded together there to profit from the weakness or ignorance of the seamen, it will easily be conceived in what a detestable manner the trade of the world is oppressed by the tyrannical nuisance established at the entrance of the Baltic.

But bad as all this is, worse remains behind. “ Competent persons,” says the Parliamentary Report, “ such as shipowners and those who have commanded vessels in the trade, have stated to the Committee that the loss of time (consequent upon the collection

of the Dues) may be estimated, on an average, to amount to one day in the voyage ; for, though it would be possible to comply with all the requirements connected with this impost in a few hours, yet, owing sometimes to the loss of a favourable wind, or to the circumstance of a number of ships arriving at the same time, or to the arrival at a time when the custom-house authorities were not bound to attend, or to the inducements which present themselves to the captain and crews when on shore, to remain longer than they need,—vessels are said to be detained occasionally for periods varying in time from one day to three months ; instances having been mentioned where, owing to this delay at an advanced period of the season, vessels have been unable to quit the Baltic, and have *remained in that sea during the winter !*”

Indignant at these chicaneries, trade has, from remote times, endeavoured to create routes less expensive and less hampered with difficulties than the maritime ones domineered over by Denmark. A glance at the map will show that this task is comparatively easy. Instead of passing through the Sound and the Belts, commerce may take its way, either on land or by canal communication, straight across the peninsula which separates the German Ocean from the Baltic. And this latter route, leading as it does through Schleswig-Holstein, has even the advantage of presenting the shortest, the most secure, and a very cheap mode of conveyance. It avoids the tedious, roundabout way through the Skager Rak and Cattegat. It is also free from the dangers that surround the ship-passage into the Baltic ; and it is, at least for all light and costly goods, by far the most preferable mode of transmission. No wonder that the two chief emporia in the Northern Seas, Hamburg and Lübeck, have for centuries, taken a deep interest in establishing this transit on a proper footing.

Denmark, however, with her spider-like instinct, was ever on the watch to obstruct all those routes which might compete with the passage through the Sound. Jealous of her toll privileges at Elsinore, Nyborg, and Fridericia, she did everything to *force* commerce to take the maritime route ; and with this view, purposely neglected the better and cheaper roads across the peninsula. Thus, the ancient high road, which from immemorial times served as a connecting link between the Baltic and the German Ocean, was reduced by Denmark to such an abominable state that Sir Edward Codrington declared it to have “more the appearance of a road broken up by a retreating army than of a communication between two vast seas.” Thus, again, the high road of Oldesloe was left for

generations in a condition of absolute unserviceableness, and all complaints of injury to European traders were of no avail.

Nor did the government of Copenhagen behave more honestly with regard to the canals that lead across Schleswig-Holstein. There is between Lübeck and the Elbe, a well-known water passage, the so-called Stecknitz Canal, which Napoleon I. intended rendering navigable even for large sea-going vessels. From the refusal of Denmark to permit the necessary repairs, this important canal was left to decay. Another canal, that had been proposed to be established between the rivers Alster and Trave, could not be formed on account of the unwillingness of Denmark to grant the required concession. To a third proposition, of rendering the Eider Canal, between Tönningen and Kiel, serviceable for sea-going vessels, the court of Copenhagen interposed its refusal, and, moreover, burdened that water-route with heavy transit dues.

When railroads were introduced into Europe, Hamburg hastened to demand from Denmark permission to establish a direct transit by rail. But although the whole line, according to the proposition of the Hanse Towns, was to be made with the money of *German* capitalists, and although it would have passed through the *German* territory of Holstein, yet Denmark pertinaciously refused to allow the construction of the desired railway. Shameful to say, the two most important trading towns of the North, Hamburg and Lübeck, are, up to this hour, without a direct railway communication. The only railway at present existing is that through Büchen, which, however, thanks to Danish oppression, is forced to branch off in almost a rectangular direction, and is, moreover, burdened with transit dues so heavy, that the expenses of the transmission of goods are exceeded by the Danish duties. The injustice of this impost is the more glaring, as the railway, so heavily taxed by Denmark, has been entirely made at the expense of a German company, Denmark not contributing a farthing. The damage resulting to the English trade from these land transit dues may be gathered from the single statement, that English manufactures and other English produce to the amount of £1,500,000 already pass annually from Hamburg to Lübeck. On these goods (which would soon be doubled and trebled if the transit dues were abolished), Denmark levies the enormous tax of five schellings, Holstein money, per cwt., and of six per cent. more in the form of "fees." This fact becomes still more monstrous, when we consider that *Russian* productions which pass from the Baltic into the German Ocean, are *wholly exempted from land transit dues*—a circumstance clearly showing that the com-

mercial policy of the court of Copenhagen is but the agent of the Northern Autocrat.

After this rapid glance at the injurious effects of the Sound Dues, we come to the history of the opposition that has been offered, in various epochs, to the unjustifiable policy of Denmark. And here we must begin with observing, that the honour of the first and most energetic resistance against the Sound toll is to be attributed, as stated in the earlier part of our Review, to that great and powerful commercial league, the German Hansa.

The interest of the Hansa, from its earliest foundation in the thirteenth century, was to maintain the freedom of the seas. Her ships ruled the waves from the farthest corners of the Baltic to the German Ocean, and her factories were to be found, not only in all the important towns of Northern Germany, but also in Norway, in Sweden, in Denmark, in England, ay, in distant Russia. The paramount object of the Hansa was, to keep a good maritime police in the Baltic and the German Ocean, to resist all attempts at piratical imposition, to exterminate the buccaneers that infested those waters from time to time, and to protect industry and commerce against all frivolous taxation. The power of the Hansa in the first centuries of her existence was fully up to this task. Her gigantic commercial navy and war-fleet, the splendid state of her finances and federal exchequer, and the numerous victories of her arms, established Hanseatic prestige all over the North, and even in farther countries. The power the Commercial League then wielded may be gathered from the fact, that the burgomaster of the single town of Dantsic could declare war against the King of Denmark, and that, in 1428, a fleet of 248 Hanseatic ships, and 12,000 warriors, was sent against Copenhagen. The name of the Hansa at that epoch was everywhere respected and dreaded. She was victorious in her struggles against the kings of Norway. Her friendship was eagerly sought by England. A Swedish king was deposed by her arms, and his crown transferred to a German prince. No wonder that this proud league of traders resisted with all its strength the first attempts that were made to establish dues at the Baltic Straits. It was originally but an insignificant toll the Danish Crown levied at the Oere Sound. There was only a tax on salt and wine, together with some shipping dues of little amount. Yet the Hansa, justly fearing that these impositions might be considered as a precedent, and thus become one day a danger to commerce, demanded imperiously the abrogation of the toll. When the Danish King, Waldemar III., refused to comply with this request, the maritime and military forces of the



Hansa were brought to bear upon his obstinacy, and the result was that he gave in by a formal treaty. All Hanseatic towns were exempted from the dues *for evermore*, as the treaties have it.

However, it would be erroneous to suppose that even the signal defeat Denmark had suffered could make her desist from her cherished schemes. The treaties which had been so solemnly sworn to, were violated at the first opportunity. Hanseatic ships were again arrested in the Sound, and forced to pay down a ransom in hard cash. Consequently, a renewal of hostilities ensued; and the Hansa having gained fresh victories, her privileges were confirmed once more in several conventions, of which those of 1443, 1477, and 1524, were the most notable.

But the mischievous Danish policy still hankered after eluding the stipulations it had bound itself to observe, and longed to re-establish that fruitful source of easy income—the toll at the Sound. The lever that was set to work to attain this end was *the rivalry existing between the Hansa and the Netherlands*. Danish intrigue whispered into the ears of the Netherland rulers, that the most efficient means for breaking down Hanseatic supremacy would be to allow Denmark to establish a system of annoying dues, in order thus to fetter the freedom of commercial movement which constituted the vital principle of the Hansa. This Machiavellic insinuation appears to have found favour with the then influential powers in the Netherlands, especially so with Charles V., Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, who held the Low Countries as a Spanish fief. Charles V.—that gloomy tyrant in whose character there was nothing of German frankness, but much of the churlish malignancy of a Spanish monk—must be ranked among the most envious and most intriguing enemies of the Hansa. An antagonist of all civic freedom—an aspirant to unlimited dominion, he everywhere—in Germany, in Spain and the Netherlands—laboured to undermine the liberty, the greatness, and the commercial prosperity of the hated towns. He it was who incited the German princes to make war upon, and annex to their own possessions, those flourishing, semi-republican cities which were scattered then all over the German empire. It will not be astonishing, therefore, that he should also eagerly have availed himself of an opportunity to injure the interests of the Hansa. He did so in the Treaty of Spire, 1544, in which the Low Countries recognised formally—for the first time in history—the legality of the Sound toll, only stipulating for themselves some paltry, and more apparent than substantial privileges. This formal acknowledgment of the Dues, under the auspices of the powerful Emperor of Germany, acted as a mighty encouragement for

Denmark, whose rulers henceforth pretended to the right of raising the impost to any extent, according to their own discretion.

It is an error commonly prevailing among French writers, even among those hostile to Danish pretensions, to consider the Treaty of Spire of 1544 as the first attempt at a "limitation" of the Sound Dues. There is nothing in history to warrant this opinion. The first and successful endeavours to get rid of the iniquitous tax were made, as we have shown, by the Hanseatic League; and the Treaty of Spire, on the contrary, was a piece of profligate state craft, calculated to establish the Danish pretensions on a "legal basis." However, in the long run of times, the result has proved that the Netherlands, though by their unworthy behaviour they obtained for a number of years some benefits for themselves, had yet acted in a very shortsighted manner. No sooner had Denmark obtained from them the recognition of her claims, than she began reducing by degrees the privileges even of the Low Countries, imposing *also upon them* the yoke under which the commerce of other nations groaned. This is the best proof of the incalculable damage that has been done by the tyrannical Charles V. to the trade of Germany and of Europe in general.

When the glory of the Hansa declined more and more, and its members successively fell off from the once powerful League, the courage of Denmark waxed strong in proportion. Both the Netherlands and Sweden—although the latter, during the time of the "Union of Calmar," had obtained a complete exemption from all dues—were now to be subjected by Denmark to the same rule as the flags of other countries; one tax after the other being arbitrarily imposed upon them. They were forced to keep maritime passes and certificates of their cargo. Their ships, when appearing at the Baltic channels, were rigidly examined; and heavy dues levied as well on the cargo as on the vessel, besides considerable fees under various other forms, such as "registration," and similar flimsy pretexts. These unbearable acts of oppression roused Sweden and Holland to resistance. The Dutch perceived at last the injury they had inflicted on their own interests, by wilfully undermining those of their German brethren of the Hansa; and they tried to retrieve by arms what they had lost by the diplomatic pen. It was high time to resist Danish audacity. King Christian IV. had pushed impudence so far as to declare the Sound to be "part and parcel of his territory," through which he "was at liberty to refuse passage to whomsoever it pleased him." He advanced his right to stop by force all merchandise at the entrance of the Baltic, and to allow the transit only after the

payment of taxes which he raised sometimes to incredible proportions. This capricious policy endangered the very principle of maritime intercourse. The arrogance of a petty despot neutralized a communication nature itself had indicated! Exasperated by such insolence, the Netherlands, allied to Sweden, demanded, in 1643, in uncompromising terms, the "freedom of the Sound for all nations." The demand was backed by the appearance of a united Dutch and Swedish fleet before Copenhagen. At the same time, the Swedish generals sorely wounded the Danish power in several battles, forcing at the point of the sword upon the court of Copenhagen the Peace of Bromsebroe (1645), in which Sweden obtained again a complete immunity from the dues. The subsequent treaties of Rothschild (1658), and of Copenhagen (1660), confirmed their exemption; and even more, Sweden obtained the cession of the three provinces Denmark hitherto had possessed *on the other side of the Sound*. Thus, one of the most cherished titles, advanced by Denmark for the dominion of the Sound—the possession of both sides of its shores—was from that time lost to her kings.

Vanquished by Sweden, the court of Copenhagen yet succeeded at least in evading to some extent the demand of the ally of Sweden—the Netherlands. Against these latter, the King of France offered his aid to Denmark; and the consequence was, that Holland merely obtained a revision of the tariff by the Treaty of Christianstad, 13th August, 1645. Yet even this paltry boon was not without some drawback, as subsequent events have shown. One of the clauses of the treaty with the Netherlands was worded in so dubious and hypocritical a manner that, when the time of danger had passed away, Denmark, with her traditional audacity, suddenly came forward with a novel interpretation that signified for Holland the payment of new taxes and fees. The most shameful quibbling, in this respect, arose about the question whether Denmark was compelled to keep beacons and similar maritime institutions of security. As may be conceived, the other contracting parties of the treaties of Christianstad and Bromsebroe had considered this to be understood of itself, and had, therefore, neglected the insertion of a formal clause in the treaty to that effect. It seemed so natural that the power which levied toll at the Baltic Straits should take upon herself the providing for the security of these straits, that none thought of a special provision on this point. Founding her case on this accidental omission, Denmark denied having any obligation to light the coast, and exhibit warning signals for the merchant marine. Christian IV. ordered all the fires, beacons, and buoys to be removed; the ships had to grope their way in the dark; and it was only

after the Netherlands had consented to a further payment of fees that the signals were re-established, and the coast once more illuminated.

Our object not being here to enter into ample details, but merely to indicate the leading points of the history of the Sound Dues, we pass over many other equally characteristic transactions that took place between the Netherlands and Denmark. We will merely venture a remark, with reference to France, which had supported the court of Copenhagen against Holland. The commercial interest of France in the Sound Dues question has always been most insignificant, as the statistics of the number of French ships that pass annually into the Baltic will easily demonstrate. This may give a clue as to how France could stand on the side of Denmark without injuring her own interests. Moreover, the attitude the court of Versailles exhibited in this question, is easily explained by the traditional policy of the Bourbon dynasty, who have always availed themselves of every opportunity to inflict injury on the independence, the unity, and the commercial greatness of the German empire. *To weaken Germany*, was the paramount and leading idea in the policy of the French kings. With this view, they did not scruple to espouse causes the most different in political and moral value. They supported the barbarian cause of the Turks who invaded Germany,—the cause of the German Protestants who battled nobly against the tyranny of the Catholic Kaiser,—the cause of the petty German princes, who acted from a miserable and anti-national dynastic ambition,—and the cause of the Danish pirate, who violated every principle of international law. This was the policy of the French kings abroad, while at home they professed to cultivate Catholicism, centralization of royal power, and free navigation. To the court of Versailles, the morality of the means employed was of the utmost indifference, if they only promised success. Its sole and unique aim, in its relations with the German empire, was to bring about the ruin of the latter;—and as the Sound Dues constituted an injury to German interests, the French kings readily upheld them.

The attitude of England, at that time, presents nothing remarkable. This country did not then possess that powerful share in maritime affairs which she has since acquired, as the first seafaring nation of the globe. The naval greatness of England had yet to be founded; the germs of the colossal policy of Oliver Cromwell had yet to be developed, before she could interfere in maritime matters with a high hand. Thus we see, that, in two consecutive treaties, England only came second in rank after the Netherlands, feeling happy to be able

to share the privileges of the last-named power. (Treaty of Christianstad, 13th June, 1645; and Treaty, signed at Westminster, 25th September, 1654.)

We have described how the fall of the Hansa had encouraged Danish pretensions, and how the military and maritime victories of allied Sweden and Holland were rendered valueless through France:—atleast, for one of these powers. It remains now to show by what means even Sweden was made to succumb again to the toll! In the treaty of Bromesbroe, we have said, Sweden had obtained for herself a full immunity from all dues. This immunity was confirmed by the Treaty of Rothschild, and preserved intact from 1645 to 1720, during the reign of Charles XI. and Charles XII. At the death of the latter, however, whose military reverses unfortunately strengthened Russia, *Muscovite influence* so completely obtained the upper hand at Stockholm, that, under the weak reign of Ulrike Eleonore of Sweden, and her consort, Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, the Swedish government gave up all its Sound Dues privileges. (Treaty of Fredericksborg, 1720.) This act was essentially the result of Russian policy. The subsequent cession by Sweden of the provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and a part of Viborgs-laen, completed the destruction of Swedish power in the Baltic. (Peace of Nystaedt, 1721.) Henceforth, Russia arose there as a pretender to maritime supremacy; and soon we see Denmark, the “guardian of the Sound,” act, at the entrance of the Baltic, the part, if we may say so, of a Muscovite sentinel.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, when Sweden sank back into the obscurity, from which it had temporarily emerged, during the great struggles of the Reformation and the reign of Charles XII., another important realm was founded on the confines of the Baltic—*Prussia*. From the low station of German burgraves, the rulers of Brandenburg had risen to royal dignity, and gradually cut out for themselves (it is true, not so much by the sword, as by petty larceny, and the practice of legacy-hunting,) a kingdom, which soon overspread a great portion of Northern Germany. The decline of Sweden essentially aided in establishing, on a grander basis, this new Prussian realm. A considerable part of those German provinces on the Baltic, which Sweden had acquired during the Thirty Years’ War, were ceded to Prussia, at the death of Charles XII. Thus, Stettin, and a portion of Pomerania, up to the Peene, became Prussian, in 1720. Considering the extensive trade Stettin carried on from the Baltic to the German Ocean, it will be understood that Prussia, from the moment she had

made these territorial acquisitions, became highly interested in the question of the Sound Dues.

The duty which devolved, therefore, upon the Prussian sovereigns, was clear and unmistakeable. The commercial interests of their subjects required the speedy abolition of the toll, and the re-establishment of those exemptions Stettin and other Baltic towns had enjoyed when the power of the Hanse was still in the ascendant. In this sense, too, a number of enlightened men sought to influence the policy of King Frederick-William I. We see that in 1715, during the war which allied Prussia and Denmark waged against Sweden, an agreement was come to between the courts of Berlin and Copenhagen, which secured to the sea-towns of Anterior Pomerania (Stettin and others), an exemption from the Dues, "for now and evermore." Unfortunately, the treaty had never its proper effect. Danish intrigues were set on foot to remove from the court of King Frederick-William I., those persons who were supposed to be antagonistic to the interests prevailing at Copenhagen. Sad to say, the intrigues were crowned with full success. The chief Prussian minister, who had distinguished himself by his opposition to the Sound Dues, was driven out from office, when the crafty policy of Copenhagen had it again all its own way. The agents of Denmark, taking advantage of a royal revel, produced during the festivity a draft of a treaty, in which the toll was explicitly recognised; and *the Prussian sovereign, in a fit of vinous humour, gave his signature to it,—thus sealing the commercial oppression of his own realm.* (Treaty of Stralsund, 18th December, 1715.)

In vain the Berlin government afterwards strove to reverse the treaty. Danish diplomacy always got the better of Prussian intentions. Muscovite influence, too, which had become paramount at Berlin ever since the partition of Poland, was henceforth actively at work, to hold the policy of Prussia in leading-strings, and to support the pretensions of Denmark, which were considered by the northern autocrats as identical with their own. During the reign of Frederick II., one solitary effort was made to overthrow the Convention of Stralsund. For a short time the king was successful; but his military ambition, and the constant occupation in which his successors were involved, in beating down the growing spirit of liberty, left to the despotic court of Berlin little time to look after the commercial concerns of the realm. The Prussian sovereigns had established their kingdom, not from any national, German point of view, but merely from the considerations of dynastic ambition. No wonder they cared little about the trading interests of Germany, and were more eager to construct for themselves, out of the



bleeding limbs of the nation, an empire they held together by the iron grasp of their military despotism.

When, by the treaties of 1814 and 1815, the last remnants of Swedish possessions in Germany reverted to Prussia, the Berlin government naturally had even a more pressing inducement than before to effect the abolition of dues weighing so heavily on the Baltic towns. Yet, no steps in this direction was taken. In the same way as the German nation, in return for the sacrifices it had made in the war against Napoleon, was rewarded by yet greater political oppression; so, also, its commercial interests were sacrificed in 1815, by dynastic intrigues. Frederick-William III. as little kept the oaths he had taken for establishing constitutional freedom as he carried out the promises to promote the commercial prosperity of his own realm, and of Germany in general. At the Congress of Vienna, the question of the Sound Dues was scarcely alluded to by the Prussian plenipotentiaries. In the subsequent negotiations, which took place on the subject, Count Dohna granted to Denmark every claim, utterly sacrificing the interests of the Baltic ports. To characterize these negotiations, we need only say that not a single competent man of the German mercantile classes was admitted to them. Everything was left to a few very "well-born," but very ignorant individuals, more bent upon securing absolutism and feudal privileges than the welfare of German commerce. Count Dohna himself, the descendant of a long line of haughty "Junkers," whose forefathers had lived by pouncing from their robber-nests on the peaceful merchant, was a man little adapted for questions of this kind. He had neither the will, nor even the necessary knowledge to grapple with the subtlety of the shrewd Danish agents. He and his aristocratic colleagues saw with but small pity the burdens that were imposed upon the industry of the nation; for every impediment to the extension of the wealth and prosperity of the popular classes, was considered by these worthy noblemen as a direct advancement of the feudal interest. Thus, in the treaty that was ratified on the 17th June, 1818, Prussian commerce was laid prostrate at the feet of Danish *bon plaisir*.

Can we, however, wonder at this issue, when remembering that the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Prussia, Count Bernstorff, was *himself a Dane by birth*?

The subserviency exhibited by the court of Berlin towards Denmark bore, in due time, its natural fruits. Even the tariff, agreed on in the treaty of 1818, was despotically altered by Denmark, and new taxes introduced. All complaints remained without any result. Strong in the secret support of Prussia, Denmark laughed to scorn the grievances of German merchants.

The original tariff was augmented to the tune of four and five per cent. more than the stipulations of the treaty warranted. The "additional duties" on the ship were raised from six thalers to thirty and forty-eight thalers for the ship! The town of Stettin alone had thus been fleeced, in contradiction to the treaty, of not less than 40,000 thalers, in 1827; 67,000 thalers, in 1835; 70,000 thalers, in 1836,—these sums merely constituting the extra charges, made over and above the "legal" tariff! If it is considered how heavy the Sound Dues of themselves are, it may be guessed what profit Denmark has drawn, from thus charging and overcharging the commerce of the world.

At last these arbitrary exactions created in Northern Germany a general indignation. In 1838, at the expiration of the treaty of 1818, which had been concluded for twenty years, the commercial bodies of all the Baltic ports of Germany raised their voice energetically for an immediate revision of the Sound Toll conventions. The clamour being universal, the court of Berlin could not but make some promises to inquire into the matter. A royal cabinet order of June 5, 1838, granted "a thorough and sifting inquiry;" but, as usual, nothing resulted from the promises of the Prussian king. They were only made to appease for a moment the public excitement. It has become known subsequently that the king, at the same time that he apparently played the champion of commercial interests, *was secretly in correspondence with King Christian of Denmark* to lay the whole matter again on the shelf! It is true, the Prussian ministry, in their report to the king, amply proved in what injurious manner the Sound Dues impeded the commerce of Prussia and the countries behind it, and how greatly the price of colonial produces and other transmarine articles was enhanced to the disadvantage of the consumer, the producer, and the trader. German merchants, when reading these ministerial reports, naturally thought their cause reposed at last in safe hands. It was, however, all a delusion and a snare. The king of Prussia merely intended occupying for a time public attention, planning in the meanwhile a despicable intrigue with the court of Copenhagen.

Up to this time England had never appeared in the foreground in the negotiations for an abolition or a revision of the hated Dues! However, in 1841, the merchants of Hull demanded, in a petition addressed to Parliament, that government should be called upon to accomplish such a revision of the tariff as would facilitate English commerce with the ports of the Baltic. Mr. Hutt, who directed the attention of parliament to this subject, declared in energetic terms that if government had understood the great importance of English trade with the

North, it could never have acknowledged the antiquated and injurious claims set up by Denmark for impeding the free ingress to, and egress from the Baltic. The Sound Dues, Mr. Hutt declared to be an institution in contradiction to every accepted principle of international law, and opposed to the universal customs of the civilized world,—a flagrant offence against every sound maxim for the regulation of traffic.

The motion of Mr. Hutt, supported by Sir Robert Peel, led to the exhibition of apparently greater zeal on the part of the English government for bringing about a reduction of the tariff. Still the result was a very insignificant one,—a treaty being concluded between Denmark, Great Britain, and Sweden, in which merely a few paltry reductions were granted, without any total reform being brought into operation. (Treaty signed at London and Helsingör, 13-23 August, 1841.) This pettiness of result is to be laid at the door of Russian policy, which supported the Danish cause, and also to the want of energy in the Prussian government. For, though the “Commission of Commercial Men,” which had been appointed at Berlin, had declared unreservedly for a complete *abolition* of the Dues, without any “capitalization” or other “indemnification” to Denmark, Frederick-William IV. yet consented, at the demand of the Danish court, to separate the German cause from that of England and Sweden, and to treat individually with King Christian VIII. This “separate treatment” was, of course, but a cover for new treachery. It is true, to save appearances, a great fuss was made for some time by the Prussian government about reprisals to take place,—a menace being held out that Danish ships would henceforth be compelled in Prussian ports to pay double harbour-dues and other additional taxes, in case the court of Copenhagen should remain obstinate. Public opinion in Germany was, doubtless, favourable to these measures. The merchants of the German coast of the Baltic hailed with delight the prospect of active procedures.

Suddenly, however, on the 26th of May, 1846, the Prussian treaty of 1818 was renewed! A few modifications only were introduced, concerning the duties levied on cotton, raw sugar, and one or two other articles. But, in return, the government of Berlin consented to hand over in future to the Danish *douane* an officially attested declaration of the contents and value of all cargoes going out of Prussian ports through the Sound. (Ordinance of the Prussian Ministry of Finance, 17th June, 1846.) By this engagement the Danish custom-house officials were enabled henceforth to tax commerce according to the highest calculations of value.

There was another occasion for the government of Berlin to

get rid, once and for ever, of the Sound Dues, viz., during the Schleswig-Holstein war in 1848 and the following years. The national enthusiasm of Germany, at that epoch of popular excitement, ran high; it was ready to make every effort, in order to do away with Danish arrogance. But at the Prussian court there was no desire of rendering profitable the sacrifices Germany then made against Denmark in blood and treasure. We know that some patriotic men had conceived the plan of conveying a German army from the German island of Rügen to the Danish island of Falster, and thence to Seeland, in order to decree the abolition of the Sound Dues in the royal palace at Copenhagen itself. But Frederick-William IV., counteracting as he did all national movements, was unwilling to carry out this bold project. He sent the youth of Germany to be slaughtered on the battle-fields of Schleswig-Holstein, not to secure national power or freedom, but to more firmly establish the might of the enemy.

Ever since 1848, public manifestations in Germany, as well as in Sweden, have been made to produce a renunciation of the Sound Dues treaties. The deputies of the wholesale Merchants and Shipowners at Stockholm have issued forth bold protests, declaring with indignation against the pretensions of Denmark to "enforce a toll upon a power to whom actually one shore of the Sound itself belongs." It is, indeed, something monstrous, that even the towns of Sweden, though that country touches both the Baltic and the German Ocean, should pay a toll for merchandise they exchange mutually among themselves. Yet this is the fact. Any Swedish ship, passing, for instance, from Gothenborg to Carlsrona (which towns are both Swedish), is obliged to steer over to the opposite Danish coast there to pay the Dues. Facts like these reveal the whole monstrosity of the toll system. It will, therefore, be easily understood that in Sweden indignation is at its height. The anger is the greater as Denmark owes to Sweden a heavy debt of gratitude for the military support she has received from the latter during the Schleswig-Holstein war. Sweden, in that war, espoused the cause of Denmark, and aided in opposing the just claims of the German provinces. In return, Swedish ships are imposed upon in the same way as ships of any other nation!

As to Germany, we observe in the yearly memoranda published by the Chambers of Commerce there, a regular allusion to the necessity of abolishing the Dues. The merchant corporations of Stettin, Dantsic, and a number of other towns of Germany, do not cease denouncing the Sound Toll as an "unbearable fetter to the freedom of commerce," an "insufferable nuisance," an "ulcerating cancer, which ought to be cut out, and must be cut

out." In the same strain the subject was treated in 1854 and 1855, in the Prussian Diet. On the 20th December, 1854, the motion was made in the Second Chamber of Prussia, that "with a view to the most important commercial interests of the country, the House thinks it necessary that Government should take, as soon as possible, decisive measures for the abolition of the Sound Dues." In the First Chamber, on the 28th February, 1855, the motion was brought in, that "the House should recognise the pernicious influence of the Sound Dues on commerce and the shipowning interest in Prussia, and that the House expects that Government will leave no opportunity unused to procure the abolition of the Toll." In both Chambers these motions were agreed to; in the First Chamber by a great majority, in the Second *unanimously*. The speeches made on this occasion contained some unusually strong language. Some of the speakers declared, amidst the applause of the House, that Prussia ought to renounce the treaty of 1846; and if, after the expiration of the convention, Prussian ships were arrested at the Sound, "the act of so doing should be regarded as piracy or a declaration of war." So strong was the feeling at these debates, that the ministers of Frederick-William IV. themselves voted, in their quality as deputies, in favour of the motion. Baron Manteuffel even acknowledged explicitly the illegality, viewing it in the light of the law of nations, of the tribute Denmark levies upon commerce. But those who have studied Baron Manteuffel's parliamentary tactics might easily have detected that the concurrence he expressed with the wishes of the country was only intended to appease for awhile public wrath, and that the Prussian government would pursue their old policy of disgraceful hesitation as soon as the agitation would flag. "Government"—these were the words of Baron Manteuffel—"are, I can assure you, deeply convinced of the important results which an abolition of the Dues would have for the Baltic trade and the Baltic provinces in general; and it is one of the first objects of Government to take care of this question. However, if the great doings which people expect, are to be attended with success, they can only be accomplished at the proper moment; and according to the present situation, the most fitting introduction for them will be not by words, but by *silence*." (Protocol of the Debates of April 18th, 1855.)

To "silence" public opinion and public agitation has ever been the chief aim of Prussian rulers, in accordance with the famous dictum, that "obedience is the first duty of a citizen." Silence once obtained, it was easy for the Berlin camarilla to carry out, undisturbed, their anti-national policy.

We have now arrived at that interesting point in the history

of the Sound Dues when we find the exaction opposed by one of the youngest, but nevertheless strongest powers of the earth, viz., the Republic of the United States. We think, however, the events connected with the attitude America has assumed in this question to be of so recent a date as to render it unnecessary for us to enter into ample details. We have before us a vast amount of correspondence carried on, since 1848, between the United States' Embassy at Copenhagen and the Cabinet at Washington on the one hand, and the American and Danish governments on the other. The language made use of in these official papers by the Transatlantic Republic is of a terse and nervous diction that our mealy-mouthed diplomatists would shudder at uttering. There is no toying with phrases in these straightforward documents. The Sound Dues are there stigmatized, without reserve, as "a tribute similar in character to that levied of old by the corsair deys of the Mediterranean;" and the United States, without mincing the matter, bluntly declare that they will no longer submit to a system of insult and robbery which has no better excuse than the musty customs of a piratical tradition. It is something refreshing to the luckless reviewer, whose task it has been to wade through a heap of courtly and garbled documents, to come in his weary journey, amidst the shifting sands of diplomatic language, to an oasis of such clear and honest-spoken views.

Unfortunately, the United States in 1848, when the most fitting opportunity presented itself for obtaining a complete abolition of the toll, allowed themselves to be decoyed from their purpose by an appeal Denmark made to American generosity. In their intercourse with the Danish government, the United States had openly acknowledged "that Germany," which was then at war with Denmark, "had the justest claim to insist, in the peace negotiations, on an unconditional abolition of the Dues." But instead of making common cause with Germany, the cabinet at Washington thought fit to give Denmark breathing-time. The settlement of the question was allowed to stand over till the conclusion of the Schleswig-Holstein war. It needs no conjurer to tell that no sooner was the war at an end, than the court of Copenhagen was once more riding the high horse, and screwing up its courage even to menacing the United States with an appeal to arms, in case their ships should dare to pass the Sound without payment of the required fees. The correspondence consequently grew more and more angry, both parties insisting on their demands with equal pertinacity. In a terse note of five lines, dated "State Department, 8th November, 1853," Secretary Marcy roundly declared, *that his government would never consent to the redemption*



of the Dues, nor agree to an indemnification in any form whatever, but simply demanded the unconditional abolition of the claim. The Presidential Message of 31st December, 1855, was equally firm. It contained a formal notice that, after the lapse of another year, the merchant marine of the United States would cease to pay any further dues.

June 14th, 1856, had thus been announced as the day from which the American vessels were to run free through the Sound and the Belts. But that day quietly passed by, and the vessels of the United States continue, as heretofore, though under protest, to pay toll at Elsinore, Nyborg, and Fridericia. Still, the threatening note from Washington had the effect of so frightening the Danish court, that it hastened to assemble the so-called "Sound Dues Conferences" at Copenhagen, in order to attempt making some plunder out of a very insecure claim, while there was yet time, and before infuriated America should abrogate it altogether at the cannon's mouth.

However, though the Conferences had been sitting last year for many months, no conclusion was come to. At the instigation of the Russian plenipotentiary, M. de Tengoborski, King Frederick of Denmark brought before the Conferences a "capitalization scheme" of so preposterous a character that not even those powers which were favourable to the redemption project, could be induced to consent to the Danish proposition. Of the subsequent negotiations we know nothing authentic. The only official document that has recently come to our knowledge is the Danish draft of a treaty which stipulates *the enormous sum of 30,570,698 rix dollars* as the price for which King Frederick is willing to give up his corsair practice! Thus, with an assurance scarcely to be credited in so petty a power, Denmark declares that either the toll will continue to be levied for evermore, or the maritime nations must submit to pay a heavy indemnification by way of redeeming the Dues. According to this statement, Great Britain—the "mistress of the Ocean"—must be mulct of about ten million rix-dollars before she can ransom her shipping from the marauding hands of Denmark!

It is no matter for wonder that Russia should have consented to this arrangement; for, were the capitalization scheme carried out, Russia would either be allowed by Denmark to evade payment, or in case the Czar should think it prudent to contribute his mite, he might,—with his reversionary claims to the Danish crown still extant,—consider his share but so much money vested in his own exchequer. Thus, no monetary disadvantage would be inflicted on the government of St. Petersburg, whilst the sudden replenishment of the Danish treasury, by the con-

tributions of other states, might enable Denmark the better to carry out the incorporation of the German provinces of Schleswig-Holstein,—another course of policy full of advantages to the Czar.

We are surprised, however, how the English government could even for a moment entertain propositions like these. If there is a fact of which all Englishmen are convinced, it is that their position as a nation is due to their influence on the seas. The brightest pages of English history, the chosen theme of the national bards, have ever been this ocean-rule. The people of this country, from the time when Cromwell and his great captain, Blake, gave them the seas for an inheritance, have always viewed with patriotic jealousy the attempt of any power to place restrictions on maritime communications, or advance theories incompatible with the freedom of the ocean. Now the Capitalization Project, as propounded by the court of Copenhagen, is a theory the acknowledgment of which, by Great Britain, is at once a virtual surrender of that mighty naval influence that has been for centuries the key-stone of English power and the monument of English renown. In claiming a “redemption” of the Dues, the court of Copenhagen asserts its title to treat the Baltic as a *mare clausum*. It plainly declares that no vessel can enter that sea without a firman of the Dey of Denmark. In other words, capitalization is piracy reduced to a theory and a system. Great Britain is required to declare, on parchment, with all necessary legal formalities, that her trade with Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Russia, is only carried on by virtue of the merciful consideration of the Danish ruler, and that, should he, in his august pleasure, drive back the mercantile marine on its arrival at Elsinore or the ports of the Belts, no exception could be taken, as he would in this be merely exercising a lawful act of maritime sovereignty!

It may, perhaps, appear to many to be of little matter *in what way* the Sound Dues are got rid of, and that “the trifle of some thirty million rix-dollars” should not be too strictly looked at, provided the end be obtained, and the merchant marine be exempted in future from annoyance. But these easy reasoners have not reflected upon the consequences which must unavoidably result from acknowledging the rights so arrogantly pretended to by Denmark. Does it not stand to reason, that in paying down a capitalization ransom to the court of Copenhagen, Great Britain invites all the maritime states of the globe to draw largely on her exchequer and her forbearance? Only let England formally recognise the right of Denmark to the absolute possession of the Sound, and there will arise a host of maritime difficulties all over the world, from which this country can only

extricate itself by continuing this expensive game of submitting to the demand of every state that chooses to turn buccaneer, and bully the nation out of its gold. Hitherto, the disrepute into which the Danish government had fallen acted as a check upon the greediness of other maritime governments. But if England recognises, as a right, Denmark's demand for a redemption of the toll, the false diffidence of many a would-be robber will speedily vanish, and this country will have the satisfaction of contributing its treasure to the exchequers of many a fifth-rate power, only too glad to avail themselves of British money.

There remain, lastly, two contingencies to be taken into account, which, however remote they may appear at present, are yet worthy the attention of statesmen. Suppose all the European powers to be infatuated enough to consent to the payment of an indemnification, and the United States alone maintaining their proud refusal to yield,—what other consequence would ensue but that either America would boldly rid herself of the Sound Dues without the sacrifice of a dollar, or that the European powers would have to make war upon her in order to compel the Transatlantic Republic to bow down to the demands of Denmark? Insane as such a proceeding sounds, the official gazette of Copenhagen has not hesitated to suggest its adoption!

The other contingency we intend alluding to is no less calculated to arouse public vigilance. It has crept out, that in July last, Russia advised the Danish court to employ the amount acquired by the pecuniary indemnity *in thoroughly and efficiently fortifying the Sound!* So that Europe, by committing such an act of folly as paying for a redemption from the Dues, would be absolutely furnishing the means for rivetting the chains on her trade. If these facts do not induce the advocates of the "Sound Dues Capitalization" to reconsider the utility of presenting Denmark with a round sum of some twelve million rix-dollars—most probably to be so employed in fettering the freedom of the Baltic—we pity their infatuation, and look with apprehension into the future.

K. B.

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#### ART. V.—EUPHRATES VALLEY ROUTE TO INDIA.

*Memoir on the Euphrates Valley Route to India.* By W. P. Andrew.  
8vo. London. 1857.

ONE of the most remarkable phenomena of the present age is unquestionably the tendency of the stream of civilization to return towards the regions from whence it originally flowed;

and it perhaps may not be presumptuous to suppose that this great object formed part of the scheme of Providence in allowing that monstrous wickedness, the late war against Turkey, or even our own otherwise unjustifiable usurpations in the East. The old saying, "*lux ex oriente*," has now long ceased to be true; and the relative positions of Europe and of Asia have been for so many centuries decidedly the reverse of those which formerly prevailed, that the adage requires to be modified, if it be intended to express by it any reference to the source of the principles regulating the tone, manners, intellectual expression of nations, or, in fact, the infinite number of social refinements which go to constitute a civilization. Twice already in the history of our race, the country watered by the streams of the Tigris and of the Euphrates, has served as a cradle for the infant nations of the world; and all European arts, languages, civil polity, and literature appear to owe much of their present character to the genius of the Iranian stock, which there first assumed a distinct political organization. For many centuries, alas! man has laboured assiduously to deface the noblest gifts of his Maker in these favoured regions; but after ages of bad government and neglect on the part of its native rulers, there would seem now to be a probability that the facilities offered by the physical configuration of this country to the traffic between our island and its ill-gotten eastern dominions, may compel Western Europe to endow Assyria with the strong and honest government it alone requires to enable it to resume sooner or later its position in the family of nations. The law which thus continually carries forward the progress of civilization is a very awful, but in the main, a very consolatory one; for like all other laws of Providence, it works decidedly for the temporal, and we hope with equal certainty, for the spiritual progress of our race. Yet at times, the deeds it calls forth are so equivocal that it is hard to trace their connexion with any scheme of good; just as, to cite one instance, it is hard to discover the moral justice of our dominion in the East. But that dominion is now a great fact; and the question only is, how can we make it a source of blessing to those under our sway? This object, no doubt, will be materially assisted by bringing the inhabitants of the East, who are apathetic from their long misrule, into direct contact with the more active and energetic nations of the North and of the West; and again, the necessity for a strong government to protect the traffic between the various portions of our empire, will compel us to secure the tranquillity of the country through which it passes. The mere fact, then, of our establishing a new line of communication between Europe and India must, under existing

political arrangements, prove a source of benefit to the lands it traverses ; and, therefore, it is that we regard the various projects for adopting the Euphrates Valley for that purpose as presenting an interest, and as suggesting considerations of far greater moment to the moral philosopher than they do even to the capitalist or to the merchant. To our minds, there is a species of cosmic, we had almost said of a religious importance attached to the subject, to which, moreover, early associations connected with the names of Babylon and Nimroud, Bagdad and Bussorah—with the Medes and Assyrians, Saracens and Turks—are indissolubly attached.

The idea of using this particular route is by no means of modern origin, for the Euphrates Valley has been one of the highways of communication between the East and the West whenever the country itself has been tolerably quiet ; but of late years, Europeans had almost entirely lost sight of these regions, notwithstanding the publication of Chardin, Niebuhr, Morier, and Ker Porter's travels, about the end of the last or the commencement of the present century. The expedition of General (then Captain) Chesney in 1830, and the subsequent brilliant discoveries by Messrs. Layard and Botta of the ruined cities upon the banks of the rivers, brought it, however, again prominently before our public in general, and especially before the persons interested in our commercial relations with India ; and now there would appear to be a strong probability that within a very short period the Euphrates may again be made to render useful service to the comfort and happiness of our race. Companies are being organized for connecting the river with the Mediterranean, or for the execution of a continuous line of railway along its banks, and thence through the wild regions upon the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf to the network of Indian railways ; nay, even it would appear, if we may judge by their actions, that the commercial arrangements of some of these bodies are sufficiently advanced to warrant them in appealing to the public for the funds to execute their works.

Entertaining the opinions we so decidedly do upon the subject of the Euphrates route, it must be supposed that it is with regret that we feel compelled to warn the public against entering upon any of these schemes on the strength of the information now before it. The geographical, political, and engineering documents we possess are indeed of the most vague and unsatisfactory character, and sure we are that the execution of a parish road would not, in this country, be undertaken in accordance with the suggestions of reports so utterly worthless in a scientific point of view as those which are quoted in Mr. Andrew's "Memoir," or which it has been our lot to read in other pro-

ductions on this question. It is marvellous, indeed, that the men who can write such manifest nonsense should be selected to conduct difficult inquiries; still stranger is it that a nation of shopkeepers should risk its money upon the faith of their assertions. The so-called scientific publications upon the inter-oceanic communications across the Isthmus of Darien have already given us one illustration of the ease with which ignorant assumption passes current with us;—the hydrographical part of the reports upon the Euphrates Valley furnish a second. Until much more elaborate observations have, therefore, been made by competent persons, prudent men ought, we think, to confine themselves to the expression of a general approval of the idea, or to the promotion of a really scientific investigation of this region.

The common sense of the communication with India by the Euphrates, seems to us to be, as Mr. Andrew suggests in his text—which does not agree with his map, by the way—to execute a railway connexion between a good port on the Mediterranean and some point upon the navigable portion of the river, and upon the latter to place efficient steamboats to connect with the deep sea navigation of the Persian Gulf. Where are these termini to be placed? Such is the problem to be studied; and it is precisely on the score of the insufficient evidence with respect to it that we object to Mr. Andrew's Memoir, or indeed, to any decided action at present. A mere inspection of the maps hitherto published confirms the opinion, that the railway should commence either at Seleucia, or at a point near the mouth of the river Aaazi (we quote Arrowsmith's Atlas), and be carried along the banks of the latter to Antakia and Aleppo; from the latter city (the shadow, alas! of its former splendour), the course is more difficult, and requires careful study, for it is possible that it would be easy to carry the road across the ridge which separates the water-shed of the Aaazi from that of the Euphrates, and to join the latter near Rajik, or it might be preferable to follow the Aaazi as far as Tedif, and cross the ridge near the head of the Mambedj, one of the small affluents of the Euphrates. The execution of a railway in such a country would be a work of difficulty, no doubt, but at the present day it would not cause an engineer acquainted with the works of the Tyrol, Switzerland, Saxony, or the United States, to feel the slightest hesitation. Indeed, the only "consideration which would give him pause," would be with respect to the cost; and a minute examination of the bounding ridges of the two valleys, and a careful series of levels through the various passes which might be discovered, are required before any estimate of this part of the undertaking can be made. Then, supposing the



line of railway through the summit ridge to be settled, would arise the questions as to where the navigation of the Euphrates should begin, and how should it be effected?—both of which must depend upon the conditions of the flow of water from the feeding grounds to the various affluents, and upon the longitudinal section of the river itself. Of these we know nothing, and are, therefore, utterly unable to speak with confidence.

The ordinary character of rivers flowing from lofty mountain chains in low latitudes, and through plains, parched and scorched by a nearly tropical sun, is certainly such as to induce us to believe that the opinion of the officer quoted at page 49 of Mr. Andrew's Memoir is really correct, and that during the dry season the Euphrates would not be navigable, or to use this officer's own words, "that the river would dry up into pools." It is true that the great chain of the Ararat presents so many peaks covered by eternal snow, and the hills around Erzeroum and Diabekir are sufficiently elevated to warrant the assumption that the river may be more than usually regular in its volume; but it would be dangerous to take measures to establish a navigation upon a mere assumption of this kind, and the difficulties attending the navigation of the Rhone ought to furnish many warnings and many useful lessons to the parties charged with the investigations it is evidently necessary still to make as to the volume of the Euphrates during the autumn. Very probably, the course of the Euphrates above the Nar Matcha may be more regular than that of the lower portion, because in the upper part of the basin the evaporation cannot be very great, and in the lower part no affluents are poured in able to compensate for this potent cause of diminution. It is also probable that an artificial junction of the Euphrates and the Tigris, through the Nar Matcha, might secure a more uniform depth of water, because the mountains of Kurdistan and Louristan present physical conditions such as to warrant us in assuming that the rivers they feed would have flood-periods different from those of the rivers fed by the loftier and more northerly range of the Ararat. Nothing, however, but careful observations can enable us to form any opinions of value on such points; and these observations must be carried over several years—sixteen or twenty, at least—before any element of certainty can be said to prevail in the calculations upon which to base the arrangements for the navigation. Yet it is coolly asserted, because two or three isolated attempts at mounting or descending the Assyrian rivers have succeeded, that they are navigable at all times! How little do our blind guides appear to be aware of the magnitude of the phenomena which they will eventually have to deal withal! Why, neither in Horsburgh's

Directory, nor in Bruck's "Survey of the Persian Gulf," are there any trustworthy observations upon the tides of the embouchure of the united streams of the Tigris and of the Euphrates! Still less do we possess any trustworthy soundings or levels of the non-tidal portions of those rivers; and the remarks by General Chesney upon the rapids, described by himself as Nos. 25 and 27 (see pp. 26, 27 of Mr. Andrew's Memoir), prove that he is utterly ignorant of the laws of hydraulics. Either his facts with regard to the fall, or to the depth of water, or to the current, are wrong, for it is impossible that a stream which he had previously stated to be from 250 to 500 yards wide, with a general depth of eight feet, and a mean velocity of only two miles an hour—to take the most favourable view of the case—should, as in the instance No. 27 cited, retain a depth of four feet nine inches whilst it attained a velocity of five miles per hour, and when the inclination was so great as two feet in seventy. This is an assertion we should only have expected to meet with in a blue-book, so characteristic is it of official incapacity or of official presumption.

With all that Mr. Andrew says upon the importance of the commercial relations to be opened up by carrying the Indian traffic, or even a portion of it, along the Euphrates route, we most cordially agree; and, indeed, our only ground of objection to his remarkably well-written Memoir, so far as he only is concerned, is that he should have quoted, as scientific documents, the offhand conclusions of parties who ought to have known better than to lay before the public such incomplete and unsatisfactory evidence. It may be that the Euphrates is navigable at all times from Ja'ber Castle to the mouth; at present, however, there is no evidence that it is so, and, indeed, from our own experience of warm climates, we are disposed to suspect that this would be found to be very far from being the fact. Should our suspicion be correct, it might still be worth while to continue the railway to a lower point upon the river, but then the great commercial and industrial question arises—Will it pay? No doubt, Turkey would gain immeasurably by such an investment of British capital, and humanity might also gain, but neither nations nor individuals are, we conceive, required to act upon mere Quixotic motives, or gratuitously to sacrifice their own interests for the benefit of a race which despises and dislikes them. To our minds, the Turkish government are the parties most deeply concerned in the execution of the works necessary for reviving the importance of the historic lands upon the banks of the great Mesopotamian rivers, and it, therefore, should be urged to furnish a great portion of the requisite funds. Most decidedly do we assert, that at present the English

public is not in possession of sufficient information to warrant prudent men in entering upon the execution of even the moderate scheme of a railway from Seleucia to Ja'ber Castle, and thence descending the Euphrates by steam-boats. Still less would they be justified in attempting a grand Euphrates Valley Railway scheme; whilst the project for continuing the railway from Bussorah, through Persia, Beloochistan, &c., to the Deccan, is so wildly absurd that it could only have appeared feasible to the writers of second-class Parisian papers, or the *gobemouche* who does the translations for the *Times*' "own Paris correspondent." When a great undertaking of this description is entered upon, it is always difficult to foresee the extent of the obligations it entails. It becomes, therefore, the more important that the preliminary studies should have been carefully made; and really the skill with which Mr. Andrew has put together the small amount of information to which he has had access, and the tone of earnest sincerity with which he pleads the cause he has adopted, make us the more regret that we should be compelled to write unfavourably of his scheme. Mr. Andrew, and his friends who are interested in the Euphrates Valley Route to India, may depend upon it that, for their own sakes, it would be wise for them to cause the physical conditions of that region to be studied by parties who would be able to observe and record the phenomena which are likely to affect its results. We repeat that any operations undertaken upon the faith of the documents hitherto published, are far more likely to result in failure and disappointment than in success.

By the way, what very funny French the officials of the Euphrates Valley scheme write! Why do they not employ some competent translator to put their documents, necessarily couched in that tongue, into a respectable form?

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## Brief Notices.

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SILVER SHELL; or, the Adventures of an Oyster. By Charles Williams. London: Ward & Lock. 1856.

SOME nurses administer physic in sugar, and some writers dose the public with science in a similar manner. The authors to whom we refer mix together such a compound of heterogeneous knowledge, that no mortal could have the fortitude to make a voluntary attempt to appropriate it, if it were not administered in honied words. The

books such men write are loaded with scraps of poetry, sentimental commonplace, striking anecdotes, marvellous discoveries, and pretty incidents, and are intended to excite interest by an appeal to the imagination, or the love of the marvellous. The writers themselves are in an unhealthy state of mind; and, morally unobjectionable as their books are, they are injurious, for nothing is more debilitating to the human mind than listless reading. The want of the world is for strong thinkers, and they are educated by full, terse writers. Such books want the natural tone which pleases children, and they are too unartistic to gratify an educated taste. They only serve as a pabulum for the superficiality of the foppish men and prudish women who desire to appear intelligent observers or diligent readers, and to gain credit for an intelligence to which they have no title. Such books we denounce as we would any other false things. Mr. Williams's "Silver Shell" does not indeed belong to this class of books, though it is not altogether free from many of their faults. His pages are too frequently occupied by scraps of poetry, and many of the pleasant things he says are about objects having a very remote relationship to the subject of his essay. His science is for the most part accurate, and that is high praise for a book intended to be both popular and elementary, but we cannot say that his statements are *always* correct. It is not true that the chemist "can no more compose a single fluid or a single solid of an organic body, than the comparative anatomist, who having, with Cuvier-like tact, selected, arranged, and articulated all the bones of an eagle, an antelope, or a man, can endow the skeleton with life." It was true a few years ago: it is not true now. Nor does the author appear to be much more proficient in geology than in chemistry, or he would not have said that "the crust of the earth consists of some thirty or forty strata of various thickness, arranging themselves into a very few grand groups." Such errors, however, are not numerous, and will not seriously affect the usefulness of the book, which is written in a pleasing style, and in a healthy tone, by a man of extensive reading and varied information. Hoping that a second edition of "Silver Shell" may be demanded by the public, we will venture to offer a few suggestions to the author. Would it not be desirable to state that the oyster belongs to that class of animals called conchifers, explaining, perhaps, the difference between the Brachiopoda and the Lamellibranchiata, and marking the distinction between the Conchifers and Cephalophorus Molluscs. This should certainly be done so far as relates to the shells, and we think that if the author is as conversant with the science of zoology as he is with literary composition, he possesses the ability to write an anatomical and physiological description sufficiently simple and precise to interest his readers. He would lead his pupils out of their depth by discussing vexed questions in relation to the family Ostracea, but a description of the genera Anomia and Placuna would not be out of place, and there can be no objection on the plea of limited space, as he can find a page for such a very distant relation as the Octopus, an animal of whom it can hardly be said that its relation to the oyster is "as the species to the genus." If we may make one other

suggestion, we would propose a chapter on the geological history of the Ostracea family, embracing the Gryphœa, and this might be made one of the most interesting in the book if the author would resolve to give information, and think less about making it popular. "Silver Shell" is, however, a book we can recommend, with some reservation, to our readers. It describes the origin, birth-place, anatomy, and shell of the oyster, and traces the history of the animal from the egg to the costermonger's stall, and of the shell from its formation to the lathe of the pearl-button manufacturer. It will be an acceptable book to youth; and persons of maturer age, who have not lost the habit of thinking, will learn from its pages much they desire to know. Those who wish further information will probably find it in a report which will be published in the next volume of the proceedings of the British Association.

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EXPOSITORY DISCOURSES ON THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS. By Thomas Toller. Pp. 335. London: John Snow, Paternoster Row.

IN this little work, our author steers the middle course between a method too critical and dry, and one that is superficial and unsatisfactory. At the same time, these Discourses are highly practical, and breathe the spirit of fervent piety. The author is careful to show the tendency of the Gospel, its adaptation to produce holiness, renovation of character, and spirituality of mind. Nor must we close this short notice without awarding him his proper meed of praise for the sober elegance of his style. We think the theological student especially will find his account in the perusal of this little manual. We have read it ourselves with great pleasure, and we may say, with equal profit. We are indebted to the author for some new ideas on the exegesis of this Epistle. We are glad to find that the late Mr Toller, of Kettering, the intimate friend of Robert Hall, has so evangelical and so able a successor in the person of his son, the writer of these Discourses. We commend the volume as perhaps the best exposition in our language on this part of Scripture.

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FAITH IN GOD AS TO TEMPORAL THINGS. An Account of the Rise and Progress of the New Orphan House, Ashley Down, Bristol; under the superintendence of the Rev. G. Müller. Houlston & Stoneman. London: 1856.

THIS book consists, in part, of a short biography of Mr. Müller; in part, of an account of that most useful institution, the Orphanage, at Ashley Down. In many respects, we feel this little work is removed beyond the range of ordinary literary criticism. Mr. Müller's history is probably known to most of our readers. The peculiar principle which he advocates is, that contributions for religious objects should be entirely unsolicited, and that both ministers in their individual capacity, and religious enterprises generally, should depend for support directly on the Great Head of the Church, who, in answer to prayer, will supply every want, through the unso-

licited aid of Christians. This is not the place to do more than merely mention this principle: its application and discussion we leave to others. Suffice it to say, that Mr. Müller has uniformly acted upon it. Irrespective of this, he is not only an eminently useful minister, but well known as the founder of a remarkable institution, the New Orphan House, built and supported entirely on his peculiar principles. At present, besides teachers, &c., it contains 300 orphans, who are admitted without influence or patronage, simply in the order in which application had been made for them. Mr. Müller intends, as soon as possesses the necessary means, to add to the institution, so as to make it capable of containing 1,000. While, for own part, unable to agree in all Mr. Müller's views and practices, we are bound to add that this little book is not only instructive and interesting, but equally free from mere enthusiasm or spiritual pride—dangers which we might apprehend in the case of any of his followers less simple-minded or devoted than Mr. Müller and his coadjutors are.

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**A LETTER TO J. A. ROEBUCK, Esq., M.P., Chairman of the Administrative Reform Association ; with an Analysis of the Divisions in the House of Commons during the last Session of Parliament as regards the City and Metropolitan Members. 2nd Edition. London : Published by the Association. 1856.**

**SECOND LETTER TO J. A. ROEBUCK, Esq., M.P., Chairman of the Administrative Reform Association ; with an Analysis of the Divisions in the House of Commons during the last Session of Parliament as regards Members for Boroughs enfranchised by the Reform Act of 1832. London : Published by the Association. 1856.**

**THIRD LETTER TO J. A. ROEBUCK, Esq., M.P., Chairman of the Administrative Reform Association ; with a full Analysis of the Divisions in the House of Commons during the last Session of Parliament. London : Published by the Association. 1857.**

THESE are three of the latest publications of the Administrative Reform Association. They would at any time deserve a careful perusal, but at a time when a general election cannot be far distant, they are worthy of special attention. They are lucid in their arrangement, clear and forcible in their style, and pregnant with facts calculated equally to surprise and to instruct the public. It appears that during the last session of parliament there were 198 divisions in the House of Commons. From these one metropolitan member was necessarily absent — Lord Ebrington from very severe indisposition. But the record of the attendance, or rather the *non-attendance* of the other metropolitan members will be read with astonishment. Of the 198 divisions, Mr. Montague Chambers was absent from 132, and his colleague Mr. Rolt, from 153 ; Sir John Shelley from 100 ; Mr. Alderman Challis from 169, and his colleague Mr. Duncombe, from 177 ; the two members for the Tower Hamlets each from 142 ; and the three sitting members for the City from 154, 161, and 169 respectively. After this it would be amusing to turn back to the hustings' speeches of these honourable gentlemen, and refresh ourselves with their promises of untiring diligence and zeal in the



discharge of their parliamentary duties! The results developed in Mr. Gassiot's Second Letter (for that gentleman, as statistical secretary of the association, is the writer of the pamphlets before us) are still more surprising. They respect the large provincial constituencies which first obtained the right of representation in 1832. It might have been supposed that these constituencies, proud of their long withheld privilege, would not suffer it to lapse into even temporary abeyance. Yet it is manifestly annulled in every instance in which a constituent body has no representative in a parliamentary division, or in which its two representatives vote on opposite sides. The number of cases in which this has occurred to some of the more important electoral bodies created in 1832, out of the 198 divisions of last session, appears to be as follows: Manchester, 142; Oldham, 130; Sunderland, 109; Stoke, 131; Stockport, 77; Birmingham, 119; Bolton, 93; Brighton, 108; Devonport, 137; Macclesfield, 89; Ashton, 105; Wakefield, 171; Rochdale, 123; Whitehaven, 151; Whitby, 194; and so of many other equally important constituencies.

The general result is thus stated in the Third Letter:—

7	Members did not record their votes in any of the 198 Divisions			
82	were absent 180 times and upwards.			
226	„	150	„	not exceeding 180.
248	„	100	„	„ 150.
79	„	50	„	„ 100.
14	„	10	„	„ 50.
1	Member was absent	8	„	
1	voted in every Division.			
1	Speaker.			

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Apart from the evils of malversation and general misgovernment, which this culpable neglect tends to cherish, there are two grounds on which these statistics give occasion for deep anxiety and regret. The first is, that they indicate a state of things which is calculated to bring representative institutions into dis-esteem, than which few greater evils can befall a free people ; and the second is, that this demonstrated indifference on the part both of representatives and constituencies, opposes a serious obstacle in the way of parliamentary reform. We trust that reformers throughout the kingdom will reflect deeply on the facts here presented to their notice, and act unitedly and vigorously on their convictions in view of the approaching general election.

**THE LIBERATOR. A Monthly Journal of the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control. Vol. II. London: Houlston and Stoneman. 1856.**

**THE new session of Parliament promises a full average crop of ecclesiastical contests. Besides the re-introduction of the Maynooth and Irish Church questions, others also are in the hands of independent members who have already intimated their intention of pressing them afresh upon the attention of the House of Commons. Sir W. Clay has**

announced a measure for the settlement of the Church-rate dispute; and the horrible creaking of the new Burial Board machinery all over the country, necessitates immediate improvements in legislation on that subject. Other items also belonging to the same category will have to be canvassed and voted upon in the national Palaver, or Parliament, as that august body is styled in the language of our Norman conquerors. Of course, therefore, every intelligent man ought to keep himself *au courant* on these matters, and in order to this he cannot do better than familiarize his mind with the pages of the *Liberator*. It is the church-reformer's *vade mecum*—a perfect storehouse of facts, arguments, and testimonies on all ecclesiastical questions. We have read the numbers regularly from the beginning, and can honestly speak to the diligence, conscientiousness, and vigour with which the editor does his duty. The advantage to the party of progress in having such a "chiel" to watch, record, and print, for present and future use, the sayings and doings of both the friends and foes of Church reform, is immense. Captain Cuttle's maxim, "when found, make a note of," is his motto; and the good sense with which he comments upon the multifarious and valuable information which his industry amasses, is no less commendable than the lynx-eyed vigilance which routs it out.

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**ON TRUTH AND ERROR:** Thoughts in Prose and Verse on the Principles of Truth, and the Causes and Effects of Error. By John Hamilton of St. Ernan's. Cambridge. 1856.

MR. HAMILTON has been accustomed, in order to assist his own researches after truth, and to test the worth of what he imagined he had discovered, to write out his thoughts, sometimes in prose, sometimes in verse; and in this volume he has collected the very miscellaneous contents of his manuscript drawer, in order to put the public in possession of the results of his researches. It is quite impossible for us to discuss with Mr. Hamilton the numerous questions about which we differ from him: his mental vision seems to us entirely inverted. Here and there we find some keenness of thought and vigour of expression; but there is nothing in "Truth and Error," which was worth saying at all, that has not been said far better elsewhere. We are sorry that a gentleman who seems to be seeking truth with such simplicity and honesty of purpose, should have so grievously missed his way.

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**IMMORTELLES FROM CHARLES DICKENS.** By Ich. London. 1856.

No intelligent reader of Charles Dickens's earlier works will be inclined to think that the world will easily forget him. Though we deeply regret his want of earnest homage for righteousness as distinct from mere good-nature, and think that from first to last he has been flagrantly unjust to religious people and religious institutions; though his mannerism is becoming almost intolerable, and we sometimes take our monthly dose of "Little Dorrit" as a stern duty instead of rejoicing over it as a pleasant refreshment,—our remem-

brance of "Sketches by Boz," "Pickwick," "Nicholas Nickleby," and "David Copperfield," is too clear and bright to permit us to speak of their author's genius as anything less than marvellous. The writer of this handsomely got-up book thinks that some of Mr. Dickens's admirers are in danger of forgetting his graver excellences in their riotous laughter at his fun, and in order to show that there are some immortal elements scattered through Mr. Dickens's humorous works, he has woven together a series of extracts, with illustrative criticisms and moral reflections of his own. We doubt not that many of Mr. Dickens's admirers will find it a pleasant book for a winter's afternoon by the fireside, or a summer's evening ramble in the country.

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**SUNDAY, THE REST OF LABOUR.** By a Christian. London: Newby. 1856.

THE title of this volume hardly intimates its scope and object. The "Sunday question" occupies a very subordinate position among the miscellaneous but very important subjects on which the author pronounces judgment. From the Sabbath, he passes to what he calls "Sabbatarian Religion," and criticizes the whole structure of the religious thought and practice of British Christians. Places for public worship, public worship itself, the Christian ministry, are all objected to as mere human inventions, and unfriendly to the spirit and tendency of the Gospel. "A Christian" thinks we have no trace of the existence of anything like a system of public worship in the apostolic age! We think a more careful reading of the apostolic epistles would have helped to complete the author's preparation for writing this book, of which he gives us an account in his first chapter. There are some indications of real mental vigour in the book, but the author would have to travel a long way before he found his equal in recklessness of statement and inconclusiveness of reasoning.

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**THE FRENCH PASTOR AT THE SEAT OF WAR.** Being Letters Written from the East. By Émilien Frossard, Protestant Pastor in the French Army before Sebastopol. Translated from the French. London: Nisbet & Co. 1856.

M. FROSSARD was one of those whom the French Protestant churches sent to minister to their co-religionists engaged in the deadly conflict with Russia. He brought to his arduous mission, piety, energy, zeal, experience, and liberality, and he earned the highest praise: he was successful. But as his stay in the East was comparatively short, and he made only a visit to the camp of the Allies—chiefly confining his labours to the hospitals of Constantinople—we can scarcely expect to find in his little book, comprising the letters which he sent to his family in France, all the information which we would fain derive from it. We are glad to learn that every facility was given to him by the French military authorities—that a number of Protestants, both men and officers, welcomed his arrival—that some of them seemed truly pious, and devoted to the cause of truth, and that this undertaking pro-

pered, both in reference to its immediate objects, and in gaining a recognition for our French Protestant brethren in the army. We especially rejoice that the Protestant churches in France entered on this work. As for the merits of the book itself, we are sorry that we cannot speak of them in very high terms. There is, to our taste, too much about M. Frossard himself in the book—about the horrors of his sea-sickness—what, how, and where he ate and drank, and other things of the same kind, which, however interesting to himself and his family, are not so to the general public. The observations on the journey are also sometimes of a commonplace character. We could have wished for more information about the field of labour and its success, or, at any rate, less about what is only ephemeral, and will principally interest M. Frossard's personal friends. So much, however, have we gathered from this little book, that there is in the French army a great and important field for Christian labour, and that able and zealous labourers, like M. Frossard, are not wanting.

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EXPOSITION OF THE TYPES AND ANTITYPES OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT. By the Hon. Lady Scott. London: Richard Bentley. 1856.

THIS neat volume contains a series of lectures on the principal Old Testament types, and on the history of the Lord and His Apostles, meant for family-reading. The exposition is general but correct, and the style very plain and pleasing. We wish we could have absolutely commended a book, manifestly written with such good intentions. But even were we to pass over a number of statements, which, theologically speaking, are not quite accurate, there are other errors which we cannot pass by. Thus, to our mind, an undue importance is attached to partaking of the Lord's Supper, as if in itself it were calculated to do absolute good. Our authoress finds allusions to it everywhere—even in the rainbow after the flood. Besides, she is apt to assume what at best is dubious, and sometimes manifestly fabulous. Thus, the Apostle John is put into a cauldron of boiling oil, but miraculously preserved; Peter is crucified and Paul beheaded at Rome—a church being erected over the place of their martyrdom, &c. On the whole, the noble authoress has manifestly a clear view of the way of salvation; but it almost appears to us as if the head were more concerned in the religion of this volume than the seat of the affections. Gladly would we welcome so earnest an advocate, if she spake to the *hearts* of her countrywomen about that marvellous *love* of the blessed Saviour to them, and taught them not only to believe, and to go through the various duties of a Christian, but to *love* and to devote themselves to His service. We welcome our authoress as one evidently interested in the truth, and in the cause of Christ, and who sees it her duty to employ her talents, and to use her station in His service. Perhaps, the *tone* of her teaching is necessarily connected with her subject. We hope to meet her again: the next time not only instructing, but affectionately guiding her readers to light and love.

**SIGHT-SEEING IN GERMANY AND THE TYROL, IN THE AUTUMN OF 1855.** By Sir John Forbes. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1856.

THIS is decidedly a very dull book; indeed, one very disappointing, whether considering the subject or the author. Sir John Forbes has travelled over some of the most interesting portions of the Continent, and come back to give us the veriest details, and such every-day descriptions, as may be found—only much better and more fully—in almost every ordinary “guide-book.” That such a traveller could not have communicated some fresh, or at least vivacious observations, we cannot believe. He passes through Prussia, Austria, Hungary, and he has nothing to say about the intellectual, moral, and social state of the people. We do not require his information: everybody knows that Leipsic is “a very handsome town;” that Berlin “stands in a dreary plain of sand;” that Prague “is a splendid city;” and other similar commonplaces. An excellent account of the principal sights, buildings, &c., of the various towns on the Continent, is found in “Murray,” and is accessible to every tourist. Apparently, our traveller had left his ordinary identity at home, and gone to the Continent, simply a “seeing machine.” Of such there are plenty, at home and abroad. However, the book may be useful to any who have not exactly made up their mind what route to take during their holiday on the Continent.

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**TEN PASSAGES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT RELIEVED FROM DIFFICULTIES ON A NEW PRINCIPLE OF INTERPRETATION.** London: J. R. Smith. 1856.

THE “new principle” illustrated and pleaded for in this pamphlet is briefly this, that the books of the New Testament were written in Hebrew, and that, perhaps, the translation into Greek was not always successfully and accurately performed. The two passages, out of the ten that are brought forward, which are most to the purpose, are those from St. Matthew’s gospel; but it will be remembered that it is no new idea that the original of this gospel was in Hebrew—antiquity is unanimous in affirming it. Some of the other passages seem to us injured rather than amended by the application of the “new principle.” The anonymous author writes modestly and simply, but we do not think he will gain many converts.

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**FAMILY PRAYERS ADAPTED TO PORTIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.** By William Burt Whitmarsh. London. 1856.

MR. WHITMARSH has already published a collection of Family Prayers founded on lessons selected from the Old Testament, and extending over the first thirty-two weeks of the year; in this volume, which is arranged to harmonize with a series of readings from the New Testament, he has completed his work. By embodying in the prayer the substance of Scott’s Commentary on the Scripture lesson, Mr. Whitmarsh secures a kind of unity in the household service, and at the same time escapes the monotony of thought and subject which generally pervades manuals of this sort. As the book is based on Scott, it is unnecessary for us to say that its spirit is thoroughly evangelical.

The author's literary qualifications, however, are scarcely equal to his task. His introduction of passages from the Scriptures is often very clumsy, and the style generally has very little freedom or life. His pages are loaded with the phrases that disfigured and encumbered the writings of the evangelical school at the close of the last century, but which we thought had almost disappeared. A good book of Family Prayers has yet to be written. Why should not the servants and the children take audible part in the service? If a simple, devout, and thoroughly evangelical "Liturgy for the Household" were drawn up by some man equal to the work, it would be welcomed, we are sure, by thousands of Christian families as an inestimable acquisition.

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**THE PLEASURES OF HOME.** A Poem, in Two Parts. By the Rev. John Anderson, Minister of Kinnoull. London: Hall & Virtue.

AN agreeably written little volume in the manner of "The Pleasures of Hope" and "The Pleasures of Memory," but without the originality requisite to secure it a place with those poems. The verse, however, is smooth, and the sentiments excellent; and the book will afford its readers an hour's pleasant recreation.

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## Quarterly Review of German Literature.

**TAKING** the literature of a nation—both in its quantity and in its quality—as our index of its actual state and future prospects, the Germans are truly a great people. What indefatigable industry, what stores of learning in every department, and what depth of investigation meet us at every turn, even when only attempting to survey or classify the productions of a single year! Nor are these chiefly, or even largely, the barren speculations or unimportant disquisitions which self-sufficient ignorance would represent them, but studies and labours with which *we* as well *they* are concerned. Let us not be misunderstood. It does indeed appear to us that new ideas and new directions do not generally *originate* in Germany; but they find there a congenial soil, in which they take root, and rapidly spring up from mere germs into stately trees. Both what is good and what is evil, what is transitory and what is eternal, in the development of Germany has, we believe, very often come to it from this country. As the patriots of Germany look wistfully to our political institutions as the models for theirs, so most of the great moral impulses, for good and for evil, have come to Germany from our own island. Protestantism and Rationalism, and latterly, Evangelism and Churchism, in Germany, have received their first impulse from Britain.

It has become too much the practice among us, either indiscriminately to decry, or indiscriminately to laud what is German, simply because it is such. Those who cannot, or who will not think and



read, have always recourse to some general statement, on which to fall back as on a bulwark for their ignorance and apathy. Not to be guilty of one or other of these errors, we require to dismiss all prejudice, and to study not only the literature of Germany, but also its people and their history. We shall understand Rationalism all the better, when we recognise in it the real as well as the legitimate successor of the old Lutheran rigour of orthodoxy, which deemed the Calvinist, if possible, worse than the Roman Catholic, and placed the matter of religion in rigid adherence to Lutheran formularies. The spirit of life which had fled from Formalism and Rationalism, reappeared in the "Pietists" of that age. When the truth, as defended by them, once more gained supremacy, or at least broke the power of Rationalism, the same circle was again described, although now in somewhat enlarged and altered proportions. Old Lutheran pretensions and views have reappeared, although, at present, not unconnected with spiritual life, and seek to regain their lost ascendancy. The victory seems to be inclining towards that party—let us hope only temporarily; and, perhaps, from the fact, that old Lutheranism has at least a definite principle and object, and a compact phalanx of defenders.

In truth, mentally, morally, and socially, Germany is at present in a stage of transition, and its literature and tendencies simply reflect this. Hence, probably, the renewed and, perhaps, disproportionate ardour in the study of history,—hence, also, those hopes and strivings which both literature and life exhibit. Bitterly disappointed and deceived in their hopes, after the termination of what is known as "the war of liberation," the people have learned that they had spent their blood and their treasure for those who *could* have *no* sympathy with them, because they were only selfish. Your right-divine monarch, in the full sense, and with all the consequences of that notion, is one whose supreme principle is that of pure selfishness, to whom men and matters are only so many means to that one great end—the elevation of self. Such were our Charles II. and James II.,—such were the despots of Europe, who crept from their hiding-places when the Great Lion had sunk from exhaustion. The history of the reaction, which followed their restoration, is traced with painful accuracy, in G. G. Gervinus's "History of the Nineteenth Century since the Congress of Vienna;"<sup>1</sup> of which part of the second volume has lately appeared. This section describes the reactions, which from 1815–1820, took place in Italy, Spain, and France. It is, indeed, curious to notice how little these rulers had learned by their misfortunes, and how closely and suddenly they endeavoured to reproduce the olden times, i. e., the old abuses and ignorance, carrying their imitation to the most minute and antiquated forms. The revolutions of 1848 were the legitimate consequence of these reactions; for as Bunsen rightly remarks in the preface to his new work: "Selfishness, in the form of anarchy, prepares the way

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<sup>1</sup> Geschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts seit den Wiener Verträgen. Von G. G. Gervinus. Leipzig: W. Engelmann. 1856.

for absolutism; selfishness, in the form of dynastic rule, and independent of, or beyond the control of ordinary law, prepares the way for anarchy." That the Germans are not ignorant of this,—that they have come not only to disbelieve those who had formerly deceived them, but what is better, also to discard visionary schemes, and to set themselves towards the attainment of rational constitutional liberty, may be gathered from the new edition of the "Political Dictionary," by Karl Welcker, of which the first part lies before us.<sup>2</sup> The intrinsic value of this work is great. It is both able and comprehensive, being meant as an encyclopædia in which all political questions shall be discussed in the light of jurisprudence. The editor's fame, both for literary ability and political integrity, is deservedly high. While we are prepared to listen to indignant protestations, from one who has himself suffered in the cause of his country, it is pleasant to find that he disclaims Utopian schemes and republicanism, in favour of moderate constitutionalism. The best articles in the part before us are, besides the general introduction, those on *Superstition, Taxes, Indulgences, Absolutism*, and *Absolutism*. In the article "*Abfall*," Burke, Brougham, Canning, and Guizot, are ranked together as having renounced their political principles!

The church in Germany had, unfortunately, too long and too closely identified herself with the principles of Continental Conservatism, not to excite prejudices, not merely in the minds of those who loved novelty for its own sake, but even in those who felt that conservatism was desirable only so far as it conserved what was good. But the events of 1848 revealed the fearful amount of godlessness among the masses, and their alienation from the church and her teaching. By the blessing of God, this led the church to awake from her torpor. A life of healthy activity sprung up, and soon many returned to the fold. But in those who judged of these things merely by outward appearances, it also brought about a more stringent adherence to the traditional, as such. With them, the term "churchly," has taken its place by the side, and sometimes in room of "biblical," and doctrinalism that of individual life. To explain the Word in a churchly sense, to return to the confessions of the church as a merely traditional element, to bring one's religious consciousness (to use a German mode of expression) into harmony with that of the church—are at present the current phrases with that party. All this implies little more than mere ecclesiastical conservatism and traditionalism. It does not necessarily indicate a submission to the Word of God as the great rule, nor an acknowledgment of the doctrines of the church, because based on that authority; but rather a falling back upon mere authority and traditionalism. Of course, we refer here to the tendency, and not to individuals. This extreme has evoked another,

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<sup>2</sup> Das Staats; Lexicon-Encyclopædie d. sämtlichen Staatswissenschaften für alle Stände. In Verbindung mit vielen d. angesehensten Publicisten Deutschlands herausgegeben. Von K. v. Rotteck u. Karl Welcker. 3<sup>te</sup> Aufl. 1<sup>tes</sup> Heft. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1856.

in the rejection of all that is past, only because it is past—unmindful that it may contain an element which cannot be past, because it is Divine and eternal—and in the subordination of the Bible itself to the changing consciousness of the people. Manifestly, both tendencies are defective and erroneous. The one surrenders all to tradition, the other to the spirit of the times. Truth seems to lie only in the principle of the *autocracy* of the Word of God. On the great realities of the Christian faith, or rather on the teaching of the Bible concerning them, hangs no doubt or uncertainty. In essentials unity, in secondary matters mutual forbearance, in all things charity—such must be the formula of the church. Meantime, the contest between the extreme posts of the two parties—the churchly and the liberal—not only continues, but becomes more intense. As frequently happens under such circumstances, both parties go into dangerous extremes. We are, however, bound to add that the greater danger—in fact, a danger of making shipwreck of the faith itself—lies with the liberal party. The old Lutheran verges towards Romanism; the ultra-liberal, towards Pantheism. Latterly, the contest has become personal between the extreme representatives of these parties, Dr. Stahl, in Berlin, and the Chevalier Bunsen. If his former work on the “Signs of the Times” gave rise to much controversy, we can readily understand that his new book, “God in History,”<sup>3</sup> of which the first volume has lately appeared, will call forth even more loud, and, in many respects, we fear, well-grounded protestations. We shall not be understood as depreciating the scientific value, or denying the unquestioned ability of the works of Chevalier Bunsen, and the great amount of truth contained in them, when we express our conviction, that his religious statements are equally untenable and unsafe. Here we cannot do better than introduce to our readers the critique of the celebrated Dr. Krummacher, on the controversy connected with the “Signs of the Times.” The three addresses which he delivered in Potsdam, have appeared in the form of a pamphlet,<sup>4</sup> and give a most lucid and satisfactory exposition of the controversy between Drs. Stahl and Bunsen. Dr. Krummacher himself professes to hold a middle course between the two antagonists, inclining, however, towards Dr. Stahl, whose statements he occasionally attempts to modify and to defend. For our part, we would choose a middle position between Krummacher and Bunsen, generally agreeing with the former, but occasionally, also with the latter. The questions at issue may be summed up under three points. The first concerns the Roman Catholic church. Here Stahl is decidedly in the wrong when he speaks of that community as “representing the unbroken historical development since apostolical times, as containing precious seed, and as having a high mission for

<sup>3</sup> Gott in der Geschichte oder d. Fortschritt des Glaubens an eine sittliche Weltordnung. Von Chr. Carl Jos. Bunsen. In 6 Büchern, 1ster Theil. Leipzig: A. F. Brockhaus. 1857.

<sup>4</sup> Bunsen und Stahl. Zur Verständigung über d. neuesten Kirchenstreit. Drei Vorträge gehalten vor d. Versammlung d. Evangel. Vereins in Potsdam von Dr. Fr. W. Krummacher. Berlin: Wiegandt u. Grieben. 1856.

the future." Indeed, Stahl seems sometimes even to go further than the Lutherans of old. The latter condemned the Reformed Church, as a *heretical sect*; denounced marriages between members of the two confessions as *mixed*, or even *mésalliances*; excluded all non-Lutherans from the communion-table, and exalted the ministerial into something like priestly functions. In the same spirit, Stahl would tolerate only the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Roman Catholic Church, while he denounces the Independents and the Baptists; indeed, if we mistake not, all non-established churches as worse than the Roman Catholics. He, and even Krummacher, who modifies his statements, would have every church to submit its confession of faith to state-inspection before it could claim toleration. Besides, they would even then only allow freedom of conscience under condition that dissenters were not to be too aggressive on the Established Church. We also do not approve of that equivocal kind of zeal which seeks converts to a party rather than to Christ; but we must equally disavow all such narrow and unchristian jealousies as those of Stahl, and even of Krummacher. In this respect, we quite agree with Bunsen. The next question at issue is one of very great importance. It bears on supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters. Stahl would subject the church to the combined authority of the Bible, of the Augsburg Confession, and of the existing established ecclesiastical government, as vested in the various ecclesiastical functionaries, in the *Ober Rath* (Supreme Consistorial Council), and in the king as supreme bishop. Manifestly, a very unsatisfactory and defective arrangement this, from which Krummacher dissents, at least so far as to declare the question of church-organization to be very secondary, and only a matter of expediency. On the other hand, Bunsen goes to an opposite, and a more dangerous extreme. His declaration of the sole authority of the Bible is grievously qualified by the addition that its statements are to be understood *as explained by the consciousness of the people*. In short, not the Bible is truth, but what the consciousness of the people finds in it. Thus, the standard becomes subjective and shifting, instead of being objective and eternal. All this is unmistakeably asserted. "Nothing is Christian truth but what passes as such at any time in the consciousness of the Christian people, or of congregations." The only doctrine which, according to Bunsen, is settled and immovable, is that of Justification by Faith. But even this admission is vitiated, not merely by the above principle, but by the author's definition of justification as *sittliche Selbstverantwortlichkeit* (moral self-responsibility?), and of faith as *sittliche Ueberzeugungstreue* (consistency of moral conviction?). It seems, therefore, as if the expression, "justified by faith," meant no more than that we are morally acquitted at the bar of our own consciences, and of the Great Judge, by consistently carrying out, or by being faithful to, our convictions in our inner and outer life. In agreement with these views, the *object* of faith is declared to be of no importance, while all stress is laid on the mere *fact* of faith, the *gläubige, willige Gesinnung* (believing, willing disposition). All creeds—with them, the Nicene, the Athanasian, and even

the Apostolic—are absolutely rejected; Channing is declared highly enlightened; Goethe is called a “confessor,” or even “a prophet and seer;” while the indifferentism of a Lessing, who, in his celebrated fable, likened the three religions (Christianity, Judaism, and Moham-medanism) to three rings, becomes a mirror of truth! According to Bunsen, the Bible contains not pure truth, but truth “enveloped in national Shemitic,” i. e., in Oriental or Jewish views, which must be translated into “Japhetic,” or German forms. Reason has to subject revelation to a purging process. In other words, historical revelation is subjected to what is called the continuous revelation in the mind of man. It seems to us, that such a system, while retaining the current phraseology of Christianity, rejects its essence, and substitutes for it the crudities of a Pantheistic Idealism. The third point in controversy between Bunsen and Stahl concerns the question of the union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, as at present in many parts of Germany. Of this union, we have not the same sanguine hopes as Krummacher. It could only continue, at least for any length of time, if the spiritual and moral life always kept pace with the mental, and if that interminable and inexorable logic of theologians, and with it the *odium theologicum*, submitted more to the control of the broad statements of Scripture.

Without entering into a detailed criticism of the new work of Bunsen, “God in History,” we confess that, coming from such a man, it has painfully affected us. It were well if, instead of multiplying books, the Chevalier renounced writing for a time. The volume denounces the theology of the past, but in room thereof, only offers us a Pantheistic Mysticism, which retains the phraseology of Christianity, but uniformly substitutes ideas and mere abstractions for spiritual facts. The historical mould of the Bible, in which we had hitherto sought for the great facts commonly believed by all churches, is now to contain no more than vague spiritualistic ideas of consciousness of God, of Divine government, of the victory of good over evil, and of reconciliation with God through self-renunciation. Perhaps the climax of this twaddle is the view that the 53rd chapter of Isaiah refers primarily—indeed, exclusively—to the sufferings of Jeremiah; for “the true victory over the world consists in the surrender of the teacher, who consciously gives himself a sacrifice for the deliverance of his people and of mankind from sin!” With such shadowy, ungrounded, and false notions, it were impossible to gather any definite teaching from the Bible. The critical method of our author also, is sometimes most extravagant, as when, for example, he ascribes the latter part of Isaiah to Baruch. In general, it may be compared to the allegorical method of the ancients, as the text of Scripture becomes a mere allegory of certain truths, while the author’s peculiar spiritualistic notions are with considerable ingenuity put in the room of the spiritual facts which form the hope of the Christian and the foundation of the church. The Chevalier’s volume consists of two books, of which the first gives a general introduction, and lays down certain fundamental principles, while the second dilates on the “Hebrew Consciousness of God.” We cannot adopt the views of



either one or the other of these books. We neither regard the German school, as latterly represented by Lessing, Kant, Schelling, and Hegel, in the light in which Bunsen does, nor do we share theological views which sometimes appear to differ but little from avowed Pantheism. Few Christians in this country will account for prophetic inspiration by an "introspection," or a sort of clairvoyance. We allow, indeed, that passages in this volume are equally striking and deep; as, for example, the closing section of Book I., "The Bible, Life, and History—an address to the inquiring reader;" and that some interpretations are ingenious and apt, as allegories often are; but as advocates of Christian truth we must protest against a system which does not acknowledge a historical Christ in the sense of a Mediator between God and man, and a Saviour of sinners, for its foundation.

We have above referred to the criticisms of Krummacher. But Bunsen is not always met merely by arguments. One of the leading pamphleteers of the Roman Catholic party,<sup>5</sup> who combines a defence of the Austrian Concordat with an attack on Bunsen, among other arguments actually proposes to combat him *vi et armis*, or, dropping the figure, expresses a desire to deal with Bunsen as Senator Brooks did with Sumner. Such seems to be the *dernier ressort* of a writer of whom it would be difficult to say whether priestly arrogance and presumption or ignorance are the most prominent characteristics.

Despite such controversies, Christian life in Germany is manifestly deepening. Earnest voices are heard on all sides, and earnest men to whom the life of godliness is a reality, rise among all parties. Some of them lay emphasis only on the great realities of our faith; others, while strongly insisting on them, think that a return to "churchliness" is requisite for the completion of the work. Among the productions of the latter we reckon the tractate of Professor Vilmar,<sup>6</sup> of which a second edition has appeared. Though a High Lutheran in all distinctive features, an enemy to the Union, and a somewhat violent opponent of Bunsen, he is well entitled to serious attention. Recalling the olden times, happily past, when a professor could preface his lectures on dogmatics by telling the students that all this was *in futuram oblivionem*, Dr. Vilmar thinks that the reform, although great, has not yet been sufficiently thorough. He complains that the idea of pastoral theology is too often lost in dialectic wrangling; that, instead of exegetics in the proper sense, the students hear only lectures on the introductory branches, or else philological disquisitions, somewhat akin to those of old in the eclectic schools of Alexandria. In the eagerness of everyone to teach something new, the great realities of our faith are too frequently pushed into the background. Accordingly, he proposes to return, in the universities, to pure Bible-teaching, and to cultivate practical religion among the students. A still more gratifying manifestation of religious earnestness and spiritual life in Germany

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<sup>5</sup> Das Oesterreichische Concordat u. der Ritter Bunsen. Von einem Diplomaten ausser Dienst. Regensburg: G. S. Manz. 1856.

<sup>6</sup> Die Theologie der Thatsachen wider d. Theologie der Rhetorik. Von A. F. C. Vilmar, Dr. u. Prof. d. Theol. zu Marburg. 2<sup>te</sup> Aufl. Marburg. 1856.



is exhibited in the report of the *Kirchentag*, which met last September in Lübeck,<sup>7</sup> under the presidency of Drs. Bethmann-Hollweg, Stahl, and Lindenberg. After an excellent sermon by Dr. Lindenberg, Dr. Hollweg opened the meeting with a report of what had been done during the year. The first two meetings were held under the auspices of the general committee; the last two under that of the committee for the "Inner Mission." The principal subjects discussed in the first two meetings were the exercise of discipline, the Christian ministry, and the best means of counteracting the inroads of Materialism. On the first subject, there appeared to be little *practical* agreement; the other two were treated in an exceedingly able and useful manner. The sittings held under the auspices of the "Inner Mission" were of a peculiarly interesting character. Probably, many of our readers are aware that the labours of that mission commenced in 1848, under the auspices of Dr. Wichern of Hamburg, and that it has the revival of Christianity among the Germans for its object. It is, indeed, a home mission, conceived on the broadest plan, and embraces in its operations—*care for the poor, measures for the suppression of gambling houses, care for German emigrants, sabbath observance, the reform of criminals*, both during and after the course of their term of punishment, *temperance* (not abstinence), *Christian young men's societies*, both among operatives and in universities, and *orphanages*. On all these subjects, either general or special conferences were held. The work of Jewish missions also engaged the *Kirchentag*. The addresses were, in general, most valuable. Among them we specially mention one by Dr. Wichern, *on the position and the work of women in the church*. Gladly would we see it translated and circulated by tens of thousands. We do not remember having perused anything more apt or suggestive on this important subject. When the reformation of criminals and schools engages so much public attention, we may perhaps be allowed to point to the success attending the labours of German Christians in these departments.

While on the subject of Christian life in Germany we shall, from among the mass of such publications, direct attention to two collections of sermons, and to a popular religious work. The sermons of Dr. Hoffmann,<sup>8</sup> the court-preacher of the king of Prussia, must attract notice as being the productions of a minister justly esteemed for piety and learning. The volume before us forms part of a serial publication, and embraces fourteen sermons on Old Testament history. Although perhaps not very pointed, and without much freshness of thought, these sermons are decidedly evangelical in their tone and well written. Perhaps they labour a little under a defect peculiar to many German works, especially sermons,—that of needless

<sup>7</sup> Die Verhandlungen des achten Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchentages zu Lübeck im September, 1856. Herausgegeben von Dr. Biernatzki. Berlin: W. Hertz. 1856.

<sup>8</sup> Stimmen d. Hüter im Alten Bunde. Predigten u. Betracht. über d. Weissagung. u. d. Vorbilder d. A. Testaments, von W. Hoffmann, Dr. d. Theol., Königl. Hof u. Dom-Prediger. Berlin: Wiegand. 1856.

verbosity and circumlocution, or, as the Germans expressively call it, *Wortschwall*. To this stylistic defect the unpopularity of so many translations may, probably, be traced. We have, indeed, almost come to the conclusion that, partly owing to this cause, and partly to the peculiarity of German modes of expression, all translations should partake of the character of *Bearbeitungen* (recasting), i. e., retain the substance, but recast the form.

A much more pretentious but much less valuable book of sermons<sup>9</sup> comes from the other side of the Alps, where, for any good it is likely to do, it might safely have remained. Affecting a more than commonly elevated religious stand-point, the author addresses admonitions which it is difficult to understand. His higher spirituality seems to consist in scorning such doctrines as that of the sacrifice of Christ, and generally discarding the letter of Scripture. To have read one of these sermons is to possess the substance of all. The author rebukes the low views of Evangelicals, but seems himself ignorant of the things on which he descants. The "Evangelical Almanac" for 1857<sup>10</sup> deserves notice, if it were only to call attention to this publication, and, if possible, to get something of the same kind introduced among ourselves. It is the eighth of the series; and besides the usual information, contains most interesting sketches and essays by such writers as Hoffmann, Krummacher, Lange, Schmidt, and Hagenbach. The historical sketches are fifteen in number, of which three are from the Old, two from the New Testament, two from apostolic times, three from the ancient church, three from the Middle Ages, one from the Reformation, and two from later times. Of the four essays on "The Birthday of the World," on "Cold Weather in the Month of May," on "The Birth, Death, and Resurrection of the Lord according to the Oldest Monuments," and on "The Christian-Art Museum in the University of Berlin," the last is by far the most interesting. Berlin has lately been enriched with a museum designed to exhibit the works of ecclesiastical art from the earliest times to the sixteenth century. The internal arrangement of this museum is described in the essay to which we refer. It exhibits plans and views of ancient churches, such as of St. Sophia in Constantinople, of St. Mark in Venice, &c.; casts of ancient baptistries and sacramental tables, together with monuments of heathen antiquity, copies of inscriptions, and representations and casts of gravestones or of sarcophagi,—all arranged in historical order. The utility of such a museum, and the interest attaching to it, are manifest. The "Evangelical Almanac" is also enriched with four beautiful plates of objects of ancient Christian art.

Passing from popular to scientific theology we are at no loss for topics of interest. As we have already hinted, the contributions to *ecclesiastical history* are most abundant. On general history, we have, besides a cheaper reprint of Neander's "History," with a

<sup>9</sup> Vom Fleische zum Geiste. Sendpredigten für die Evangelischen. Geschrieben von jenseits der Alpen. Zürich: Orell u. Füssli. 1856.

<sup>10</sup> Evangelischer Kalender; Jahrbuch für 1857; mit Beiträgen von vielen Gelehrten. Herausgegeben von F. Piper, Dr. u. Prof. der Theol. 3<sup>ter</sup> Jahrgang. Berlin: Wiegandt u. Grieben.

preface by Ullmann, a second edition of Dr. Schmid's excellent "Manual of Church History."<sup>11</sup> Within somewhere about 460 pages, the Erlangen Professor compresses all the facts of ecclesiastical history from apostolic to our own times, and enriches the volume with about fifty pages on the literature of the subject. The book is well printed, remarkably cheap, and seems well adapted to become a *Leit-faden* (guiding thread, manual) for students and professors. We confess, however, that although alive to the importance of conciseness in a hand-book, we could have wished that it had been a little more detailed and circumstantial. An addition of probably about a hundred pages would have made it an invaluable text-book for students of theology. At any rate, it is much more suitable for that purpose than either Mosheim or Milner. We would, therefore, recommend it for translation. Descending the stream of time, we have a number of works connected with the Reformation. A peculiar interest attaches to the lampoons published at the time of that great event, and which have recently been collected and edited by Mr. Schade.<sup>12</sup> They afford an excellent insight into the state of popular feeling, and exhibit the condition of church and state. In fact, they are just so many rough sketches from life,—true to nature, although sometimes sharply, if not coarsely drawn. They must, of course, not be judged according to our modern ideas, but be viewed as honest old German outbursts of just indignation against intolerable abuses in church and state. Sometimes, however—as too many productions of that period—they border on the blasphemous. They are often couched in the form of travesties of portions of Scripture, of prayers, &c.; more frequently still in that of conversations between burghers, or burghers and priests, pope and cardinals; sometimes in that of letters to and from a place which shall be nameless. As might be expected, the Emperor Charles and all Luther's opponents fare ill in these pasquilles, while the great reformer and very often Carlstadt are brought forward as the popular heroes. We know what powerful influences such lampoons have at all times—but especially at that period—exercised on the masses; and after perusing these clever, witty, and truthful utterances of popular grievances, we cannot wonder at such a result. A study of this branch of literature may be considered necessary for the historian of these times. Another most important work for the study of that period has just been completed. It is now twenty-seven years since the late Dr. De Wette began his reprint of the letters, &c., of Luther. The sixth and last volume of this great undertaking has lately appeared, under the editorial care of Mr. Seidemann.<sup>13</sup> However earnest and diligent the

<sup>11</sup> Lehrbuch der Kirchen Geschichte von Dr. H. Schmid, Prof. zu Erlangen. 2<sup>te</sup> Auflage. Nördlingen. 1856.

<sup>12</sup> Satiren und Pasquille aus d. Reformationzeit. Herausgegeben von Oscar Schade. Hannover: C. Rümpler. 1856.

<sup>13</sup> Dr. Martin Luther's Briefe, Sendschreiben u. Bedenken, vollständig von Dr. W. M. L. de Wette, Prof. d. Theol. zu Basel. 6<sup>ter</sup> Theil; die in d. s. Theilen fehlenden Briefe u. Bedenken Luther's, nebst 2 Registern von Lic. Theol., J. R. Seidemann. Berlin: Reimer. 1856.

editors have been, the work can scarcely be said to be quite complete. Both in point of arrangement and of historical distinctness, it might be considerably improved, if, as we scarcely dare to hope, a second edition were to be called for; however, even in its present shape, it contains most important materials for a history of the great reformer, which shall be more copious and thorough than any hitherto written. There is also much that is curious, as well as interesting and important, in this collection, while its price is so very moderate as to place these important documents within reach of students generally. Mr. Seidenmann deserves praise for his endeavour to remedy, in this supplementary volume, the defects of the former five. Two other works on subjects connected with the Reformation require only a passing notice. Dr. Schenkel's "*Reformers and the Reformation*"<sup>14</sup> is a work giving, besides a brief introduction on the need of the Reformation, excellent biographies of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Melancthon. The whole is followed by practical suggestions on the present state and mission of the Protestant church. The book is written in an excellent spirit, and combines the two requisites of thoroughness and popularity. On the other hand, Merlecker's "*History and Policy of the Popes*"<sup>15</sup> is a bare, dry outline of most prominent facts compressed into a small volume, — rather a chronology than anything else. However, it has the merit of indicating the sources whence further details may in each case be gathered. Professor Hagenbach's excellent lectures on the "*Character and History of the Reformation*,"<sup>16</sup> have appeared in a new edition. The sterling merit of these volumes is well known to students. The great biographical "*Church History*" of Böhringer has advanced another stage with a monograph on "*Wickliffe*," which forms Section 1, in the fourth division of Vol. II., — the latter intended to embrace, in four divisions, the history of the Middle Ages. Most cheerfully do we acknowledge the merits of this publication. Its defects are, that the style is occasionally a little too diffuse, and that continual references in the shape of foot-notes are wanting. The present volume is a complete history of Wickliffe, whom the author regards as *the* great precursor of the Reformers, and as, historically speaking, a much more important personage than even Huss, on whose memory Neander has so affectionately dwelt. Mr. Böhringer acknowledges his obligations to the English monographs of Lewis and Vaughan. While giving the latter author full credit for his investigations, Mr. Böhringer objects that he has not sufficiently discussed the theological writings of Wickliffe, and that his book

<sup>14</sup> Die Reformatoren u. die Reformation im Zusammenhange mit den der Evangelischen Kirche durch d. Reformation gestellten Aufgaben, geschichtlich beleuchtet von Dr. D. Schenkel. Weisbaden: Kreidel u. Niedner. 1856.

<sup>15</sup> Geschichte der Politik der Päbste von Dr. R. F. Merlecker, Prof. zu Königsberg. Hamburg: Hoffman u. Campe. 1846.

<sup>16</sup> Die Kirchen Geschichte des 18<sup>ten</sup> und 19<sup>ten</sup> Jahrhunderts. (Forming also Vols. V. and VI. of the "*Vorlesungen über Wesen und Geschichte d. Reformation.*") Von Dr. K. R. Hagenbach.

<sup>17</sup> Die Vorreformatoren des 14<sup>ten</sup> und 15<sup>ten</sup> Jahrhunderts. 1<sup>te</sup> Hälfte: Johannes von Wykliffe. Von Fr. Böhringer. Zurich: Meyer und Zeller. 1856.

is written too much in the popular and "anti-papistic" strain. The volume under review fully sustains the reputation of the author, and deserves the attention of British scholars. Among other historical monographs, the most interesting is that of Carlstadt, by E. F. Jäger, of Tübingen.<sup>18</sup> Students of history will be deeply grateful for this contribution, which, to our minds at least, places Carlstadt in a new light, and rescues his memory from much undeserved obloquy. No doubt, he was rash and vain, and his often ill-judged attempts might have involved the Protestant party in many difficulties. But, though occasionally misled into extreme notions, he was neither the fanatic nor the political plotter whom some have discovered, or rather invented. Indeed, on some points, such as on the canon of Scripture, on Sabbath observance, &c., his views seem to have been more clear and correct than those of Luther himself. It is well known, that although the latter wholly disavowed Carlstadt's innovations at Wittenberg, the form of public worship in the Lutheran church ultimately remained as Carlstadt had introduced it. This history has now for the first time been adequately written by Mr. Jäger, chiefly from original sources. His character, his merits and demerits, can only properly understood when viewed in connexion with the peculiar tendencies and difficulties of his time and circumstances. Besides the monograph on Carlstadt, we have two other small but interesting volumes of the same kind, the one on Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscans,<sup>19</sup> and the other on Sailer, the good Bishop of Regensburg.<sup>20</sup> The former is by Professor Hase, of Jena, and ably written. The spiritual history of Francis has much in common with that of Loyola. We find in our saint the same earnestness and ardour, and the same religious ambition, as in the founder of the order of Jesuits. Like the latter, the Franciscans were bound to yield implicit obedience, even "as a dead body." The influence of the preaching of Francis was very extensive and beneficial. Luther speaks of him as a good man,—an opinion in which, despite his fanaticism and aberrations, all unprejudiced readers of this monograph must concur. Francis was the first to carry the missions of mendicant friars to the heathen, by making an attempt to convert the Sultan by a personal interview. A very different picture from that of the fiery, fanatical Francis, is that of the good Bishop of Regensburg. Sailer was one of the evangelical party which appeared in the Roman Catholic church of Germany at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century, and with whose most distinguished representative, Martin Boos, most of our readers are no doubt acquainted. Born of very poor but pious parents, young Sailer had to make his way through many difficulties before he became a novice in the Jesuit College, in 1770. When, in 1773,

<sup>18</sup> Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformationszeit. Aus Originalquellen gegeben von E. F. Jäger, Repetenten am Evang. Theol. Seminar zu Tübingen. Stuttgart: Rudolf Besser. 1856.

<sup>19</sup> Franz von Assisi: Ein Heiligenbild. Von Dr. K. Hase, Prof. zu Jena. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel. 1856.

<sup>20</sup> Johann Michael von Sailer, weiland Bischof zu Regensburg. Dargestellt von Fr. W. Bodemann, Pastor. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1856.

that order dispersed, the young student went to Ingolstadt, where he soon became a professor, and even at that early period, exercised a very great and beneficial influence over the students. These labours were interrupted, for three years; after which, we find him as professor at Dillingen. The general esteem in which he was held sufficiently appears from the respect with which such Protestants as Perthes and Lavater speak of him. This was a period in the Roman church when she seemed about to acquire an influence for good which she had lost for centuries. But the ultramontane party could not tolerate anything resembling Evangelical Christianity. Accordingly, Sailer was summarily dismissed from his office. It was after that, and through intercourse with Boos and some of his converts, that the pride and Phariseism of his natural heart gave place to the humility of faith and Gospel joy. Although Sailer escaped the persecutions which befel many of his friends, by offering, like Fénelon, to submit his teaching implicitly to the see of Rome, the Papal authorities interdicted him from the occupancy of the see of Augsburg. Ultimately, however, he became Bishop of Regensburg, where he died at a very advanced age. Among books connected more or less directly with ecclesiastical history, we should perhaps also include Professor Mövers's great work on "Phœnician Antiquities,"<sup>1</sup> of which the first section of a new volume has just appeared. It treats of the commerce and shipping of the Phœnicians, in all its branches and aspects, — with Palestine, Assyria, Arabia, and Egypt. The work is a perfect store-house of learning, and gives information as new as it is interesting and important. It is scarcely necessary to say that it throws considerable light on Biblical subjects. To our mind, it affords striking confirmation of the antiquity of the Old Testament writings.

In *exegetics*, the past year has not afforded so many contributions as might have been expected. In fact, German theologians seem at present to devote their attention to ecclesiastical history rather than to exegetics. The question of the canon may, in many respects, be held as closed on the Continent. Unfortunately, the impulse of a former movement is only making itself properly felt among us when it has almost passed away in Germany. There, controversy is at present more connected with ecclesiastical questions; hence, perhaps, the number of works on church history. In all probability, these controversies may shortly be followed up by others on dogmatics. However, we have this year also some exegetical works claiming attention. Neumann's "Commentary on Jeremiah," of which a first volume has appeared,<sup>2</sup> is a fair specimen of the excellences and the defects of such productions in Germany. Its exegesis and criticism are thorough and exhaustive, while the treatment is orthodox in tone and spirit. But, on the other hand, the

<sup>1</sup> Das Phœnische Alterthum. In drei Theilen. Von Dr. F. C. Mövers, Prof. zu Breslau. 3<sup>tes</sup> Theil, 1<sup>ste</sup> Abth. Handel und Schifffahrt. Berlin: Dümmler. 1856.

<sup>2</sup> Jeremias von Amathoth. Die Weissagungen und Klagelieder des Propheten, nach d. masoretischen Texte, ausgelegt von Wilh. Neumann. 1<sup>ster</sup> Band. Weissagungen, Kap. I.—XVII. Leipzig: Dörfling und Francke. 1856.



author appears to sympathize too much with the High Lutheran party, and, as is too common in Germany, writes too manifestly from his peculiar *Stand-punkt* (stand-point). This colouring, according to a man's *Stand-punkt*, is, indeed, one of the great blemishes in many German works; so that, in perusing a book, we almost require first to ascertain the *Stand-punkt* of the writer, and then to make certain allowances for it. Another defect in such writings is their verbosity, and the needless amassing of authorities. Of what use or interest to the reader can it possibly be to refute an author who is not allowed to speak for himself fully and fairly, or to encumber pages with the mention of mere names? But, with all these defects, the present is an excellent commentary, in the preparation of which the author has read much and to the purpose, including—also British Literature, as his references to Layard and Dr. Chalmers prove. The "Daily Readings" of the latter are (at p. 284) mentioned as *the* model of a practical commentary on the Bible. Dr. Von Essen, a Roman Catholic divine, has furnished a short tractate on "Ecclesiastes"<sup>23</sup> encumbered with the polemics of Romanism, but not without its points of interest. The book professes to grapple with some difficulties connected with Ecclesiastes. We wish the author had confined himself to this task, and let controversy alone. However, the weaker a cause, the more eager are people generally to raise a controversy about it. The author, of course, submits all he says to the judgment of the church. In Dr. Essen's opinion, all unbelief and doubt may be traced to the Protestant principle of rejecting tradition, and of clinging to the Bible only,—a view for which he only favours us with assertion, not with proof. Aside from absurdities, such as that Ecclesiastes speaks of purgatory, &c., there are some valuable remarks in this tractate. The well-known New Testament Commentary of the late Dr. Olshausen has advanced another step towards completion, by a volume on the First Epistle of Peter, from the pen of Mr. Wiesinger.<sup>24</sup> It is very satisfactory to find that a work, so justly prized in this country as well as on the Continent, enjoys the advantage of such excellent editorship as that of Dr. Ebrard and Mr. Wiesinger. Although the loss of Dr. Olshausen cannot be compensated to the readers of his Commentary, the editors have done all they could. They have made excellent use of the notes left by Dr. Olshausen, and continued the work in the same spirit, and with the same learning and moderation. The volume before us quite sustains the character of its predecessors. Of Dr. Düsterdieck's Commentary on the Epistles of John,<sup>25</sup> we have now the closing parts. Although a little lengthy, the work is

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<sup>23</sup> Der Prediger Salomo's : Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung d. Alten Testaments, von L. v. Essen, Dr. der Theol., und Rector de Progymnasium's zu Jülich. Schaffhausen : Fr. Hurtersene. 1856.

<sup>24</sup> Biblischer Commentar über sämtliche Schriften d. Neuen Testaments. Von Dr. H. Olshausen. Fortgesetzt, von Dr. J. H. A. Ebrard, und Lic. A. Wiesinger. 6<sup>ter</sup> Band. Königsberg : W. Unser. 1856.

<sup>25</sup> Die drey Johanneischen Briefe. Mit einem vollständigen theologischen Commentare von Dr. F. Düsterdieck, Pastor zu Schwiecheldt. 2<sup>ter</sup> Bandes, 2<sup>te</sup> Liefer. Göttingen. 1856.

excellent, both in its design, tone, and execution. The section before us commences with the important passage, 1 John v. 6, and fully discusses this and other difficult or controverted points in the Epistles of John. Lastly, we have another volume of the "Exegetical Manual,"<sup>28</sup> on the Apocrypha, edited by Drs. Fritzsche and Grimm. The series on the Apocrypha exhibits the same characteristics as those on the Old and New Testaments (which it is intended to complete), with which most exegetical students in this country are familiar. There is the same philological lore, with the same rashness of critical and historical analysis, and the same odious arrogance and levity of tone. In short, like the other two, this series also is a genuine production of the ablest representatives of the Rationalistic school in Germany. The only real value attaching to these volumes is their philological acumen, although even in that respect, we would advise readers to take certain statements *cum grano salis*. To return to the volume under review, we are informed by the author, Dr. Grimm, that the motive of the writer of Maccabees was the theocratic elevation of the Jews (a term very common with that school), and a desire to induce the Egyptian Jews to share in celebrating the feast of the dedication of the temple. Those portions of the epistle are declared to be of historical value which supplement and confirm the accounts in 1 Maccabees, such as ch. iv.—vi. 10, which supplement the account in 1 Macc. i. 10—64. Sometimes, as in vi. 2; xiii. 3—8; xiv. 1, and ch. iv., the account in 2 Maccabees is to be preferred to that in 1 Macc. The book, in its present shape, is said to be an epitome of the original work by Jason, with many insertions and alterations by the compiler, not in the best taste. According to the common practice of that school, the author of 2 Maccabees is declared to be a *beschränkter Kopf* (narrow-minded and stupid), who has left out large portions of the original work, and otherwise been sufficiently *gauche*. The work is supposed to have appeared before the destruction of Jerusalem,—a conveniently indefinite statement. But even this is not so bad as the supposition that 3 Maccabees was written at the time of Caligula, as Ewald suggests, who, by-the-by, is never at a loss. The reader will be amused to learn that the story in 3 Maccabees about the infuriated elephants set loose on the Jews, must be fabulous, *because* Daniel, who wrote fifty years after Ptolemy Physcon, does not mention it! Surely this is reasoning with a vengeance! To us, this account seems to be a legend based on the event, recorded by Josephus, (Jos. c. Ap. ii. 5). The fourth book of Maccabees is described as a mixture of Judaism with Stoicism, for the purpose of defending the former. Whenever opportunity offers, Dr. Grimm attempts to throw contempt on the inspiration and the religious teaching of the Old Testament. Among important works connected with the sacred text, we must not omit the new edition of

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<sup>28</sup> Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments. Bearbeitet von Dr. O. F. Fritzsche (Prof. in Zürich), u. Dr. C. L. W. Grimm (Prof. in Jena). Vierte Liefer. Das 2<sup>te</sup>, 3<sup>te</sup>, u. 4<sup>te</sup> Buch d. Maccabäer. Erklärt von Dr. C. L. W. Grimm. Leipzig: Hirzel. 1856.

"Ulfilas,"<sup>27</sup> by Mr. Massmann. This work, which, for the first time, gives to the public a complete copy of all that is extant of the version of Ulfilas in the fourth century, should be in the hands of every student of the New Testament text. Among its other attractions, we may mention a copious and learned introduction, an historical sketch of the Goths, and a Gothic grammar and dictionary.

Among works on doctrinal theology, the first place is due to the sainted Neander's "History of Dogmas,"<sup>28</sup> of which a first volume has just appeared, under the editorship of Professor Jacobi, of Halle, who prefaces it with a loving introduction. Of the value of any work coming from such an author it would be presumptuous in us to speak. The volume is compiled from Neander's jottings, and from the note-books of some of his students; the whole being occasionally supplemented by Dr. Jacobi himself. Part of these lectures we had the privilege of hearing ourselves. We have always thought that Neander excelled even more in giving a broad picture of a whole period than in detailing single events. We cannot doubt that if he had lived to finish and revise this volume, it would have been among the most useful and interesting of his writings. But even in its present shape, this "History of Dogmas" will be hailed both by those who fondly cherish the memory of the father of modern church-history and who recall his teaching, and by every student of ecclesiastical history. Not only is the learning and the spirit of the volume that of Neander, but we have often almost felt as if we heard him delivering those general sketches with which the work is enriched. These are peculiarly Neandrian. The present volume extends over the two first periods of ecclesiastical history (to Constantine the Great, and again to Gregory the Great), and furnishes, besides a general introduction and the separate history of each dogma during these periods, sketches such as those to which we have already alluded. The editor has performed his part well. We fondly hope that some of our enterprising publishers will soon give this book to British readers.\* Mr. Messner's "Teaching of the Apostles,"<sup>29</sup> is the result of his studies and lectures while *privatim docens* at Göttingen. Although differing from the author in many and important points, we confess to a sincere admiration of his thorough interesting exposition of the doctrinal views, propounded in the Epistles of the New Testament. The stand-point of Mr. Messner seems to be

<sup>27</sup> Ulfilas. Die heil. Schriften alten u. neuen Bundes in Gothischer Sprache mit gegen über stehendem Griechischem u. Lateinischem Texte, Anmerkungen, Wörterbuche, Sprachlehre u. geschichtlicher Einleitung. Von H. F. Massmann. Stuttgart: Liesching. 1857.

<sup>28</sup> Dr. A. Neander's Christliche Dogmen-Geschichte. Herausgegeben von Dr. J. L. Jacobi, Prof. d. Theol. zu Halle. 1<sup>ter</sup> Theil. Berlin: Wiegandt u. Grieben. 1857.

<sup>29</sup> Die Lehre der Apostel. Dargestellt von Hermann Messner, Licent. der Theol. Leipzig. 1856.

\* Arrangements are making for publishing a translation of Dr. Neander's work by the Editor of this Journal, of which Dr. Jacobi, in a letter lately received, has expressed his hearty approval. The second volume, Dr. Jacobi states, will be published in about two months.—ED. E. R.

liberal-orthodox; and he is deeply indebted to Neander and Schmid, to whom he constantly refers his readers. The relation of apostolic teaching to that of the Lord, he compares to that of parts to the whole; and considers that in their mutual relation, these different parts were one in substance and principle, but variously developed according to the mental and spiritual idiosyncracies of the apostles. Accordingly our author recognises a peculiar *Lehrtropus* (cast of teaching), although not a peculiar *Lehrtypus* (type of teaching) in the various apostolic writers. On many grounds, this view seems to us defective. Without entering on theological argument, we may be allowed to call notice to the fact, that it does not recognise what we deem the prime element of these differences—the peculiar wants of the churches to whom the apostolic letters were in the first place addressed. Nor does this theory sufficiently meet the difficulty that each letter must, to a certain extent, have been perfect in itself, as besides a copy or copies of the gospels and certain apostolic traditions, such epistle must, in many cases, have been the sole directory for churches. Lastly, if there are different *Lehrtropen* in the New Testament, why have we not Pauline, Petrine, Jacobine, and Johnite sects, according as churches take either one or the other of these *tropes* as the standard for their development? It seems to us, that any such alleged apostolic differences should be traced back to their ultimate principles, when doubtless real, although not formal unity would be discovered in them. But what interested us most in this volume was the ingenuity and the assiduity of Mr. Messner's analysis of the various epistles. Want of space alone prevents us from giving our readers illustrations of these qualities. We cordially recommend the book as a most reasonable and useful addition to German theological literature.

We wish we could have given our readers an idea of the leading publications in secular history and general literature which have appeared in Germany during the past year. But we have already exceeded the limits assigned to us, and, indeed, been obliged to postpone special notice of some theological publications for our next report. Probably the leading work on philosophy during the year is that of the celebrated Dr. Ritter.<sup>20</sup> While complaining of the present neglect of philosophy, it very much retraces the steps of modern speculation, and adopts and elaborates views current before the appearance of Kant. In general history, we have the fourth and closing volume of another great work of Ranke, on French history during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>21</sup> We would fain hope that both this and other works of the great German historian may soon be translated and published in a complete and accessible form. Of the great historical work of Schlosser<sup>22</sup> (in eighteen volumes), of a

<sup>20</sup> System der Logik und d. Metaphysik. Von Dr. H. Ritter. 2 Bände. Göttingen. Dietrich. 1854.

<sup>21</sup> Französische Geschichte, vornehmlich im 16<sup>ten</sup> u. 17<sup>ten</sup> Jahrhunderte. Von Leopold Ranke. 4 Bände. Stuttgart u. Augsburg: Cotta. 1854.

<sup>22</sup> F. C. Schlosser's Weltgeschichte für das Deutsche Volk, unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers bearbeitet von G. L. Kriegk. 18 Bände. Frankfurt-a.-M. 1854.

monograph on the Emperor Henry IV.,<sup>33</sup> and of the (Roman Catholic) continuation of Beraut-Berastel's Ecclesiastical History,<sup>34</sup> we hope to speak at greater length in our next Report. In literary history, we have a second and closing volume of Cholevius's History of German Poetry,<sup>35</sup> viewed in the light of the antique elements, and a very good history of French National Literature, by Edward Arnd.<sup>36</sup> To these books, also, we may again recur. But especially do we reserve to ourselves and our readers two most interesting autobiographies—reminding us of the "Life of Perthes," which we introduced to the readers of the *ECLECTIC* some time ago—of the venerable Schubert<sup>37</sup> and of Dr. Eilers,<sup>38</sup> as well as an extended notice of the great Protestant Encyclopædia of Herzog,<sup>39</sup> and its condensed American translation, appearing under the auspices of Dr. Bomberger.<sup>40</sup> Not to be ungrateful, in case fair eyes should have glanced over these pages, which we fear must have sometimes appeared to them uninteresting, we must notice Dr. Klemm's work on the position and influence of women in different countries and at different periods,<sup>41</sup> a book full of rich and varied interest. Of this work, two volumes have appeared. When complete, it will be quite a treasury of information on the subject—the more welcome that it is presented in so attractive a style.

Our readers will understand that within the limits assigned to us, we could briefly refer only to some of the most prominent publications,—chiefly those which possess a religious interest. We indulge, however, the hope, that by-and-bye, when we shall have brought up our arrears, and, consequently, shall only have to make our *Quarterly* Report of new publications, we may be able to present more than a mere sketch of the new literature of Germany. Meantime, we trust that even this brief survey of the principal publications of last year may not be without its interest and utility. Much has, indeed, of late years been done to give the British public a more correct

<sup>33</sup> Kaiser Heinrich IV. Von H. Flotto. 2 Bände. Stuttgart u. Hamburg: Besser. 1856.

<sup>34</sup> Die Geschichte d. Kirche Christi im 19<sup>ten</sup> Jahrhunderte. Fortsetzung d. Kirchen-Geschichte des Beraut-Berastel. Von Prof. Dr. B. Gama. 3 Bände. Innsbruck: Wagner. 1856.

<sup>35</sup> Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie nach ihren antiken Elementen. Von C. L. Cholevius. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1856.

<sup>36</sup> Geschichte d. Französischen Nationalliteratur von der Renaissance, bis zu der Revolution. Von Eduard Arnd. Berlin: Dunker u. Humblot. 1856.

<sup>37</sup> Der Erwerb aus einem vergangenen u. die Erwartungen von einem zukünftigen Leben. Eine Selbstbiographie von Dr. G. H. v. Schubert. 3 Bände. Erlangen. 1856.

<sup>38</sup> Meine Wanderung durch's Leben: Ein Beitrag zur innern Geschichte d. 1<sup>ten</sup> Hälfte d. 19<sup>ten</sup> Jahrhunderte. Von Dr. G. Eilers. 1<sup>ter</sup> Theil. Leipzig. Brockhaus. 1856.

<sup>39</sup> Real-Encyclopædie für Protestantische Theologie u. Kirche. Von Dr. Herzog. (Hitherto 6 volumes of it have appeared.) Stuttgart u. Hamburg: Besser.

<sup>40</sup> Published also in Edinburgh, by T. and T. Clark. Three parts of it have appeared.

<sup>41</sup> Die Frauen; Culturgeschichtliche Schilderungen des Zustandes u. Einflusses d. Frauen in d. verschiedenen Zonen u. Zeitaltern. Von Dr. G. Klemm. 2 Bände. Dresden: Arnold. 1856.

idea of intellectual and religious life in Germany. To two enterprising publishers especially, are British students deeply indebted; the one (Mr. Clark, of Edinburgh), in his "Foreign Theological Library" and otherwise, supplying us with translations of some of the best theological and philosophical works which have appeared on the Continent; the other (Mr. Bohn, of London) giving, in an English garb, some of the best historical and *belles-lettres* works of Germany. Still, much remains to be done. On the one hand, self-sufficient ignorance has laid its ban upon everything German, and is ready to brand as heresy what it has neither the heart nor the head to understand. On the other hand, a superficial and second-hand learning is waiting to adopt any crudity which may be vented on the other side of the Channel, with sufficient arrogance of tone and pretence of lore. Such persons palm on the public, with an air of superiority, the long-discarded opinions of a school, which happily has, at present, but few representatives in Germany. Here, also, the middle way—that of "proving all things, and holding fast that which is good"—seems that of safety. Among ourselves, perhaps, too exclusive attention is given to the merely outward and practical,—in Germany, to the studious and contemplative. To combine these two elements,—to transport the learning and profundity of Germany, the affectionate warmheartedness and earnestness of its faith to Britain,—to join with it our own honesty and practical tendency, our indomitable energy and our zeal, seems to us the great desideratum. Such an object, all good, intelligent, and unprejudiced persons will seek to obtain; they will encourage all that tends towards it, while they will equally discountenance both an unthinking Germanophobia and Germanomania.

Within this century, Germany has, indeed, made rapid strides in the right direction. Successively have the battles against Rationalism, Materialism, and Pantheism been fought, and by the help of the Head of the church, been gained. A vigorous and healthy religious life has sprung up, both among clergy and laity. The literature of Rationalism was shallow, a dreary waste; that of Materialism, in reality, a negation of anything intellectual and moral; that of Pantheism, dreamy, indistinct, and based on a one-sided analysis. As long as these nightmares brooded over Germany, its social life rapidly sunk, and the former characteristics and virtues of individual and national character threatened to disappear. All this is happily changed. With a sound and healthy literature, and a genuine Christian life, Germany is returning to her former commanding position in the religious history of the world. But the struggle is not yet wholly past. Many barriers of prejudice and formalism have yet to be broken down. Believing in the victory of truth, we view the present contest with formalism and ultra-liberalism as tending towards that happy result. God speed the right!

[The Reviewer takes this opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to Messrs. Williams and Norgate, Foreign Booksellers (London and Edinburgh), who, with the greatest readiness, have made arrangements which have much facilitated his researches.]



## Books Received.

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- Aguilar (Grace). Uniform Edition of Woman's Friendship, 4th edit., 340 pp.; Home Influence, 7th edit., 421 pp.; The Mother's Recompense, 5th edit., 532 pp.; Women of Israel, 3rd edit., 2 vols., 318 and 392 pp.; Home Scenes, 3rd edit., 418 pp.; The Days of Bruce, 500 pp.; The Vale of Cedars, 5th edit., 293 pp.; with portrait and illustrations. Groombridge & Sons.
- American Bible Union's Revised Version of the Holy Scriptures. Part III. Trübner & Co.
- Anti-Slavery Advocate for February. William Tweedie.
- Army (The): its Traditions and Reminiscences. By a Peninsular Officer. 70 pp. Metropol. Lit. Assn.
- Bermuda, a Colony, a Fortress, and a Prison. By a Field-Officer. 206 pp. Longmans & Co.
- Bibliotheca Sacra, and American Biblical Repository, for January. Trübner & Co.
- Bretschneider's (Karl G.) Manual of Religion. 296 pp. Longmans & Co.
- British and Foreign Evangelical Review. No. XIX. James Nisbet & Co.
- Cassell's Illustrated History of England. Vol. 1., 628 pp., and woodcuts. W. Kent & Co.
- Cui Bono?—Some of the Beneficial Results of the "Rivulet" Controversy. 73 pp. Tallant & Allen.
- Cumming's (Dr.) Consolations, or Leaves from the Tree of Life. 474 pp. Hall, Virtue, & Co.
- Davies's (Rev. Edwin) Glimpses of our Heavenly Home. 2nd edit., 256 pp. Alexander Heylin.
- English Harmony of the Four Gospels: in Paragraphs and Parallelisms. 206 pp. Wm. Allan.
- Examination of Andrew's Memoir on Euphrates Valley Route to India. 32 pp. Railway Times Office.
- Exposure of Hume's Argument against Miracles. By Mathias. 46 pp. Houlston & Wright.
- Fraser's Magazine for February. Jno. W. Parker & Son.
- Gassiot's 3rd Letter—Analysis of Divisions of House of Commons. 32 pp. Admin. Reform Assoc.
- Geldart's (Mrs. Thos.) Glimpses of Our Island Home. 252 pp. Norwich: Fletcher & Alexander.
- George Whitefield: Centenary Commemoration of Tottenham Court Chapel. 134 pp. Snow.
- Hennell's (S. S.) Christianity and Infidelity. (Prize Essay.) 173 pp. Hall, Virtue, & Co.
- Hogg's (Henry) Songs for the Times. 126 pp. Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.
- Leisure Hour for February. Religious Tract Society.
- Logan's (Wm.) Words of Comfort for Bereaved Parents. 72 pp. Glasgow: Gallie & Love.
- London University Magazine for February. No. X. A. Hall, Virtue, & Co.
- Lord's Supper (The) Explained. By a Layman. 16 pp. Whittaker & Co.
- MacWhorter's (Alex.) Yahveh Christ, or the Memorial Name. 179 pp. Sampson Low, Son, & Co.
- Maguire's (Rev. Robt., M.A.) Seven Churches of Asia. 204 pp. Knight & Son.
- Morning Clouds. 267 pp. Longmans & Co.
- Neill's (Saml.) Composition and Elocution. 64 pp. Houlston & Wright.
- New (The) Palace of Administration. By a Cambridge Man. 24 pp. Macmillan & Co.
- News of the Churches for February. Edinburgh: T. Constable & Co.
- Opium Revenue of India. 38 pp. Wm. H. Allen, 7, Leadenhall Street.
- Our Christian Classics: Readings from the Best Divines. No. II. Jan. Nisbet & Co.
- Partridge's (S. W.) Upward and Onward. 168 pp. Partridge & Co.
- Pease's (Wm.) Letter on Tractarian Wiles. 40 pp. Partridge & Co.
- Physic and its Phases. By Alciphron, "the Modern Athenian." 76 pp. Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.
- Putman's Monthly for February. Sampson Low, Son, & Co.
- Revue Chrétienne for February. No. II. Paris: Meyrueis & Co.
- Scott's (Sir Walter) Poetical Works, with Memoir, &c., by the Rev. G. Gilfillan. 391 pp. J. Nisbet.
- Sheppard's (John) Foreign Sacred Lyre. 226 pp. Jackson & Walford.
- Stoughton's (John) Ages of Christendom before the Reformation. 461 pp. Jackson & Walford.
- Stuart's (C. E.) Modern Translations and the Bible Society. 20 pp. Westheim & Nechols.
- Sunday at Home for January. Religious Tract Society.
- System of Physical Geography. 98 pp., maps, charts, and engravings. S. Low, Son, & Co.
- Time and Faith: Inquiry into the Data of Ecclesiastical History. 2 vols. 616 pp. Groombridge & Sons.
- Tommy Plowman: a Brief Memoir of a Remarkable Child. 94 pp. Westheim & Nechols.
- Who is Right, and Who is Wrong? Correspondence between Rev. T. Binney and Mr. Galt. 46 pp. W. H. Collingridge.
- Wilson's (Prof.) Essays, Critical and Imaginative. Vol. III., 431 pp. Blackwood & Sons.

THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW.

APRIL, 1857.

ART. I.—DUTCH HISTORY AND LITERATURE.

1. *Bentivoglio. Della Guerra di Fiandra.* 12mo. Cologne. 1635.
2. *Fumiani Stradi. De Bello Belgico: decades prima et secunda.* 12mo. Antverpiæ. 1640 and 1648.
3. *Hugonis Grotii. Annales et Historiæ de Rebus Belgicis.* 12mo. Amsterdam. 1658.
4. *Aubery du Maurier. Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Hollande.* 12mo. Paris. 1687.
5. *De la Neuville. Histoire de Hollande.* 6 Vols., 12mo. Paris. 1703.
6. *Sir William Temple. Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands.* 8vo. London. 1705.
7. *Van Wyn. Historische Letterkundige en Avonstonden.* 8vo. Amsterdam. 1800.
8. *Ypey. Beknopte Geschiedenis der Neiderduytsche Taal.* 2 vols. 8vo. Utrecht. 1812-32.
9. *Siegenbeek. Précis de l'Histoire Litteraire de la Hollande; traduction de Lebrocquy.* 12mo. Gand. 1827.
10. *Bowring. Batavian Anthology.* 12mo. London. 1824.

“THERE is a country almost within sight of the shores of our island,” wrote Sir John Bowring in 1824, “whose literature is less known to us than that of Persia or Hindostan: a country, too, distinguished for its civilization and its important contributions to the mass of human knowledge.” Since this sentence was written the means of communication between England and Holland have been facilitated to an extraordinary degree; and many of our countrymen no doubt have wandered over the cities and villages in the immediate neighbourhood of the

railroad or steam-boat stations, visiting the collections of pictures, the palaces, bazaars of Japanese wares, and the most renowned historical localities of easy access. But it is more than questionable whether really we, as a nation, are better acquainted with the intimate character of the Dutch—with their language, literature, arts, government, or economical conditions—than we were in 1824. In the meantime Holland has passed through the long and bitter period of suffering and distress which followed upon the violent disruption of the kingdom of the Netherlands in 1830; it has by a desperate but wisely directed and nobly sustained effort of almost universal patriotism, weathered the storm of impending bankruptcy with which it was threatened by the results of the system of William I., and has placed its national credit upon—if possible—a firmer base than ever; it has undertaken and achieved in the midst of these apparently overwhelming difficulties enormous public works of the boldest and most original character; and it has carried on the noble attempt of the wise and learned men who flourished in the commencement of the century, to revive the peculiar genius of the country in its arts and literature. Surely these events merit more careful consideration than they have usually received from our critics, our students, or our travellers; and whosoever strives to make himself acquainted with them, must, at the very outset of his inquiries, be so struck with the analogy between the Dutch and English heart of hearts, and between their respective languages, that our systematic neglect of our near neighbours and kinsmen, soon creates a feeling of surprise, and even of annoyance. It may indeed be boldly asserted that the painting and other arts of Holland can compare, excepting in one remarkable instance, with those of almost any country of Northern Europe; that its literature is singularly rich, cultivated, and beautiful; that its legislation and government are free, enlightened, and worthy of a bold, conscientious, and independent race; and that its history may rival the brightest annals of ancient or of modern times;—whilst in all these respects it is easy to trace the distinctive characteristics of the Saxon race. Our national ignorance of Holland must then, we feel, be considered as a national disgrace; and it is with the hope of calling other and more able labourers into the field, from which such rich harvests may be gathered, that we have selected the books cited at the head of this article for consideration. At present, however, we propose only to direct attention to the events which occurred in Holland between 1550 and 1650.

The Batavi, who were the first known inhabitants of Holland, are described by Cæsar (*Comment.*, lib. iv.) as occupying the

country between the various branches through which the Rhine pours its waters into the German Ocean ; and the description of the country given by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, lib. xvi.) might be as correctly applied now as it was in his days, for the Batavians were only able to defend their fields from "the ocean which poured in its floods twice a-day," by ceaseless labour and watchfulness. Their history as an independent nation is without any marked character, nor are any distinct traces of their indigenous arts or language recorded even by the most enthusiastic Dutch antiquarians. They seem, however, to have been very sincere and faithful allies of the Romans ; and, indeed, to have so far identified themselves with the fate of the mistress of the ancient world, that they became particularly obnoxious to the barbarian tribes who poured upon the civilized but enervated empire of the later Cæsars. The Chamari, the Salii, and the Cauchi, are stated to have succeeded one another rapidly in the possession of the fertile lands of the delta of the Rhine ; and even the name of the Batavi had disappeared entirely about the end of the fifth century, by which period a mixed race of Franks, Saxons, and Frisians, had established themselves in their stead. The conversion of these Germanic tribes to Christianity appears to have been mainly effected by the preaching of some Anglo-Saxon missionaries, and the first bishop of Utrecht is even said to have been our countryman Willibrord, A.D. 697 ; whilst Diederik, count of Holland, seems to have been the first independent sovereign of these districts, and to have established his authority at the close of the Carlovingian dominion, about the year 903. There was a long succession of counts, said to have been more than thirty in number, who succeeded Diederik, until his dominions were united under the same feudal supremacy, with the already large possessions of the house of Burgundy, and passed by the marriage of Mary, only daughter of Charles the Bold, with Maximilian of Austria, to that powerful and aspiring family, which shortly afterwards, by the marriage of Philip, the son of Maximilian and Mary, with Joanna, the idiotic but only child of Ferdinand and Isabella, of Spain, brought under its dominions more than half of civilized Europe. During the government of the dukes of Burgundy, and of the first princes of the House of Austria, the local liberties and privileges of the Flemish and of the Dutch provinces were respected ; and as the inhabitants of the latter had at a very early period adopted the principles of the Reformation, their country became a refuge for the persecuted Protestants, who were forced to withdraw themselves from the tyranny of our Henry VIII. and Mary, or of the early kings of the Valois family of France. Until the sixteenth century,

indeed, it may be observed that the Dutch provinces occupied a very inferior position, either commercially or politically, in comparison with that of the Flemish provinces; and Amsterdam or Rotterdam were unable to compare in wealth or importance with either Bruges, Gand, Antwerp, or Brussels. The constant struggles and the bloody wars of the end of the fifteenth century, between the counts of Flanders, the kings of England and France, and the dukes of Burgundy, together with the turbulence and revolts of the citizens, had done much to imperil the security of trade in the Flemish provinces, and it had, therefore, gradually removed to the towns of Holland, which were generally quieter, notwithstanding the quarrels of the Hoeks and the Kabelljauws; and the peculiar character of the religious emigration of the middle of the sixteenth century contributed essentially to the development of the earnest, firm, but quietly resolved temper of the Dutch race.

So long as Charles V. reigned, the liberties of the Low Countries were respected, and no serious attempts were made to interfere there with the rights of conscience; but, shortly after his abdication in 1556, his son Philip II. displayed the fixed intention, both of altering the government of the provinces, and of extirpating the heresies of Luther and Calvin, which had spread with remarkable rapidity amongst the reflective inhabitants of these countries. In direct opposition to the privileges of the states, Spanish garrisons were placed in the principal towns; the powers of the various local tribunals were altered in the most unconstitutional manner; and the various measures for the suppression of Protestantism attempted to be enforced by Margaret of Parma and Cardinal Granvella, who had been named by Philip as his representatives, gave such unmistakeable evidence of his intention of introducing Jesuitism and the Inquisition into this part of his dominions, that the nobles and principal citizens of the towns in the seventeen provinces of the old Burgundian provinces, met, and signed, in November, 1565, the mutual agreement known by the name of the "Compromis de Bruxelles." It was subsequently presented to Margaret of Parma, on April 5th, 1566, and in it the confederates insisted upon the abolition of the Inquisition, the withdrawal of the king's pretensions of creating new bishoprics, and the cessation of all attempts to enforce the decrees of the Council of Trent in the Low Countries. One of the courtiers of Margaret sneeringly applied to the deputation which presented the resolutions to the Vice-Reine, the opprobrious name of *Gueux*, or beggars; it was immediately adopted by those whom it had been intended to disgrace, and thus passed into a formidable party watchword. Unfortunately, the lower classes did not observe the same moderation as their leaders; and many

of the sad scenes of rioting, plunder, and desecration of conventual or ecclesiastical buildings, such as had stained the early annals of the Reformation in Germany, Scotland, and England, took place in Flanders and Holland. A bigot, and a despot at heart, Philip II. was not likely to submit quietly to these acts of rebellion to his religious convictions, and to his temporal power. He, therefore, published a decree of the Holy Office of Spain, declaring every person, who had not actively resisted the diffusion of heresy in the Low Countries, guilty of high treason against the king; thus, by implication, condemning all those who had signed the *Compromis de Bruxelles*. In 1567 also, Philip sent to the Low Countries the Duc d'Alba, at the head of a large army of Spanish and Italian troops, and with such rigid instructions, and such extensive powers, that Margaret of Parma, who had proved herself to be too humane for the purposes of the priestly party, was compelled to resign. From 1567 to 1573, this fierce soldier ruled the country, literally, with a rod of iron; massacring, beheading, burning, and torturing, without mercy, and often without any of the ordinary forms of justice, all whom it pleased him to call rebels and heretics—a task in which he was aided far too well by a “council of troubles,” under the presidency of a Spaniard, called Juan Vargas, and assisted by a Fleming, called Hessels, whose names deserve to be “damned to everlasting fame!” On the 1st and 2nd of June, 1568, no less than eighteen noblemen and gentlemen of the highest distinction were executed at Brussels; and on the 5th of that month, the Counts of Egmont and Horn suffered the same fate, notwithstanding their sincere, though ill-judged efforts, to reconcile the king to his exasperated subjects. Fortunately, for the future fate of Holland, the Prince of Orange (William the Taciturn) had retired to a place of safety, but D'Alba caused him to be summoned before the “council of troubles,” and seized his eldest son, Philip-William, Count de Buren. This last measure convinced William of Orange that no middle course remained open for him, and he at once resolved to commence in earnest the apparently hopeless task of resisting the power of the mighty Spanish monarch—without allies, without money, without soldiers, and without any of the elements of success, but a noble and good cause. For many years his struggles for the liberty of his country were uniformly unsuccessful. One after another, the armies he raised in Germany were defeated, or were disbanded for want of funds; nor was it until the increasing embarrassments of the Spanish exchequer compelled D'Alba to levy rigorously a tax of ten per cent. upon all descriptions of property, and the privateers of the Prince of Orange had obtained



possession of the town of Brille, by a bold *coup de main* on April 1st, 1572, that the patriots of the Low Countries, under the orders of William, were able to secure any stronghold in the country. The revolution, shortly after this auspicious event, became regularly organized in the northern provinces, and the states of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht, conferred upon the Prince of Orange the powers and title of governor,—a resolution to which they appear to have been greatly led by the eloquence of Marnix de Ste.-Aldegonde, to be noticed hereafter amongst the most brilliant ornaments of Dutch literature. The Count de la Marc, who had conducted the attack upon Brille, was declared lieutenant of the Prince of Orange; but his ungovernable temper soon rendered it necessary to remove him from power. In the intermediate period, however, that is to say, between 1567 and 1572, many deeds of heroism had been performed on both sides; for it is impossible to deny to the Spanish commanders and troops the praise they justly earned, as bold, skilful soldiers; whilst the persevering energy and invincible courage of the Dutch populations, call for unmitigated praise. At the sieges of Naerden, of Mons, of Zutphen, and of Harlaem, the various combatants displayed their peculiar qualities; and few passages in military history can be cited of greater interest than those connected with the early struggles of the Dutch against what would, to ordinary observers, appear to have been the overwhelming power of the Spanish monarchy, directed by the bold, unscrupulous Duc d'Alba.

After persevering for several years in this attempt violently to repress the movement in the Low Countries, both Philip II. and the Duc d'Alba himself seem to have thought that possibly a more conciliatory course would have been preferable; and the sanguinary duke was replaced by Ludovico di Rechesnes, or Requesnes, grand master of the order of St. Jago. During his short governorship, the success of the opposing armies was nearly balanced; for if the Spaniards were repulsed from Leyden after a long and obstinate siege, they recovered, on the other hand, from the Dutch Zericzee and the neighbouring district. Requesnes died shortly after his troops had obtained this success; and as the Spanish treasury was at this period absolutely in a state of bankruptcy (equal to anything of the same description we have witnessed during the present century), one of the natural consequences of such a state of affairs soon declared itself by the revolt of the Spanish and German troops, who had not been paid for many months. They abandoned their new conquests, and falling back upon Antwerp and Maestrich, committed such awful atrocities, and so utterly ruined those cities, that even the provinces, which had hitherto

been faithful to the King of Spain, threw themselves into the opposite party; and, with the exception of Luxembourg, the whole of the Low Countries concluded, in 1576, the celebrated Pacification of Ghent, by which they mutually bound themselves to co-operate in order to ensure the removal of every foreign soldier, the restoration of all the ancient forms of government, and the reference of matters of religion in each province to the provincial estates.

Don Juan of Austria, the bastard brother of Philip, who had recently acquired a brilliant reputation by his success in the battle of Lepanto against the Turks, was appointed to succeed Requesnes, but he was not allowed by the confederated nobles to assume the reins of power until he had subscribed the articles of the Pacification of Ghent. The Prince of Orange in vain opposed the recognition of the new governor under any conditions; but the Duc d'Arscot, the Marquis de Havrez, Counts Lalen and d'Egmont, and other Catholic Flemish noblemen, jealous of William's power and influence, endeavoured at first to set Don Juan aside, in order to confer the government of the revolted provinces upon the Archduke Matthias, brother of the Emperor Rudolf; and upon their defeat in this attempt, they practically enabled the viceroy to recall the Spanish and German troops, and to defeat the confederate army at Gemblours. In 1578, the States-General of the Low Countries also issued a decree, by which the free exercise of both the Catholic and Protestant religions was guaranteed; but this wise measure of toleration gave rise to the party of the Malcontents, and led to the immediate withdrawal of the states of the Artois and the Hainault from the confederacy, and their reception of the royal troops. Philip, thereupon, determined to pursue the war against his rebellious subjects with vigour, and he issued orders to that effect to Don Juan. The Prince of Orange seems, at this period, to have despaired of resisting the storm by the unassisted resources of his countrymen, and though in 1579 he procured the adhesion of the states of Guelderland, Zutphen, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, and Friesland, with a special reservation of the rights of the Archduke Matthias, he shortly afterwards offered the crown of the United Provinces to our Elizabeth; and, upon her refusal, to the Duc d'Angoulême, one of the authors of the massacre of the St. Barthélémi, and brother to the infamous Charles IX. and Henri III. Well, indeed, as M. Michelet observes, might the sincere Calvinist, William the Taciturn, the husband of Coligny's daughter, contract, under these circumstances, the melancholy expression to be observed in his portraits! and painful, indeed, it must have been for him to have been forced into a temporary alliance with those weak

and wicked princes of the Valois family! "*Incertum quo fata ferant*" was the motto the Dutch provinces chose, about this period, for the vessel without sails, oars, or rudder, under which they personified their condition at this time; but if they were compelled to offer themselves to this contemptible villain, D'Angoulême, what are we to say to the absurd gallantries which took place between our so-called virgin queen and this bloodthirsty butcher of the Huguenots?

Fortunately for Holland, D'Angoulême could not restrain his petulant insolence, and in a very short time he contrived so thoroughly to disgust the Dutch and Flemings, that they ignominiously drove him from their country. His absence was a decided gain to the popular cause; but one fatal result followed from his short presence upon the scene, namely, that the Catholic Flemings suspected the Prince of Orange of having betrayed them, and the party of the Malcontents was thereby greatly increased. In the meantime, Don Juan of Austria had also disappeared, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by the orders of his brother, who had already, as we had occasion to notice in our remarks upon that strange episode in Spanish history, the life of Antonio Perez, removed by violent means, Escovedo, Don Juan's confidential adviser. Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, one of the most consummate captains and politicians of the age, was next sent, in 1578, by Philip, to endeavour to effect the subjugation of the United Provinces, which had already for fourteen years made head against the powers of his empire, and had unquestionably improved their political position in proportion to the duration of the struggle, by the increased confidence, and the more perfect independent organization of those provinces which had assumed the most decided tone of opposition to the Spanish dominion. It is, however, worthy of remark, that in the phase of the struggle between the Low Countries and Philip II., antecedent to 1578 or 1580, the contest against that sovereign was principally waged by the house of Orange-Nassau, and other influential nobles, without much of what we should now call national support; and the mere fact of the union of the Flemish Catholic nobility with the Dutch Calvinistic nobles, in the primary troubles, may be considered to prove that the grievances complained of were rather personal attacks upon the privileges of the great, than measures affecting any general principles of government, or any national interests. The strange alliance between William of Orange and D'Angoulême, who boasted of having been instrumental in the massacre of St. Barthélémi, when Coligny, the heroic father of William's fourth wife, had been infamously murdered, serves also to illustrate the indifference of the rulers

of this singular age to all ordinary motives of action,—perhaps to explain, as we said before, the habits and tone of mind which procured for the founder of Dutch independence the name of “Taciturn,” and impressed on his countenance its sad, sorrowful expression. It must, indeed, have been a grievous and a heavy burden for him to fight alone what eventually had become a nation’s battle, and to feel bound to seek at times the assistance of those whom he heartily despised, even if he were Christian enough not to hate them; and well might the dying hero, who shortly after the date last cited, fell a victim to the murderous Jesuitical policy of the court of Philip, exclaim, “*Dieu aye pitié de mon ame, et de ce pauvre peuple!*” The people, indeed, had latterly felt the sting of war and oppression, and had begun to take an active part in the struggle; but they were far from united in their policy, and what was worse still, when opposed by the skilful Farnese, they were without any recognized leaders able or worthy at once to succeed the Prince of Orange. This great and good man was murdered by Baltasar Guerdard, in the beginning of July, 1584; but neither in Strada, Benvoglio, Grotius, Maurier, nor Temple, can we find any mention of the precise day, although it is generally believed to have been the 10th. We are sorry, however, to say that from all contemporary authorities, there appears to be too much reason to believe that the assassination was approved, even if it had not been suggested by the Catholic clergy,—so strangely were the ideas of moral responsibility distorted by the furious passions of this age of conflict between religious denominations. William the Taciturn left the reputation of an able politician, a good soldier, a man of untiring patience, and boundless resources; and, at the same time, that of a true patriot, a good private character, and a sincere Christian. There are, indeed, very few historical characters worthy to be placed in comparison with the father of the Dutch independence, notwithstanding De Witt’s attacks upon his motives of action; and in modern times, the only man who appears to us to have displayed the same description of merit, was George Washington.

It is worthy of particular notice that, whilst the deadly strife was being waged with the utmost bitterness between the small provinces which subsequently formed the Dutch Republic, and the mighty Spanish monarch, the foundations of the national Dutch literature were also laid, or at least the peculiar national tone was then first impressed upon Dutch authorship. Didier Coornhert, who had attained some eminence as an engraver, and had rendered the arts the service of educating Goltzius, distinguished himself also at this period by some poems and many controversial theological works. Philip de Marnix,

Seigneur de Ste.-Aldegonde, already mentioned as one of the leaders of the patriots, was eminent for his poetical talents, and perhaps still more so on account of the part he bore in the Dutch translation of the Bible—for faith in those days led men to serve their country's cause, either by pen or by sword, as occasion required. About the end of the sixteenth century, too, flourished Roemer Vischer, a very original poet, and Hendrik Laurenszoon Spiegel, the author of a celebrated didactic poem, called "Hertspiegel" (the Mirror of the Heart), Van der Hout, the Heyns, father and son, Pontus de Heniter, Jean Fruytier, Nan Meteren, Van Reyd, and the learned Merule of Delft, all of whom distinguished themselves by their active participation in the struggle for freedom, and by their earnest attempts to form a really Dutch literature. Their language is not easily understood by a foreigner at the present day—at least we avow that we have found it difficult at times to discover their meaning—and the servile imitation of the ancients, which under the influence of the precepts and example of Erasmus, Justus Lippus, Joseph Scaliger, Adrien Boyens, &c., had perverted the taste of learned men in Holland (as it had done, indeed, to a greater or less extent throughout civilized Europe), often renders the style of the authors we have named very unpleasant. But those of the writers of the sixteenth century who in Holland fought for their country, seem to have made it equally an object of their ambition "to be remembered in their line," by the services they rendered to their nation's tongue; and certainly they did contribute to it a national character; and to its literature a vitality and earnestness of purpose we seek for in vain in the laboured but lifeless productions of the schoolmen. Jan de Mabuse, Lucas van Leyden, Quintin Matsys, the two Van Vorts, Otto Venius, Hemskerk, Hoefnagel, Jost de Hondt, Bloemart, &c., maintained the high rank in art which had been secured to the Burgundian provinces by the glorious discovery of Van Eyck, who was certainly one of the first proficient in oil-painting, even if his claim to the merit of its invention be denied. Such men as the Plantins and the Vincents, about this period, also laid the foundations of the reputation of the Dutch press, which during the next two centuries under the Blaeuws, the Jansons, and the Elzevirs, &c., became the refuge for the oppressed intellect of monarchical Europe. Architecture, as might naturally have been expected, suffered more than any of the other arts during this eventful period of the commencement of the struggle; for the result was still so obscure that no one could prudently undertake a work of a long or permanent character. But it is worthy of notice that all the important buildings of the Low Countries erected immediately before the civil

wars, were designed in the style known as the Burgundian Flamboyant, in which mediæval principles still struggled against the Renaissance tendencies of the age with great success,—producing such gorgeous monuments as the spire of Antwerp Cathedral, the town-hall of Ghent, part of St. Bavon in the same city, the town-hall of Brussels, &c. From the middle to the end of the sixteenth century, however, no great works were undertaken either in the subdued or in the independent states; and when tranquillity was restored, the Flemish provinces adopted the taste and style of their masters, the Spaniards; whilst the Dutch have never succeeded in eliminating an architectural style of their own, or even of skilfully copying that of another nation. The marked inferiority of Dutch architecture constitutes, indeed, the exception to the artistic excellence of the nation to which we alluded in the commencement of this article; in the sequel we will endeavour to account for this curious phenomenon.

To return, however, to the history of the foundation of the Dutch Republic. Alexander Farnese was far too able a politician to allow the opportunity afforded by the confusion consequent upon the death of the Prince of Orange, to pass unnoticed. He took the field at once with a powerful army, and laid siege to Antwerp, Venloo, and Ghent, and after a long and arduous struggle, in which both the Spaniards and the Dutch employed the utmost resources of the military science of the age, and displayed extraordinary courage and fortitude, Farnese was successful. Marnix de Ste.-Aldegonde, La Noue, Bras de Fer, and our countryman Norris, with Jembelli and other adventurers from all parts of Europe, strove earnestly to prevent Antwerp from falling into the hands of the Spaniards, but in vain; for the infant republic was unable to cope with the well-organized forces of the great captain, and after a long and brilliant struggle, the capital of East Flanders fell again under the power of Philip. Bruges, Dendermonde, Deventer, Nimeguen, and Grave, were also taken; and though the Dutch fleets were almost uniformly successful in their encounters with the Spanish marine, and even inflicted serious injury upon the Spanish colonies, the affairs of the republic were in so unsatisfactory a condition during the first years after William the Taciturn's death, that the States-General threw themselves into the hands of our Elizabeth; who, in her turn, was driven into forgetfulness of her policy of procrastination, and of her royal dislike to the cause of a set of rebels, by her dread of the consolidation of the Spanish power. The eldest son of William the Taciturn, who had been seized at Leyden and sent to Spain, there to be educated in the strictest tenets of the Roman



Catholic religion, and who seems to have attached more importance to the enjoyment of the hereditary revenues of his family from the estates they possessed in France, and in the Burgundian provinces of his father's murderer, than he did to the arduous but noble position that father had assumed,—Philip-William of Orange, in fact, remained throughout his life attached to the court of the viceroys of Spain in the Netherlands. His brother, Maurice of Orange, was only seventeen years of age at the period of their father's murder; but the States-General at once named him to succeed to the posts of commander of their forces by sea and by land, and of Stadthouder; and his relative, the Prince de Hohenlohe, for some years aided him by his advice and assistance. Unfortunately, the Dutch government had not sufficient confidence in their own resources or their own commanders; and they, therefore, abandoned themselves entirely to the representatives of Elizabeth, who sent her unworthy and contemptible paramour, Leicester, to command the troops intended to oppose the most skilful soldier of his age. The consequences of Leicester's incapacity (too striking an antitype of English military operations in the commencement of all her wars!) and of the jealousy of the young Dutch Stadthouder, who was rapidly becoming an able commander under the bitter lessons of defeat, together with the internal dissensions of the Dutch (some of whom, under Barneveldt, appear at a very early period of Maurice's career to have dreaded the consequences of his daring and ambitious genius), were naturally to facilitate the progress of the Prince of Parma. In 1588, however, the utter destruction of the "Invincible Armada," which had absorbed the last resources of bankrupt Spain, and the progress of Henri IV. in France against the Spaniards and Mayenne, at length turned the scale of fortune in favour of the Dutch, who were by this time also well rid of their mischievous English allies. Maurice, shortly after the defeat of the Armada, compelled the Prince of Parma to raise the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. In 1590, Breda was taken; in 1591, Hulstz and Gertrudenberg; in 1592, Groningen, Rimbergues, Mœurs, Grave, and l'Ecluse, were successively added to the list of Maurice's military achievements. Parma died at the end of 1592, and the government of the Flemish provinces was then conferred upon the Archduke Albert, who soon proved himself to be unequal to the task of opposing the young Dutch general. At Nieuport and Turnhout, the regular Spanish troops were defeated in the open country, and Maurice thenceforward continued his victorious progress almost without let or hindrance, recovering from the Spaniards, one after another, nearly all the towns of the United Provinces which

they had conquered during the earlier years of his power, and very rarely indeed meeting with any check or reverse from them. The spell indeed was broken, and the Spanish infantry no longer inspired the dread which it had been wont to inspire, so long as it was under the orders of Rechesnes or of Parma; and the awful embarrassment of the Spanish finances in the latter days of Philip II. rendered the maintenance of the struggle against the thriving and obstinate Dutch provinces a source of daily increasing difficulty and humiliation. Philip, indeed, in the midst of his embarrassments and difficulties with the Low Countries, England, and the revolted Portuguese nearer home,—with his kingdom shaken by the troubles of Arragon,—in face of the sacrifices necessary to retain his Italian dominions, and to defend his Transatlantic colonies against the wild adventurers from all parts of Europe, had engaged himself deeply in the wars of the League,—that singular expression of Jesuitism in action. During the latter years of his reign, he had uniformly been unsuccessful, and the defeat of the Armada gave the first evident signal of the destruction of the colossal power which, in the middle of the sixteenth century, bade fair to overshadow Europe. The League itself and the party of the Jesuits fell under the rising fortunes of the renegade and unscrupulous Henri IV. England bearded Philip, taking or sinking his galleons, burning or destroying his seaports with impunity. Holland gradually freed her territories from the presence of his soldiers, and seized many of his most valuable colonies, until at length, Philip was so humbled that, broken-hearted and bankrupt, he was glad to sign the peace of Vervins, in 1598, with Henri IV., and to abandon the cherished object of his policy, the League. In the same year he died, having shortly before given the Low Provinces to his daughter Isabella, on the occasion of her marriage with the Archduke Albert of Austria. In 1604, his successor, Philip III., signed a treaty of peace with our James I.; and though the Spanish monarch was thus enabled to concentrate his forces against the Dutch, and the latter were sorely divided amongst themselves, they were not only able to obtain marked advantages over their ancient masters in the Low Countries, but also to inflict serious mischief upon the coast of Spain by an expedition under Jacques Heemskerk, in 1607. The internal divisions of the Dutch, to which we have alluded, arose mainly from the jealousy felt by the old statesmen of the United Provinces, under the guidance of Barneveldt, against the rising fortunes of the successful and brilliant soldier, Maurice of Orange; and at length they forced him to interrupt the tide of his successes, and to consent to a twelve years' suspension of hostilities, in 1609. Spain then practically acknowledged the

independence of the Dutch republic; which, in its turn, also furnished the first instance, during the later Middle Ages, of a successful revolt of some insignificant provinces against a powerful monarchy, and proved that, in the long run, the patriotism of an earnest, reflecting nation is almost certain of success in the struggle against royal bigotry and priestly despotism. The establishment of the Dutch republic affords, indeed, a moral lesson of the utmost importance; and it is to be regretted that subsequent events in the history of Europe should have caused us to treat this episode with so much neglect.

Perhaps the curious passage of the Dutch history connected with the struggle between Maurice of Orange and Barneveldt, is the one fraught with the most important moral to the student of history. It was not so much, indeed, a struggle between the two leaders, as it was a struggle between the principles of federalism represented by Barneveldt, and of centralization represented by Maurice; and though the latter prevailed in the personal and immediate part of the quarrel, and was thus enabled to put his virtuous opponent to a shameful death, he did not succeed in carrying at once into effect the greater political project with which all his measures were connected; nor was the house of Orange able, for many years after both these actors in the sanguinary drama of the commencement of the seventeenth century had passed away, to establish an influence so preponderating as to enable it to assume the state and title of royalty. During the brightest periods of its history, indeed, the Dutch government remained a federal republic: when the state of Holland assumed an overwhelming importance, and the power of the Stadthouder began permanently to balance that of the Assembly of the States-General, then the political influence, and what was of far greater moment, the moral worth of the nation began to decline. Maurice of Orange laboured earnestly, though with mistaken zeal, to produce this result; to some extent also successfully, for he planted the seeds which, in after-generations, rendered Dutch royalty a necessary evil. For the time, however, he was only able to remove a noble, and to him a troublesome rival,—to sacrifice Barneveldt, in fact, to his ambition.

Irritated, indeed, by the interruption of his victorious career, Maurice, after the conclusion of the suspension of hostilities in 1609, began to seek excuses for removing the troublesome old patriot, who had served his father (the “*Taciturn*,”) and their common country so long and so well. For some time Barneveldt was able to defeat the intrigues of his active and unscrupulous enemy by the mere respect his character had inspired, and the remembrance of the services he had rendered. But

after some dark, underhand intrigues, by means of which he destroyed the party of his rival, Maurice took advantage of the religious dispute between the Arminians or Remonstrants and the Gomarists, to sacrifice Barneveldt to the bigotry of the worst portion of the Dutch nation. Maurice was merely a soldier, and, it would appear, very indifferent upon religious questions ; but when Barneveldt embraced one side of the quarrel, he immediately embraced the other. This was an age of strong religious belief ; one in which men still were disposed to do, or die, for the sake of the opinions they adopted ; and, therefore, the tactics of Maurice in converting the religious opinions of his rival into the means of attack were well adapted to ensure success. The quarrel between the Arminians and Gomarists itself arose from the discordant views of the Dutch Calvinists upon the subjects of predestination, grace, and freewill,—subjects of immense importance, no doubt, for man's spiritual welfare, but upon which great differences of opinion will, it is to be feared, always prevail amongst the best and most conscientious persons, and which certainly cannot be set at rest by the strong arm of the secular authorities. Barneveldt had espoused the cause of the Arminians ; Maurice, of course, enrolled himself, on the opposite side. A conference of divines was held at the Hague in 1608, with a view to reconciling the schism thus created, but it only served to envenom the discussion. The best and wisest men of Holland took part in the debates and the subsequent literary controversy ; Uytenbogaert, Grotius, Smetius, Vorstius, Hommius, Trelcatius, Coddeus, Bertius, and even our wise fool of a king, James I., published many learned works, whose ultimate effect seems to have been to complicate the question, and to trouble the consciences of ordinary people still further. James I. indeed, not only entered into the polemical dispute as a writer, but he also, as king of England, instructed Winwood, his ambassador, to take active measures to secure the removal of Vorstius from the professorship of theology at Leyden, to which he had been elected upon the death of Arminius principally by the influence of Barneveldt and his friends, on the grounds of his having published (in 4to., Hanoviæ, 1610,) a book, "*Tractatus de Deo*," which our Solomon, with greater justice than usual, considered to be of a decidedly heterodox character. Some copies of Vorstius's book were introduced into England, but whenever James could secure them, he had them burnt by the common hangman ; and when, at length, Vorstius was suspended from his active functions of professor of theology, he protested in the most unmeasured terms against the nomination of "so vile a Socinian" even to the honorary post of titular professor, a place which had become vacant in 1609 by

the death of the celebrated Julius Scaliger. Arminius himself seems to have been a mild man, and totally unfit to cope with the violent party who opposed his doctrines; and he died in 1609, before any open schism had taken place among his countrymen, but not before the seeds of a very sad division of the Reformed Church had been sown. Gomarus had in him more of the martyr, or perhaps it would be more correct to say of the bigot; for not only did he resign his professorship at Leyden when Vorstius was nominated titular professor; but he declared, if we may believe the authority of Grotius, that the doctrines of his opponents would ensure their eternal damnation; or, to quote the very words Grotius records him to have used, he declared that, "Ipse, ita sentiens, nolit coram Deo consistere."

The church and state of Holland were sorely torn and perplexed by these quarrels of the professors of theology, and at length a council was held at Dordrecht, principally at the instigation of Maurice, and oddly enough in direct opposition to the advice of our James I., who seems to have augured little good to the Protestant cause from such convocations, and even to have believed that the points of doctrine involved in the quarrel were not of vital importance,—a tolerance hardly to be expected from so obstinate a bigot, but which has been explained by the influence Casaubon at this time exercised over his mind. There had been also much opposition on the part of the Arminians to the holding of this council; but Maurice effected a species of *coup d'état* by arresting Barneveldt, Hoogerbertz, Grotius, and Ledemburg; by driving out the properly elected magistracies of the most important towns; by substituting troops attached to his immediate person and cause, for the ordinary garrisons; and by expelling the ministers and professors who advocated doctrines opposed to his own,—amongst others, such men as Grevinkhovius, Venator, Cowrin, and Uytenbogaert. On November 13th, 1618, the convocation met, and consisted of delegates from England, Germany, and Switzerland; the States-General, in their political capacity, being represented by a deputation of seventeen, to whom the celebrated Daniel Heinsius, one of the best modern Latin poets, served as secretary. The debates of this council or synod far too often turned upon frivolous questions; but it is curious that, amongst other points of discussion, they should have examined and decided one with respect to the effect of baptism upon the relationship of master and slave, which we especially recommend the clergy of the United States of America to examine again, aided by the decisions of their Dutch predecessors; for, at Dordrecht, it was decided that the mere act of baptism enfranchised the subject, and the true effect of Christianity in

equalising the social conditions of mankind was distinctly admitted. Alas! it has required three centuries of progress to enable American Christians to discover in the Gospel of peace and good-will to all men, a justification for that mystery of iniquities—the slave trade! However, after a short and bitter struggle, the majority of the council declared itself in favour of the doctrines of the Gomarrists, or contra-remonstrants, under the guidance of Bogermann, Lubbert, and Gomar; and in their 129th sitting, April 16th, 1619, they adopted a new confession of faith in ninety-three canons, which appears simply in the end, and after it had been modified in some of its details, to have produced a schism amongst the Dutch Protestants, and to have afforded both Bossuet and Arnauld plausible grounds for again reproaching the opponents of Romanism with the variations of their doctrines. At a subsequent meeting, the Dutch theologian present at the council declared, that the doctrines of Arminius were so heterodox that all ministers or professors who adopted them were unworthy of their position, and were thenceforth to be dismissed. The council then revised the confession of faith, which was finally issued in thirty-seven articles, notwithstanding the opposition of the English delegates to the doctrine of the equality of the ministers of Christ, and finally closed its existence on 19th May, after 154 sittings.

Maurice of Orange had not waited for the close of this solemn farce to carry into effect the deep tragedy he contemplated; but he brought to trial, before a corrupt tribunal, Barneveldt, Grotius, and Hoogerbetz, who had been the most persevering opponents of his ambitious views; and by a still greater pressure, he procured the condemnation of the old Barneveldt to death. On the 13th of May, 1619, this noble citizen was beheaded, and Maurice added to the infamy of the judicial murder of his father's friend, by assisting in person at his sacrifice—so little, as we again must remark, were the vital principles of Christianity understood, or practised, in that age! Ledemburg had committed suicide before trial. Grotius and Hoogerbetz, more fortunate because less powerful, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and the fate of the former has been always a subject of interest, on account of the skillful and affectionate manner in which his wife enabled him to effect his escape, and on account of the extraordinary merits of the man, both as writer and politician. These opponents removed, Maurice found few able, or willing, to resist him; and he gradually laid the foundations of the hereditary authority of the house of Orange, before which eventually the federal republic of Holland was destined to fall.

It must not be supposed, however, that Maurice (who had



become Prince of Orange in 1618, by the death of his brother Philip-William,) allowed the struggle against Barneveldt and the Arminians to occupy the whole of his attention, or to distract the Dutch nation from their warlike preparations. A truce only had been concluded with Spain in 1609, badly observed in Europe, and openly broken in the East and West Indies, where the Dutch robbed and destroyed both the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in true buccaneer style, under Verhagen, Lemaire, Speilberg, and Schoutens, who followed without hesitation the example set them by Drake and Raleigh, and the other illustrious robbers whom we are accustomed to admire. Great efforts, moreover, were made by the Dutch navigators, about this period, to discover a north-eastern passage to China, which resulted in the establishment of the Greenland Whale Fishery, the discovery of Nova Zembla, and the curious episode of the wintering of the crews under Heemskerk and Van Ruyp at Spitzbergen. Maurice took care also to embroil his countrymen in the civil wars of Northern Germany then raging, for it was a matter of importance to him to maintain under his orders large bodies of disciplined troops; and as the Archduke Albert espoused the cause of one of the pretenders to the duchy of Cleves and Juliers, Maurice induced the States-General of Holland to interfere, both by men and by money, in support of the other, who was oddly enough, we should say at the present day, the Elector of Brandenburg, ancestor of the Prussian monarch, occupying then a position in the European hierarchy very inferior to that of the wealthy merchants of the United Provinces. Wherever Spain, or her allies, were at war, indeed, Maurice seems to have considered that it was his duty to engage his countrymen against them; and he persuaded them to lend efficient support to the Venetians in their contest with Ferdinand, subsequently Emperor of Germany, apparently for no other reason than because he was of the House of Austria; as well as to the Duke of Savoy, who was (1617) at open war with Spain; thus maintaining the martial spirit of his countrymen, and the nucleus of the army with which to resume open war with their hereditary enemies at the expiration of the truce so unwillingly accepted.

At this expiration in 1621, both the Spaniards and the Dutch seem to have rejoiced at the conclusion of the solemn mockery into which the truce had degenerated, and they resumed eagerly the more frank and open course of direct hostilities, the first principally under the orders of Ambrosio Spinola, and the latter under those of Maurice. By this time the wealth and power of the United Provinces had increased to an extraordinary degree; whilst Spain had not only suffered by their successful

revolt, but it had been weakened by the necessity for keeping a large army in Portugal, in order to maintain the submission of that kingdom, and the enormous sacrifices entailed upon it by the absurd policy of Philip II., during the latter years of his long and disastrous reign. Spinola, too, although a consummate tactician, had not the supreme talents of Farnese. And here we cannot refrain from remarking, how strange it is that Spain should thus have depended upon her Italian subjects to lead her armies in her most arduous wars! and how humiliating it ought to be to Italians to reflect that their countrymen should have been so willing to set an example to Kossuth and the Hungarians of 1848, in their suicidal support of the house of Austria against the portions of her dominions in arms for liberty! But there is this very marked distinction between the modern revolt against the tyranny of the Austrian dynasty and that which took place in the sixteenth century, that the Dutch had the energy and patriotism requisite to secure success, whilst the Italians could only cry, "*l'Italia fara da se,*" but in reality do nothing. However, neither the Spanish forces in the Low Countries, nor their Italian general, in 1622, were equal to those who had been opposed to William the Taciturn; whilst Maurice had not only enjoyed the advantage of studying warfare in the best practical school, but he had been enabled to organize the resources, and to concentrate the political power of his country, in the manner most conducive to success in the struggle he had himself determined to renew. Upon the commencement of hostilities, then, Maurice was enabled to bring a sufficient force into the field to compel Spinola to raise the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, and nearly to succeed in an attack upon Antwerp; where, however, his antagonist obtained a fair "revenge" for his previous defeat. The war continued with various success for several years; Maurice dying in 1625, it is said from grief at the progress of Spinola in the siege of Breda, and leaving his power, wealth, and possessions to his younger brother, Frederick-Henry. Frederick was forty years of age when he assumed the reins of government, and had for many years been actively employed in the service of his country, after receiving a superior education, be it observed, at the court of his godfather, Henri IV. of France, which had initiated him into the secrets of diplomacy and into the art of war. Spinola was, however, a general of much superior military talents to the new Prince of Orange; and if he had not been restrained by the absurd mania of the Duke de Lerma, the first favourite of Philip III., for directing all the important operations of the Low Countries from his office in Madrid, no doubt the skilful Italian would have inflicted serious injury upon the United

Provinces. The consequence of this mediæval red-tapeism—as ridiculous and as mischievous in its effects as the red-tapeism of the present day—was, however, to render abortive all Spinola's plans; and though he carried Breda in the very teeth of Frederick, he shortly afterwards died of vexation, and the Spanish armies were not able, under his successors, to prevent the Dutch general from capturing Boisledue Vessel, Ruremonde, Venloo, Strall, Maestrich, Rheinberg, Schink, and Hulst, whilst, in 1644, the latter was even able to recover, by a brilliant attack, the important post of Breda. As usual, the Dutch navy had, in the meantime, been remarkably successful in its encounters with the Spaniards, both in Europe and in the colonies, and had gained many signal victories under the orders of Coen, Loncke, Iselsteine, and Arpez Tromp; indeed so severely had the Spaniards been handled by the Dutch forces, that in 1630 they had made earnest attempts to renew the truce of 1609. Frederick's authority over the States-General was either less unpopular or more despotic than that of his brother had been, for he easily secured the rejection of these overtures; and even in 1631, obtained the consent of the States to the nomination of his son William as his successor; so that when his father died, in 1647, William became, without contestation, Stadthouder and general of all the Dutch troops by land or by sea. In 1640, the revolution which carried the house of Braganza to the throne of Portugal also broke forth, and still further distracted the attention, whilst it absorbed the resources of the continually decaying Spanish monarchy; and at last Spain was so humbled that, in the treaty of Munster, signed in 1648, it acknowledged the States-General in their capacity of free, sovereign, and independent states, with the right to retain all the conquests they had made by force of arms subsequently to the resumption of hostilities in 1622. At later periods, commercial treaties were entered into between the Dutch republic and the Spanish crown; whilst the leading principles of the treaty of Munster were incorporated into the political law of Europe by the treaty of Westphalia, which officially recorded the decline of the power of the Austro-Burgundian family, so recently the terror of the civilized world, and gave a diplomatic sanction to the doctrines of the Dutch statesmen and political writers, to the effect that the tyranny of the monarch absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and that, in fact, kings did not possess a divine right to do wrong. There can be little reason to question the influence of these doctrines upon the dispute between the Stuarts and the English Parliament—a dispute in which the Dutch nation, under William III., subsequently played so conspicuous a part; and, indeed, the successful revolt of the United

Provinces must be considered to have led the way, directly or indirectly, to the political revolutions which have recently modified the state of Europe. The treaty of Munster and the peace of Westphalia were, however, glorious tributes of respect from the crowned heads of Europe to the energy, valour, and patriotism of the Dutch nation; and by them it was at once raised to the rank of one of the most influential members of the great European community.

There are, in the occurrences of this world, two very closely connected currents of public affairs, which mutually act and re-act upon one another, although superficial observers are unable to perceive the nature or the extent of the connexion between them; we mean that there is the primary current, so to speak, of visible politics, and the far more important secondary current of the popular education—of the national, intellectual, and moral development—upon which the whole of the political fate of a nation must depend. The course of the apparent current of Dutch politics, we have seen, was eminently favourable to the wishes of the nation itself, and to the designs of its rulers; but the more hidden development of the faculties of the Dutch race,—of the faculties by which under every imaginable difficulty they were enabled to maintain the deadly struggle against Spanish intolerance, is a subject worthy of far more attention than it has hitherto received. It is, moreover, to be observed that the most brilliant period of the intellectual grandeur of the Dutch nation corresponded with a period, so to speak, of “atony” amongst the other nations of civilized Europe, whilst it also was coeval with the extraneous conditions we believe to be most favourable for the display of national excellence. The Dutch people, from the middle of the sixteenth century to 1609, had been compelled to struggle for dear life, or for what to them was dearer, the rights of conscience. After 1609, the immediate excitement was withdrawn; but there still remained a sufficient call upon the energies of the nation to prevent their subsiding into apathy; whilst the prizes offered to the bold adventurers of those days effectually prevented the body of the Dutch people from subsiding into lazy indifference, and the physical difficulties attached to their mere possession of the land continually required the exercise of skill, patience, forethought, and resolution. “*Tant vaut le pays, moins vaut l’homme*,” is one of the truest of the aphorisms of our neighbours; and really the Dutch nation in the seventeenth century may always be cited as an illustration of the truth of the converse of the proposition, for in no country have such extraordinary natural difficulties been overcome; in no country have the inhabitants attained such distinction (we had almost

said, *invita Minerva*), as we find to have been the case with the Dutch, especially in the commencement of the seventeenth century,—a century which eventually proved to be one of the most important in the history of our European civilization. There are few subjects which are fraught with so much material for thinking as the remarkable brilliance of the Dutch intellect at this precise period; and before proceeding with the sketch of their political history, we feel that it is necessary to pause to cast a rapid glance over the progress of literature, science, and art, in these regions apparently so harshly treated by Apollo and the Muses.

The cultivation of classical lore appears at all times to have been the object of especial attention at the Dutch Universities of Leyden, Utrecht, and Groningen, or at the various Lycées, Athenées, or Colleges in the provincial towns; and the names of such men as Douza, Vossius, Albinus, Josse Hondius, Daniel Heinsius, Gaspar von Barle (Barlaeus), Schriverius, Vulcanius, Schoonhoven, Meursius, Drusius, Bandeus, Francis Junius, and J. F. Gronovius, are “familiar as household words” amongst those who have studied the Latin poetry or philology of the Renaissance. Heinsius’s poem “*De Contemptu Mortis*” indeed may be ranked amongst the most remarkable attempts of the moderns, to express their thoughts and sentiments in a language and under literary forms originally devoted to the expression of a religion and a state of civilization essentially different from those which have prevailed in Protestant countries; whilst the critical labours of Vossius, Barlaeus, and Meursius, have secured to those learned professors a deservedly high reputation. Grotius, Episcopus, Gerard Jean Vossius, Uytenbogaert, Gerard Brandt, Arminius, Gomarus, Barleus, Bertius, Grevius, Vorstius, Grevinkhovius, Corwin, Crellius, Ruarus, Festus Hommius, Trelcatius, Coddeus, Vander Kodde, Erasmus, Johannes, &c., were engaged more or less actively in the theological disputes of this stormy period, when religious dogmas divided nations perhaps more bitterly than even political wrongs. Many of the polemical writings of these learned and devout men are still in the hands of students of ecclesiastical history; for they are characterized by a depth of research, an amount of scholarship, and, what is better still, by an earnest faith, which must always inspire respect, even when the arguments are not entirely satisfactory. It is sad, however, to dwell upon this phase of the religious literature of Holland, as it is also to read the records of some of the solemn trifling about words which took place during the discussions of the Synod of Dordrecht upon the new Reformed translation of the Bible into Dutch. The latter are given at length in the curious work entitled “*Boek Zaal der*

Neiderduytsche Bybels, door Isaac le Long, 't Amsterdam, 1732;" from which also much information may be obtained with respect to the general history of the Dutch church. For our own part, we confess that during our investigations of the religious literature of this period, we have only derived unmixed pleasure from Grotius's treatise, "*De Veritate Religionis Christianæ*," and from the translation of the Bible then adopted, which constitute indeed bright exceptions amongst the long and wearisome productions of the Dutch theologians of the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is not that we in any manner despise the labours of those who took part in the discussions between the Arminians and the Gomarists, or of those who were engaged in the controversies upon the Erastian, the Socinian, or the Rhinsbergers doctrines; or that we consider the objects of these discussions of small value. Far, very far from it! Everything appertaining to the future fate and to the spiritual destinies of man, must possess an interest of the deepest kind to every thinking mind. But there is a fierce, intolerant tone about the majority of the religious writings of this epoch, little in accordance with the true spirit of Christ; and with but few exceptions, there was far too decided a tendency to substitute denunciations of an adversary's opinions for a tranquil refutation of his arguments. Perhaps this was the inevitable result of a period of bitter struggle; for men cling to their faith more energetically, and are less patient of contradiction then, than they are in calmer times. But when calmer times do arrive, the energetic and violent faith of the generations which have furnished their martyrs for conscience sake, often appears harsh and somewhat revolting. Be this as it may—let Grotius's feelings in favour of Catholicism, at the end of his chequered career, have been what they may—there are, we are convinced, few who would be disposed to quarrel with our appreciation of his admirable treatise above-named, which is, be it observed, as worthy of note for its Latinity as for its logical arrangement; and the strong hold which the Dordrecht translation of the Bible has taken upon the quiet, reflecting race of Dutchmen must be looked upon as a strong proof of its merits. It is, indeed, strikingly like our own translation in its tone and character; and, on the whole, as free from defects as the later is known to be in all essential points.

The commencement of the seventeenth century was marked in Holland by the appearance of many very learned works upon general politics, and upon the not less important subjects of jurisprudence and international law. Most of the former have perished, because the practical results of the Dutch revolt have eclipsed the reasonings adduced in its defence during the



height of the struggle; but Grotius's treatise, "*De jure belli et pacis*," continues to the present day a text-book amongst statesmen, and his "*Mare liberum*" (commented and supported by his learned friend Graswinckel,) has furnished arguments to all the minor naval powers of the world against the assumptions of their more powerful neighbours. About 1623 also, Salmasius, (who afterwards distinguished himself by his controversy with our great poet Milton upon the subject of regal against popular rights), was appointed professor at Leyden, and published many of the best of his treatises upon Roman law. But perhaps the greatest glory of the Dutch press at this period was the production, in 1637, of Descartes's "*Discourse upon Method*," and subsequently of his treatises upon *Dioptrics*, *Meteors*, *Geometry*, and the "*Meditationes de Primâ Philosophiâ*." These wonderful productions, in a very short period, changed the whole character of the metaphysical and mathematical philosophy of Europe; but they brought down upon their author a bitter persecution from the leaders of the orthodox party of the recent synod of Dordrecht, headed by Voet, Leydecker, and Desmarets, who were opposed in due time by the more enlightened Dutch Reformed clergy under the guidance of Cocceus. Natural history and physical science were also cultivated at this period with ardour and success, as were, moreover, the practical application of the laws so discovered to the purposes of daily life. Thus the discoveries of Stevin, about the end of the sixteenth century, upon the relations of power to weight upon inclined planes, and with respect to the dynamical action of water, led rapidly to the improvement of the water-works and the hydraulic engineering of Holland; and, indeed, almost immediately after the truce of 1609 had been concluded, the Dutch appear to have commenced the drainage of the lakes and polders, which gives so striking a character to the scenery of the country. Between 1609 and 1640, no less than twenty-six small lakes were drained; in 1641, the Beemster was laid dry; and in 1643, Leeghwater published the first serious propositions for draining the Harlaem Lake, which was even then a source of anxiety to the inhabitants of the surrounding districts on account of its gradual extension. Van Helmont and Beverwijck continued the series of discoveries in the medical sciences so brilliantly inaugurated by the Fleming, Vesale, in the previous century, and he was worthily followed by Van der Lynden, by Leuwenhoeck, and by Spigel, the latter of whom made many curious discoveries with respect to the structure and action of the liver, and was equally distinguished as a botanist. Cornelius von Drebbel—quack though he most undoubtedly was at the expense of our learned fool, James I.—rendered great service to civiliza-

tion and to manufactures by the discovery of the thermometer, and of the art of dyeing scarlet. Willebrord de Royen Snell, according to Vossius and Huyghens, about this period discovered the laws of the refraction of light, and was the first to suggest the true mode of measuring an arc of the earth's meridian; whilst Metius is generally considered to have invented the telescope, about 1609, by means of which the great observer Huyghens, born at the Hague, 1629, was enabled to discover the satellites of Saturn. At a subsequent period of his career, Huyghens perfected the air-pump, and entered into a controversy with our own Wallis and Wren upon the laws of collision of elastic bodies. Whatever may have been his merit in this case, he certainly attained the position of one of the fathers of modern science; and the mathematical labours of Schooten and De Witt served to confirm the scientific reputation of their country. Josse Hondius, too, in a less distinguished path of science, achieved great fame for himself and for Holland by his treatise upon the construction of globes. Nor did the Dutch confine their attention to these more abstract or theoretical pursuits in the regions of applied science; for their navigators exhibited a degree of boldness and energy of the most extraordinary nature, whilst their efforts to establish the whale, or the ordinary deep-sea fisheries, and the traffic between their own harshly treated country and the more fertile regions of the East or of the West Indies, were sufficiently successful to excite the anger and jealousy of both France and England—feelings which the Dutch commanders seem to have delighted in provoking, if we may judge by their conduct at Amboyna, at Ormus, Formosa, &c., which certainly must be condemned, even by their most ardent admirers—and no doubt contributed greatly to excite the bitter hatred between the English and their former allies, so strangely, yet so forcibly, illustrated by the violent and somewhat coarse satires of Butler, Marvel, and Dryden, published at a subsequent period during the contest between the great commercial nations of Western Europe at the end of the seventeenth century.

But perhaps the most remarkable phenomenon of the exhibition of the Dutch intellect between 1600 and 1650, is to be found in the unexampled splendour of the poetical, literary, and artistic genius then displayed. Amongst the poets who wrote principally in Dutch, the first rank must be accorded to Hooft, Vondel, Cats, Van Sevecote, Anne and Marie Visscher, Real, Brederode, Coster, Camphuysen, Constantin Huyghens, father of the mathematician, Heemskerk, De Decker, Jean Vos, &c. Amongst the prose writers of this period, who shed glory upon their country's tongue were, Hooft again, Vondel,

Gerard Brandt, Gaspard Brandt, his son, Petrus Schriverius, Meerman, Vollenhoven, Van Heule, &c., whilst the productions of artists, such as Frank Hals, Janssen, Ostade, Soutman, Rembrandt, Gerard Douw, Van der Helst, Brauwer, Jan Steen, Terburg, Metz, the elder Mieris, Weenix, Wynants, Wouvermanns, Ruysdael, Van der Velde, Berchem, Hobbema, Lingelbach, the two Boths, Poelemburg, Paul Potter, Pieter de Hooghe, &c., placed the Dutch school of painting in the foremost rank amongst the characteristic varieties of artistic excellence. Some modern English critics, whom we may charitably suppose to have been ignorant of the Dutch language, have affected to despise Dutch poetry; but the writings of Hooft and Vondel, especially, are characterized by a strength and vigour of thought and expression, accompanied by a singular charm of harmonious arrangement, which it would be difficult to parallel either in our own, or in any other modern language. There may, indeed, be observed in the best productions of the Dutch poets of this period a tone strikingly like that which prevailed in our own literature of the same age; and to our minds, especially, it seems as though the same chord prevailed in the minds of Milton when he wrote his earlier and best poems, and of Vondel when he wrote his best tragedies,—from one of which the “Lucifer,” and from Barlaeus’s Latin poems, Milton made many unacknowledged extracts. Vondel, like Grotius, turned Catholic in his old age, after having, in company with nearly all the brightest genius of his day and country, espoused the cause the Arminians in his youth, therein differing from our poet, “blind but bold;” but in both of their writings the same earnest faith, the same anxious desire “to justify the ways of Providence to man,” may be observed, and amongst the minor beauties, the same indescribable charm of rhythm. Hooft possesses the latter characteristic perhaps equally with Vondel; but then his style is evidently more learned, more laboured; it is, in fact, the style of a highly refined and well-educated man, whilst that of his friend Vondel is more spontaneous and unaffected. Jeremias de Decker’s address—perhaps we should say, ode—to a brother who died at Batavia, is one of the most feeling poems we have read in any language, and we pity the man who could affect to despise Dutch poetry after reading it. Dr. Bowring has translated it tolerably well; and, indeed, the same measured praise may be accorded to the specimens he has given of the other Dutch authors of this period. They may be consulted with safety by those who would be content with a general notion of the characteristic turn of thought of these writers; but we would urge all scholars to carry their studies much further, and not to rest satisfied until they have mastered the

originals. It is one of our own cherished projects to return to the investigation of the Dutch literature of this its golden age, both poetry and prose; for the present we are obliged to limit ourselves to a bare enumeration of names, and to referring our readers (in addition to the works cited at the head of this article) to Vischer's "Geschiedenis der Neiderduytsche Letterkunde," Grankampen's book with a similar title; Elbert's "Chronologische tabel der Hollandsche Litterature," and the more ambitious works of Bayle, Foppens, and Van Papendrecht. Indeed, the Dutch authors of the seventeenth century were not only fine writers themselves, but the causes of fine writing by others; and the literary histories of their times are amongst the most interesting productions of that particular kind.

One of the most decidedly marked exhibitions of the Dutch national mind, however, is to be found amongst the painters who flourished at this period; and the explanation of the striking difference which then arose between the Dutch and the Flemish schools, affords a wide and fertile field for reflection and conjecture. There is a want of refinement, a coarse vulgarity of sentiment, about both these schools; and we can easily understand that a narrow-minded, periwig-pated gentleman of the Louis XIV. stamp, should group all their productions under the general term of contempt, "*magots*," though, by the way, he more exclusively applied it to the Dutch pictures. Yet both the Dutch and Flemish schools are evidently inspired by, and are indications of the inmost genius—the heart of hearts—of sincere, energetic, thinking races. Whence then comes the marked difference to be observed in them? Climate may have some influence; for, as has been truly observed, Flanders is more like the warm south; it has more hill and dale, more varieties of fell and flood, than cold, swampy, level Holland; and men live more of the impressionable out-of-door life in the former, than they can do in the latter. Again, the difference of religion which prevailed between the provinces still under the Spanish yoke, and those which had secured the inestimable blessing of freedom, had no doubt a very important effect upon men's minds in almost every mode of intellectual expression. But how did it happen that the Dutch became Protestant, whilst the Flemings remained Catholic? or how did it happen that the former mustered heart of grace to resist the attacks of the Spaniards, whilst the latter tamely submitted to their rule, nay, even in the latter part of the struggle, lent an active co-operation to their attacks upon the Dutch provinces? The most extraordinary part of this strange business seems to us to be, that both before the union of the Dutch and Flemish provinces, under the rule of the Austro-Burgundian family, and

subsequently to the independence of the Dutch, the intellectual separation of the two Teutonic tribes may be observed, although certainly their origin was common. The investigation of this subject would lead us into a discussion upon the laws modifying national character, which we could now hardly treat with the development they require; and, as it is one of such singular interest, we propose to return to it upon some future occasion. For the present, we content ourselves by calling attention to the fact, that the character of Dutch art, as likewise that of Dutch literature, has been such, as may be described as of the individual and domestic class, whilst the Flemings have not displayed the same personal independence, or the same impatience of authority. Both nations, as we before said, have shown themselves deficient in refinement of taste; but the Dutch have been homely, whilst their neighbours were coarse; they have dealt with the nature and the scenes of ordinary life, whilst the Flemings have made very unsuccessful attempts to attain the ideal. Far be it from us to decide upon the relative merits of these national idiosyncracies: we only call attention to their existence, and candidly avow that we can discover in both of them, themes for deep reflection, and often for admiration—just as Fénélon, in the midst of the *talons rouges* of Versailles, could discover reasons for admiring a national taste, opposed though it were to all the habits and traditions by which he was surrounded. The fact is, that all which is true, is estimable—be it Dutch or Flemish, French or Italian, in art or in literature; and, therefore, although we ourselves only care for the best period of Italian art, we flatter ourselves that we can, and that we do appreciate the truth, the homeliness, and the fidelity of the Dutch school. For the qualities of management of colour, light and shade, finish, attention to detail, atmospheric effects; for close adherence to the models before them, the Dutch painters are unrivalled; and some of Jan Steen's domestic scenes, or of Rembrandt and Van der Helst's portraits attain almost the limits of the sublime. Such pictures as the "Lesson of Anatomy," in the collection of the Hague, or the "Night-Watch at Amsterdam," and Paul Potter's "Bull," are worthy of long pilgrimages to behold; and their production simultaneously with the other exhibitions of the vigour and originality of the Dutch genius in arts, arms, literature, and commerce, adds to them an additional interest.

When we stated at the commencement of this article, that there was one art in which the Dutch never excelled, and subsequently alluded again to this deficiency, in our remarks upon their architecture, we were compelled to dismiss the subject hastily. Even now we cannot treat it as we should desire;

but it seems important to observe that the inevitable tendency of Dutch habits, and of the republican constitution of the country, must have been to prevent the development of an art which essentially depends upon external display, and the concentration of wealth in few hands, be they aristocratic or despotic. Dutch churches are almost always small; adapted for congregational worship, but by no means for ecclesiastical display. Dutch public buildings, palaces, town-halls, bourses, and the like, are evidently designed for a race who use those places, but who do not care about their decoration; whilst the Dutch houses are quaint, original, neat, and comfortable, like the houses of a race accustomed to seek for, and to find, more happiness in-doors and at home than it expects to meet with out of doors. It has naturally followed from the social conditions which have produced these results, that Dutch architecture is of a very inferior description, if the principal end and object of the art be limited to the production of monuments of national display; but still it has a peculiar character, and the buildings of the early portion of the seventeenth century are as distinctly marked by the spirit of the period, as were the literature and the painting of the same epoch, although, indeed, the Dutch architects never rose to the dignity of a "style," properly speaking. The same moral laws, in fact, which operated to indispose the Dutch to the study of historical painting, opposed their cultivation of all other arts of an external character. Utilitarianism and comfort were as necessarily the canons of the architecture of this country, as truthfulness and fidelity to the nature of every-day life were the ruling principles of its painters. Similar laws, indeed, hold with respect to the Dutch literature to a very great extent, for it is homely, and smacks of the soil; but then the influence of classical studies, and the intercourse of the leading Dutch authors with writers of other nations, did much to counteract their effects in this particular exhibition of the human intellect. In the relations of daily life, however, the national character alone acted; and so it happens that the more intimate arts of Holland—its painting and its architecture—were distinctly and exclusively Dutch.

And a right noble genius too, was this said Dutch genius during the latter and more successful portion of the struggle against Spain! Firmly do we believe that the periods of greatest national glory are those of the greatest national worth; and that they correspond with the pacific exhibition of the qualities developed during an arduous struggle for freedom. The apparent contradictions to this observation offered by the Periclean, the Augustan, the Medicean, or the Louis XIV. ages, when closely investigated, do but confirm this theory; for all



the great men who shone during them, were educated amidst the storms of freedom, and they left no successors. Perhaps the Dutch intellect of the latter end of the seventeenth century did not shine with the brilliance it might have been expected to display, for prosperity is as hard to bear by nations as it is by individuals; but on several subsequent occasions, the Dutch national mind has re-asserted its claims for distinction, and particularly since the commencement of the present century: whilst Athens, Rome, and Florence, have seen their sun set—we fear—for ever. As to France, or its fate, intellectually or politically, it would be absurd to attempt to reason; so essentially is it the country of accidents of the most startling, and, apparently, illogical character. Holland, however, and its history and literature abound with lessons to the philosopher, or to the man of taste and refinement; and most urgently do we recommend our readers to study them in all their details, or failing the opportunity for so doing, to read the various works which have served as our texts for the present article, and which, though characterized by various degrees of literary merit, are all worthy of respect on account of their impartiality and extraordinary amount of research.

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## ART. II.—EGYPTOLOGY.

1. *Egypt's Place in Universal History: an Historical Investigation.* In Five Books. By Christian C. J. Bunsen, D.Ph., D.C.L., &c. Translated from the German by Charles H. Cottrell, Esq., M.A. Vol. I. 1847. Vol. II. 1854. Books I.—III. London: Longmans & Co.
2. *Ägyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte: geschichtliche Untersuchung.* In fünf Büchern. Von Christian Carl Josias Bunsen, D.Ph. D.C.L., &c., &c. Viertes Buch und fünften Buches erste bis dritte Abtheilung. ("Egypt's Place, &c." Fourth Book and first three Sections of the Fifth.) Gotha. 1856.
3. *A Dissertation on Sacred Chronology.* Containing Scripture Evidence to show that the Creation of Man took place 5,833 Years before Christ. To which is added an Arrangement of the Dynasties of Manetho on a Principle which renders Egyptian and Bible Chronology perfectly Harmonious. By the Rev. Nathan Ross. London: Longmans & Co. 1856.

Of the German original of the first three books of the Chevalier Bunsen's "Egypt," and of the English translation of the first, some account was given in the *ECLECTIC REVIEW* for July, 1848.

Twelve years has this great work of a great man been in course

of publication, and it is not yet quite completed, the fourth and concluding Section of the Fifth Book being still to come. For all practical purposes, however, this labour of a quarter of a century to determine "Egypt's Place in Universal History," may be considered as brought to a close. The author's definitive views of Egyptian mythology we have to wait for a little longer, but the historical research has reached its termination, and his chronological system with all its details is at last in our hands. The top-stone of the pyramid has yet to be laid, but we already see the outline and proportions of the mighty mass.\* Or are we wrong in saying the *top-stone*, and ought we rather to have said the *lowermost course of masonry*? Is it an *inverted* pyramid, or is the terrible problem really solved? Has the veil of Neith been lifted? Has the Sphinx yielded her secret? Has the clue to the Labyrinth been found? We wish from the heart that we could reply in the affirmative, but our critical conscience sternly forbids it. One thing we can say,—that an effort so heroic to penetrate the darkness of thousands of years, and to render legible the African chapter in the history of the race, at least *deserved* to succeed. Never, we believe, has a greater genius addressed himself to the task of unravelling the tangled skein of utterly contradictory traditions. In no other instance has there been so lavish an outlay of enthusiasm, time, toil, and many-sided erudition upon this most teasing and thorniest of all historical investigations. And yet the result is signal—our heartfelt and profound respect for the abilities and conscientiousness of the author alone prevents us from adding ridiculous—failure. If the honest praise bestowed, at the starting of the work, in our former article has been justified, so also have the misgivings there expressed been more than realized. "For his monumental authorities," it was there said, "M. Bunsen relies chiefly on the extensive collection published by Lepsius, and described by us in earlier paragraphs. Nothing can surpass the

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\* Since this article was handed to the printer, the Fourth and Fifth Sections of the Fifth Book, completing the work, have reached us. The new portions contain much interesting matter. The former section treats of the relation of the Egyptian religion and doctrine of the *origines* to the Asiatic and Hellenic views. The author travels over much debateable ground, which he maps out with his usual confidence according to the exigencies of his own crochets—historical, chronological, and theological. Still, with all drawbacks, his comparative sketches of the sacred antiquities of the Egyptians, side by side with those of the Phoenicians, Hebrews, Persians, Indians, Greeks, and Chinese, are at least very entertaining reading, and to students who exercise due caution and vigilance will not prove un instructive. The last Section is devoted to a chronological *resumé* of the twenty thousand years and upwards which Bunsen assigns to the past history of our race. We have here his latest modifications of the Egyptian chronology, but essentially his system remains unchanged.

dexterity and persevering industry with which these rich relics have been made available by the Chevalier, to the objects of his arduous investigation. The chronological tablets of Karnak and Abydos as corrected and restored by Lepsius, are here collated with the historical authorities, and the Turin papyrus, notwithstanding its shattered condition and cursive characters, has been shrewdly questioned and made to supply valuable illustration. Passing from the monuments, we come to Manetho and the Greek historians, who are canvassed with an anxious and exhausting scrutiny, of which the critical excellence is indisputable, although we think there may be detected throughout, the operation of theory on the investigating mind. There is an occasional want of what our neighbours call *aplomb*, both in the argument and the marshalling of facts, that makes us doubt if we can be moving in the right direction, and has compelled us, more than once, to make our way through a crowd of ingenious queries, conflicting suppositions, and conclusions not always in alliance with the premises. In plain truth, though we have wrestled hard with this whole section of 'Manetho,' we must confess that we have been nearly thrown; possibilities, probabilities, and actualities, have assailed us in unfair plurality, and left us at the close without a very clear discrimination of particulars." It may seem the more harsh in us to re-affirm with still greater emphasis on the appearance of the sequel of the work our vote of want of confidence, inasmuch as we have no intention of entering into the grounds of our opinion. To refute the work in detail would be an infinitely tedious, though not a very difficult task, and would require as much space as the author himself has required for the statement and enforcement of his system. This alone would be a sufficient apology for not attempting it on the present occasion. It is simply impossible. But neither is it necessary: it is time enough to attack a creed when it begins to make converts, and although the Chevalier's system has now been before the learned world some dozen years or so, no scholar of any repute, so far as we have heard, has hitherto adopted it. It is true that in this respect he is no worse off than any of his brother Egyptologers, whether in ancient or modern times. For it is a singular fact, that no two of these gentlemen are at accord with one another. Each is a chronological Ishmael,—his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him. This department of history is Liberty Hall with a vengeance. The field is as free and large, but, we must add, as full too of briars, as metaphysics. There is no study so utterly abandoned to the wildest freaks of subjectivity as Egyptology. It is a science in which nothing is known, and consequently everything may be asserted and

everything denied with equal probability. The ignoble fetters of logic, its professors spurn with a heroism which the Jesuits might envy. Let no man talk of Egyptian bondage any more. Since this new discipline with its high-sounding name has come up, the domain thus rescued from oblivion has become the only land in which a man may live as he lists. None can touch its shores and remain an intellectual slave. Within its happy frontiers the laws of evidence lose all their force. There are no taxes on anything but knowledge, and all merchandise is admitted duty free, save common sense, which is absolutely prohibited. It is the paradise of the Muntzes of history, where an inconvertible paper money is the only currency, and the promise to pay is never expected to be kept. The most attenuated conjectures here pass for "proof strong as Holy Writ," which, indeed, is not seldom obliged to go to the wall. In short, this boasted Egyptology is the great game of guess, and if any mathematician wants a good bout of such a pastime, as the farthest possible rebound from the exact sciences, we recommend him, instead of amusing himself like Milton's fallen angels with such elementary questions as—

"Fixed fate, freewill, foreknowledge absolute,"

just to try his hand at fixing the chronological whereabouts of

"The series of long generations,

Monarchs in Egypt who reigned, Menes the first of their race."

The sport, however, is becoming rather serious, and it is high time to enter a protest against it, save as an avowed relaxation from real intellectual business. Let it be understood that these long chains of chronological perhapses are as purely unpractical, and have as little to do with the earnestness of history, as the controversy between Professor Whewell and Sir David Brewster about a plurality of worlds, and it would be morose to object to the fun. But if those who set themselves to solve the Sphinx's enigma want men to regard their pursuit as anything more than a clever and amusing *jeu d'esprit*, they must really make up their minds to a little closer concatenation between the why and because. They must at least agree a trifle better amongst themselves before they can be allowed to lay down the law to Christendom, and to send Moses adrift once more upon the Nile. Which of the living hierophants are we to follow, in finding the epoch of Menes and the starting-point of the Egyptian history? Of the English school, Sir Gardner Wilkinson is, we believe, the most moderate, and would be satisfied with B.C. 2200, whilst Mr. Poole is carried across the yawning valley of the centuries on the wings of his "great rukh" like another Sindbad, till he alights at B.C. 2717. The latest German deliverance upon the

point which has reached us is that of Knoetel,\* who decides for B.C. 2387, whilst Bunsen and Lepsius climb high up into the next millenary, the former giving the date B.C. 3643, and the latter B.C. 3892. Lesueur, a member of the French Institute, whose work on the "Chronology of the Kings of Egypt," obtained the prize offered by the Academy of Inscriptions in 1846, for the best essay on that subject, fixes on B.C. 5773. If disgusted after such a specimen with the achievements of the latest modern investigators, our contemporaries, we turn for relief to the more unsophisticated statements of the ancients, we have our choice amongst some dozen or twenty dates between that vouched for by the Egyptian priests to Herodotus, viz., B.C. 11862, and that which Syncellus reports from Eratosthenes, the Alexandrian critic, viz., B.C. 2593.

So much for the starting point. Again, if with one half of our learned pundits, and despite the outcries of the other half, we are to believe in a Middle Empire—a period of decadence and utter barbarism—between the dynasty of the Amenhemhas and Sesortensens, and the house of the Tuthmoses, how long is this parenthesis to be? For Lepsius makes it but 511 years, whilst Bunsen stretches it to 929 or 922, and De Rougé, the distinguished French hieroglyphical scholar, to as many as 2017. Of the historians who wrote in Greek, Herodotus and Diodorus deny the fact altogether, which rests exclusively on the authority of Manetho, who according to one recension of his numbers, the Eusebian, assigns to the monarchs of this Middle Empire 103 years only, which the other, the Africanic (the authority patronized by Bunsen and his friends), multiplies exactly ninefold, evidently treating them as a dynasty of sacred cats. Of these dreadful Hyksos, or Phœnician shepherd-kings, who made Egypt and its princes tributary to themselves during so many centuries, the alleged contemporary monuments, it is admitted, make not the slightest mention. Bunsen appeals indeed to a Sallier papyrus in the British Museum for the statement that Apophis, one of them, was summoned by the immediate predecessor of Amosis, the founder of the New Empire, to evacuate the city Avaris, the stronghold of the Hyksos. But in his eagerness to clutch at this frail support of his view from a palpable and acknowledged romance, he forgets, that according to his own chronological system, Apophis must have been some seven or eight hundred years old at the time when he received this notice to quit.† We are not sure that he must not have been double that age. At

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\* *De Pastoribus qui Hyk-sos vocantur deque Regibus Pyramidum auctoribus.* Lipsiæ. 1856.

† Apophis reigned, according to him, B.C. 2447-2387, and Amosis B.C. 1625-1601.

least we are not the first to identify him with that fine old Pharoah Phiops,\* to whom Bunsen with Eratosthenes (who calls him Apappus) and Manetho assigns a reign of a century "all but an hour" beginning, according to our German friend, B.C. 3074. His monumental name, we are told, is Pepi, which is as near to Apophis or Aphobis—for the shepherd-king's name is given in both forms—as to Appapus, Phiops, or Phios.

Moreover, if we may indulge in a little of that sort of criticism with which Bunsen favours us so plentifully, we may possibly be able to show how this moderate reign of a century originated, and to throw a gleam of light upon the nature of the lists of kings furnished us by Manetho and Eratosthenes. By comparing the Eusebian and Africanic recensions of Manetho's second dynasty (Thinites), we discover that its third king with a reign of 47 years was called Biophis, who is our old friend in a new dress. Turning to the sixth dynasty in Africanus, we find a Phiops I. with 53 years, and we have only to add the two reigns together to get the hundred years of Phiops II. belonging to the same dynasty. The all but immediate successor (only one reign off, and that but a year) of this patriarchal monarch in both Manetho and Eratosthenes is the famous queen Nitocris, she whose history was dramatized lately at Drury Lane Theatre, and the only female sovereign under the Old Empire to be found in the lists. This latter circumstance is important, because it so happens that among the very few historical memoranda occurring in the Manethonian catalogue of kings, there is one under the name of Biophis to the effect that in his reign "*it was ordained that queens might rule.*" According to Eratosthenes, Nitocris reigned "the wife instead of the husband," as he remarks, for six years, which is the precise *difference* between the 47 of Biophis and the 53 of Phiops I., just as the century given to Phiops is the precise *sum* of the same two numbers. That there is a fact lying at the bottom here is we think highly probable, but that we have three versions already of one and the same king is still more so. The fourth is Apophis, whom Eusebius, it may be observed in passing, really makes contemporary with the predecessor of Amosis in agreement with the Sallier papyrus. His recension of Manetho gives him 14 years, whilst Africanus, Josephus, and Syncellus assign him 61. The former number we do not profess to explain, but the latter is evidently made up of this 14 and the 47 of Biophis. Eusebius assigns to his single

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\* Bunsen himself, in his second book (English edition, vol. ii. p. 201), identifies the Apepi of the Sallier papyrus with Phiops. Meanwhile the context has been better made out, and he now (Buch iv. s. 438, German ed.) recognises in Apepi the shepherd-king Apophis, in spite of the above anachronism.



Hyksos dynasty 103 years; and it is a curious circumstance, affording, moreover, a striking corroboration of the suspicious character of the centenary king, Phiops II., and, we must add, of the Manethonian lists in general, that we have only to expunge him from the sixth dynasty in Africanus, to reduce its duration to precisely the same amount. Nor is this all. From this simple operation there at once results a marvellous resemblance between these two dynasties not only in the sum total of the reigns, but even in their details, as the following comparative table will show:—

AFRICANIC DYNASTY, VI. MEMPHITE KINGS. EUSEBIAN DYNASTY, XVII. HYKSOS KINGS.*				
	YEARS.			YEARS.
1 Othoes . . . .	30	3 Archles . . . .		30
2 Phiops (I.) . . .	53	2 Bnon . . . . .		40
4 Menthesuphis II. .	1	4 Apophis . . . .		14
3 Menthesuphis I. .	7	1 Saïtes . . . . .		19
5 Nitocris . . . .	12			
	<hr/>			<hr/>
	Total 103			Total 103

Instances of this sort might be multiplied indefinitely, and they afford us some insight into the utter untrustworthiness of Manetho, even could we ascertain with anything like a comfortable certainty, which of the two traditions of his numbers, the Eusebian or the Africanic, is entitled to the preference. They agree numerically in scarcely anything save the number of the dynasties, of which both have thirty-one down to Alexander the Great. It is the fashion with the Egyptologers to give their unhesitating votes in favour of Africanus, and to run down Eusebius, and this is emphatically the case with Bunsen and Lepsius. But for this disparagement of the Father of Church History we are unable to discover any valid reason, and no plausible pretext even can be alleged for it, save some absurd declamation of Syncellus. It seems clear rather that both Eusebius and Africanus are perfectly reliable witnesses of what they found in their respective copies of Manetho, but that they quote *different editions* of the Egyptian priest's work. One of these at least must have been remodelled by some subsequent editor, perhaps, Ptolemy Mendesius, who is known to have published something of the same nature; and it is even possible that both may have undergone a similar transformation. We present a compendious comparative view of the two recensions, which will of itself suffice to prove, we think, that some such hypothesis must be resorted to in order to account for the phenomena.

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\* The Hyksos kings are said, in the Manethonian fragments preserved by Josephus, to have reigned at Memphis.

## MANETHO'S DYNASTIES.

## ACCORDING TO AFRICANUS.

## ACCORDING TO EUSEBIUS.

## BOOK I.

DYNASTY	YEARS.
I. 8 Thinite kings, beginning with Menes reigned .	253
II. 9 Thinites reigned .	302
III. 9 Memphites .	214
IV. 8 Memphites .	284
V. 9 Elephantines .	248
VI. 6 Memphites .	203
VII. 70 Memphites .	70 days
VIII. 27 Memphites .	142
IX. 19 Heracleopolitans .	409
X. 19 Heracleopolitans .	185
XI. 16 Diospolitans .	43
" Then Amenemes reigned .	16"
Total of Book I. .	2300

DYNASTY	YEARS.
I. 8 Thinites, beginning with Menes, .	252
II. 9 Thinites .	297
III. 8 Memphites .	197
IV. 17 Memphites .	448
V. 31 Elephantines .	100
VI. — Memphites .	203
VII. 75 Memphites .	75 days
VIII. 5 Memphites .	100
IX. 4 Heracleopolitans .	100
X. 19 Heracleopolitans .	185
XI. 16 Diospolitans .	43
" Then Amenemes reigned .	16"
Total of Book I. .	1941

## BOOK II.

XII. 7 Diospolitans .	160
XIII. 60 Diospolitans .	453
XIV. 76 Xoites .	184
XV. 6 Hyksos .	284
XVI. 32 Hyksos .	518
XVII. { 43 Hyksos .	151
and	
43 Diospolitans .	
XVIII. 16 Diospolitans .	263
XIX. 6 Diospolitans .	209
Total of Book II. .	2222

XII. 7 Diospolitans .	182
XIII. 60 Diospolitans .	453
XIV. 77 Xoites .	484
XV. — Diospolitans .	250
XVI. 5 Diospolitans .	190
XVII. 4 Hyksos .	103
XVIII. 16 Diospolitans .	345
XIX. 5 Diospolitans .	194
Total of Book II. .	2201

## BOOK III.

XX. 12 Diospolitans .	135
XXI. 7 Tanites .	114
XXII. 9 Bubastites .	120
XXIII. 4 Tanites .	89
XXIV. 1 Saïte .	6
XXV. 3 Ethiopians .	40
XXVI. 9 Saïtes .	150
XXVII. 8 Persians .	125
XXVIII. 1 Saïte .	6
XXIX. 4 Mendesians .	21
XXX. 3 Sebennytnans .	38
XXXI. 3 Persians to Alexander .	9
Total of Book III. .	853

XX. 12 Diospolitans .	178
XXI. 7 Tanites .	130
XXII. 3 Bubastites .	49
XXIII. 3 Tanites .	44
XXIV. 1 Saïte .	44
XXV. 3 Ethiopians .	44
XXVI. 9 Saïtes .	167
XXVII. 8 Persians .	112
XXVIII. 1 Saïte .	6
XXIX. 4 Mendesians .	28
XXX. 3 Sebennytnans .	38
XXXI. 3 Persians to Alexander .	20
Total of Book III. .	852

The grand totals are, for the Africanic recension, 5,375 years, and for the Eusebian 4,994. The difference is 381 years, or nearly four centuries. In the separate totals for the three books, there is substantial agreement between the two versions of Manetho in the case of the last only. Descending to details a little, we find that out of the eleven dynasties in the first book, they give the same numbers for no more than two; out

of the eight belonging to the second, they harmonize in only a single instance ; and out of the twelve in the third, they differ in all but two. Of these discrepancies some intelligible account must be given. To set them down, as is often done, to the falsifications of Eusebius, is simply childish. The fifty centuries were as unmanageable to him as the fifty-four. Besides, he had at hand a much more straightforward way of disposing of the difficulty of reconciling this intractable chronology with the Biblical. He suggests (without however venturing to allege Manetho's authority for the fact) that some of the dynasties may have been contemporary. The reader will not fail to observe also that the numbers of Eusebius, although in most cases lower, are in several instances higher than those of Africanus, sometimes as much as three centuries higher. Was this and the remarkable variation in the item for the seventh dynasty mere *finesse* on his part, with a view to colour the fraud ? If so, it is the more strange that he should have rounded off in the style of the veriest bungler the numbers for the fifth, eighth, and ninth dynasties, giving them exactly a century each. No ; we are convinced this assumption of wholesale forgery on the part of Eusebius will satisfy no one who looks fairly at the facts of the case. It is as improbable intrinsically as it is injurious to the memory of that excellent and valuable writer. Hence the suggestion thrown out by Boeckh,\* the Nestor of modern German scholarship, as Bunsen himself most justly describes him, must be accepted as the true solution of the problem. There were at least two widely different recensions of Manetho's work. And if this be so, then since it is hardly conceivable that any save a Hellenized Egyptian like the author himself, would have taken upon himself the responsibility of editing such a production, we have in point of fact two separate native chronologies before us, one handed down by Africanus, and the other by Eusebius. Which of these is the more original it is impossible to say. But thus much is tolerably certain, that the differences between them are fatal to the authority of both. No chronology which can be thus treated as a nose of wax by native writers can be other than mythical.

Thus it stands with the principal ancient author on whom our Egyptologists rely. Nobody can swear to the identity of this Protean witness, Manetho. He is a veritable Janus, and which is his true face and which his mask, or whether both may not be masks, it is utterly impossible to say. It would

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\* *Manetho und die Hundsternperiode.* ("Manetho and the Dogstar Period.") Berlin. 1845.

, however, that the testimony of the Egyptian priest and of his editor, whether Ptolemy Mendonius or any other educated countryman of Manetho, stand, for aught that can be said to the contrary, quite on a par; and hence, since they contradict one another in numerous and most important particulars, that neither of them deserves much credit.

Let this scruple, however, be overruled, and let the Eusebianicate be hooted out of court as an impostor. By far the serious hitch still remains to be got over before the theories of Bunsen or Lepsius can lay claim to general acceptance. Their chronological schemes, along with those of many very inferior their inferiors, stand or fall with the assumption that Manetho never meant his dynasties to be all construed collectively. Accordingly in the first and second books, although in the third, they contend for contemporary reigning dynasties holding sway over different portions of Egypt. This mode of the matter had already occurred, as we have seen, to Eusebius, and has always proved very tempting to those who have been desirous to uphold the authority of Manetho, if it could be done without trenching too much upon that of the Egyptian records. But no modern bias of this sort should be allowed to interfere in the interpretation of an ancient heathen author. No doubt it is in itself far from improbable that in remote times rival dynasties of Pharaohs held divided sway over Egypt. But the question which has to be decided is in the sense in which Manetho desired to be understood; and even in the time of Herodotus the priesthood to which the Egyptian annalist belonged did not blush to impose upon that intelligent Greek traveller an antiquity of eleven or twelve thousand years, the presumption is rather against than in favour of any further curtailment of the more modest computation which assigns to the monarchy a period of but half that amount. It is admitted, moreover, that in the dynastic lists, at least, with the exception of two or three scanty fragments of accompanying history, constitute the entire remains of Manetho's work, no hint is ever dropped of contemporary reigning houses. We may be sure, too, that had Africanus or Eusebius found anything of the kind in their author, they would not have failed to inform us of the comfortable clue. The latter, as we have observed, timidly guesses that there may have been parallel dynasties, but he nowhere ventures to assert that this was Manetho's view. The passage occurs in the first book of his chronicle, which portion of the work, after all hope of its recovery had long been given up, came to light in an Armenian version about forty years ago. In the Roman edition of 1818, by the late Cardinal Mai and the Armenian

scholar, Zohrab, it is thus Latinized: "Sane Mestrimus generis Ægyptiaci auctor fuit, ab eoque prima Ægyptiorum dynastia manare credenda est. Quod si temporum copia adhuc exuberet, reputandum est plures FORTASSE Ægyptiorum reges una eademque ætate extitisse; namque et Thynitas regnavisse aiunt et Memphitas et Saitas et Æthiopes eodemque tempore alios. VIDENTUR præterea alii quoque abibi imperium tenuisse: atque hæ dynastiæ suo quoque in nomo semet continuisse: ita ut haud singuli reges successivam potestatem acceperint, sed alius alio loco eadem ætate regnaverit. Atque huic contigit, ut tantus cumulus annorum confieret." (Mizraim was certainly the progenitor of the Egyptians, and we ought to believe that from him the first dynasty of the Egyptians starts. But if the number of years be still too great, it should be borne in mind that PERHAPS many Egyptian kings lived at one and the same time; for it is said that Thynites and Memphites, Saites and Ethiopians, with others besides, reigned at the same time. Moreover, also, some SEEM to have borne sway in one district and others in another, and these dynasties SEEM to have been confined each to its own nome (county); so that the kings WOULD NOT APPEAR to have succeeded to the throne one after the other, but to have reigned, one in one place, and another elsewhere, during the same time. And thus it came to pass that such an immense mass of years was made up.) Now it is as plain as the sun at noonday that, as Boeckh observes, Eusebius is here giving a *conjecture* of his own, along with some Christian or Jewish hearsays, and not a *testimony* as to what his author contained. It is evident, on the contrary, that he found that in Manetho which required to be thus glossed over and evaded. If this were not the sum total given still in the extant fragments at the close of each of the three books, and perhaps originally (although at present this is wanting) at the end of the whole work, it is hard to conjecture what else it could have been. We are aware that Bunsen and Lepsius, with their whole school, are wont to attribute these *epilogi* to the blundering Christian copyists of the Manethonian lists, and to be very witty upon their stupidity accordingly. But why these poor scribes should have been so prone to this Whiggish sin of building stone walls to knock their own heads against, requires a larger share of German *Tiefe* to discover than we care to lay claim to. No; even at this stage of the inquiry, the Rationalistic expedient for saving the credit of Manetho breaks down utterly. The case against him and his sacerdotal guild is too strong. Their chronology is a huge lie; and as the just but terrible penalty of their crime, their nation, which they sought to glorify, has been for two thousand years, and may possibly

remain for ever, without a history at all. The frog which burst in the effort to swell itself to the size of the ox, must have been generated from the mud of the Nile.

We have said that even by the light of the facts already brought forward the question is settled for all who are willing to see. But a brilliant discovery made by Boeckh, to which sufficient justice has never as yet been done, ought to set it at rest even for minds pretty thickly coated with prejudice; for all, in short, save those who are hopelessly wedded to some pet theory of their own. This prince of German philologists has found the key to Manetho's system, at least as exhibited in the *Africanic* recension. As he shows, we have but to add the 5,375 Egyptian years, given by the MSS. as the period between Menes and Alexander, to B.C. 332, the date when the Macedonian conqueror mounted the throne of Egypt (then a province of Persia), and we arrive at B.C. 5,702, the precise ἀρχή, or starting-point of the famous astronomical cycle of 1461 Egyptian, or 1460 Julian years, styled the Dog-Star or Sothiac Period. It must be borne in mind that the *Egyptian* years were all of them years of 365 days. They had no leap-years; and owing to this neglect of the odd quarter of a day, the beginning of their civil year (the first day of their first month, Thoth,) would necessarily traverse, in the course of 1460 ( $365 \times 4$ ) years, the whole of the seasons. At the beginning of the cycle it coincided with the heliacal rising of Sirius, the brightest of all the fixed stars, the Egyptian name of which was Sothis, whence the appellation of the period. This answers to the 20th of our July. In the middle of the cycle, i.e., after the lapse of 730 years, the Egyptian New-Year's-day coincided with our January the 18th, coming round again, at the close of the period, to July 20th, once more. The acquaintance of the Egyptians with this period, the very name of which is Egyptian, its sacredness in their eyes, and even the important fact of their fondness for making its starting-point that also of their own national history,—all these things, as Boeckh shows, rest on well-accredited ancient authority, quite independent of anything to be found in Manetho. Their calendar too is perfectly well known both from the testimonies of the classics and from the monuments. Censorinus, who lived at the time, notices the fact that a Sothiac period commenced in A.D. 139, which Ideler has verified astronomically. Clement of Alexandria speaks of the beginning of the previous period, 1460 years before that, or in B.C. 1322, which year, again, it is further known from other sources, the Egyptians were wont to style the Era of Menephtes, from the name of the Pharaoh in whose reign the auspicious conjunction of the New-Year's-day with the rising



of the divine star, Sothis, took place. Still going back three cycles, we reach B.C. 5,702, with which, according to Bocckh's construction of Manetho, but not according to that adopted by Bunsen, Lepsius, and Co., the Egyptian priest has actually made the reign of Menes, the human founder of the monarchy, commence. The inference is irresistible. The highly artificial character of Manetho's chronology is no longer a hypothesis. It is a demonstrated fact. For some important confirmations of the correctness of Bocckh's view, if any such be needed, reference may be made to a critique on Bunsen in the *British Quarterly Review* for April, 1856.\*

Our readers, we hope, will not think we dwell too much on this point of the right construction of Manetho, when they reflect that it gives the death-blow at once to the systems of the great German Egyptologists. If they have misunderstood Manetho they themselves would be the first to acknowledge the vanity of their passionate appeals to the monuments. We have not lost sight of this latter branch of the subject, but we purposely abandon it to writers better qualified to grapple with it, contenting ourselves with the remark, that to us, in our ignorance, it seems premature to say so much about hieroglyphical discovery, whilst it is confessed, that no more than about five hundred Egyptian words, or about two per cent. of the language, have as yet been deciphered. Besides, it is confessed on all hands that the monuments of themselves can never give us a chronology. Even Mariette's splendid treasures very recently exhumed from the Apis Cemetery, near the site of ancient Memphis, which seemed to promise us a continuous series of dates, back, at least, to the beginning of the great eighteenth dynasty, are now seen to carry us without breaks no farther than the twenty-second. We may observe, in passing, that they by no means confirm the Chevalier's views, even of this mere rag-end of the chronology. Bunsen starts from this same dynasty, and he and his friend Manetho are now demonstrated to be wrong at this very first step. For, whereas Bunsen, with the Africanic Manetho, assigns nine kings to this dynasty—the Eusebian recension has but three,—it now turns out, as the result of Mariette's discoveries, that there were eleven; and that of the two omitted, one reigned thirty-seven years at least.

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\* The above remarks of course apply exclusively to the Africanic recension of Manetho. But it may be added, that the Eusebian is equally artificial. The only difference is, that it makes the reign of Menes commence, not with a Sothic, but with a Phoenix Cycle. The Phoenix Cycle of 500 years, spoken of by the ancients, is shown in the *British Quarterly* article to have commenced B.C. 324–323, between which date and the accession of Menes in the Eusebian Manetho are 5,000 years, or just ten such cycles.

This break-down, at starting, does not augur well for our arriving safely at the terminus of the long route marked out for us in the following epitome of the Chevalier's chronological system:—

	B.C.
First year of Sheshonk (the Shishak of the Bible), first king of the twenty-second dynasty . . . . .	982
End of the twenty-first dynasty (lasted 130 years) . . . . .	983
Beginning of the twenty-first dynasty . . . . .	1112
End of the twentieth dynasty (lasted 185 years) . . . . .	1113
Beginning of the twentieth dynasty . . . . .	1297
End of the nineteenth dynasty (lasted 112 years) . . . . .	1298
BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF MENOPHTHAH . . . . .	1322
Beginning of the nineteenth dynasty . . . . .	1409
End of the eighteenth dynasty (lasted 229 years) . . . . .	1410
Beginning of the eighteenth dynasty and the New Empire . . . . .	1638
End of the Hyksos dynasties (lasted 929 years) . . . . .	1639
Beginning of the Hyksos dynasties . . . . .	2567
End of the Old Empire (last year of Amuntimæus, third king of the thirteenth dynasty) after lasting 1,076 years . . . . .	2568
Previous reign of Amuntimæus (62 years) . . . . .	2630
Beginning of the thirteenth dynasty (lasted 24 years: first two kings) . . . . .	2654
Beginning of the twelfth dynasty (lasted 147 years: four kings) . . . . .	2801
Beginning of the eleventh dynasty (lasted 16 years: one king) . . . . .	2817
Beginning of the eighth dynasty (lasted 128 years: seven kings) . . . . .	2945
Beginning of the seventh dynasty (lasted 22 years: one king) . . . . .	2967
Beginning of the sixth dynasty (lasted 107 years: three kings) . . . . .	3074
Beginning of the fourth (pyramidal) dynasty (lasted 155 years: four kings) . . . . .	3229
Beginning of the third dynasty (lasted 224 years: nine kings) . . . . .	3453
Beginning of the first dynasty (lasted 190 years: five kings) . . . . .	3643

“Hence, consequently,” adds very complacently the author of this bold reconstruction of Egyptian chronology, “the accession of Menes was B.C. 3643.”

The dynasties omitted in the above scheme are those which are regarded by Bunsen, from their not reigning at either Memphis or Thebes (Diospolis), the Moscow and St. Petersburg of ancient Egypt, as merely collateral ones. By comparison with the summary of Manetho, it will be seen that the Chevalier includes in his chronology all the dynasties there designated after those imperial cities,—but that he assigns them, especially under what he styles the Old Empire, a very much smaller

numbers of years than that author. The fact is, that whilst professing on all occasions the utmost deference to the Egyptian priest, he treats the numerical readings of his text with mighty little ceremony, being in this respect, as well as in some others, at the farthest remove possible from Boeckh, who, with the great bulk of modern scholars, stands decidedly in awe of the *litera scripta*. This fondness for slashing emendations, however, does not account for the whole of the phenomena. He fancies he has discovered in Syncellus a *veritable chronological canon for the whole period of the Old Empire*, as trustworthy as the celebrated Astronomical Canon of Ptolemy, being, in fact, from the pen of an equally, if not more learned Alexandrian scholar, in short, no less a man than ERATOSTHENES. Syncellus gives us a list of thirty-eight consecutive Theban kings, who are said to have reigned 1,076 years in all, and this list he introduces with the following remark:—

“Apollodorus, the chronographer, has recorded a different series of Egyptian kings, styled Thebans, which began in the year of the world 2900, and ended in the year of the world 3975, the knowledge of which, he says, Eratosthenes derived from Egyptian archives and registers, and rendered into Greek by royal command as follows, &c.”

These kings begin, like those of Manetho, with Menes the Thinite, and on comparing the names with those belonging to the earlier dynasties of the same author, a certain amount of resemblance—but, be it remembered, side by side with very marked and far more numerous differences—is easily made out, especially by a lively imagination like the Chevalier's. On the strength of this analogy, our Egyptologer utters his *eureka*. Without the slightest authority, he jumps to the twofold conclusion, first, that these thirty-eight kings form the entire series of Pharaohs of the time before the conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos, or shepherd-kings, and, secondly, that their reigns were strung together by Eratosthenes, on the principle of an exact chronological canon. But, what is far worse, against the clear testimony of the passage, which makes them begin A.M. 2900, which in Syncellus answers to B.C. 2593, he shifts the starting-point more than a thousand years higher up! To common understandings there is simply an irreconcilable contradiction between Eratosthenes and Manetho. But our sanguine harmonizer brings them together, nay, makes a centaur of the two. That is the word which best describes his system. It is Eratosthenes in front, and Manetho, at least as expounded by Bunsen, behind. In the anterior portion of the chronology, viz., in that of the so-called Old Empire, Eratos-

thenes is all in all. Manetho is cut and carved according to the imperious *rule* with a vengeance. For even when the alleged contemporary dynasties have been sent to the right-about, and the most hazardous alterations made in the text, there is an awful amount of surplusage left. No matter; there is still the grand expedient of supposing joint reigns, regencies, and usurpations, and, accordingly, ample use is made of this well-known license of the chronologers.

After all, however, Bunsen is fain to admit that Manetho really estimated the duration of the Old Empire several centuries higher than Eratosthenes, or, which is the same thing with our author, than the truth of history. This difference is far from trifling, and the admission would seem to be so fatal to Manetho's authority in the Middle and New Empires, where there is confessedly no other guide, that we cannot think it would have been made at all, had there not been a purpose to serve. The fact is, that the notion of contemporary dynasties was to be upheld at all risks, and the only really plausible argument in its favour is drawn from a casual remark dropped by Syncellus, that Manetho made the entire duration of the Egyptian monarchy, from Menes down to the fifteenth year before the accession of Alexander, to be 3,555 years. Since the number of years yielded by the continuous method of construing Manetho, even according to the Eusebian recension, is some fifteen centuries above this, it is contended that that author must have regarded some of his dynasties as collateral. On the other hand, these 3,555 years must have comprehended some centuries more than 1,076 years under the Old Empire. Hence Bunsen's awkward admission. Hence, too, Lepsius, who builds his entire system on this chance statement of Syncellus, discards Eratosthenes altogether, and is thus reduced to the necessity of simply *guessing* as to what dynasties were contemporary.

We are presumptuous enough to think that we can help Lepsius to a copy of the authentic Manetho, to which the passage in Syncellus must be held to relate, though we cannot promise that it shall afford any confirmation of the theory of collateral dynasties. We have seen that there are two quite distinct recensions of the Egyptian priest's work, if, indeed, so Protean an affair can be regarded as having any proper owner at all. What if there were a third? There *was* a third, and what is more, happily it is still extant, and is not altogether unknown to scholars, only it has been mistaken for a mere mutilated fragment. It is to be found in the so-called "*Excerpta Barbara*," first published by Scaliger, and truly characterized by him as "*utilissima*," notwithstanding the ludicrous want of learning exhibited by the man by whom these invaluable

extracts from Eusebius, Africanus, and other ancient chronologers, were rendered into Latin. The notion that the poor unlucky wight, whilst professing to give Manetho's chronology as he found it in his authority (the learned Castor is the writer whom he is supposed to be following here), has carelessly skipped over fourteen or fifteen dynasties, is a purely gratuitous one, and rests upon the assumption that whatever is colourably to bear the name of Manetho, must necessarily be marked by substantial identity,—an assumption which a glance at the great differences between the Africanic and Eusebian recensions is quite sufficient to explode. The "Barbarus," it is true, pens dreadful Latin, but he is the farthest remove possible from being a careless writer. Besides, it should not be overlooked that he speaks, and that *more than once*, of a Manetho which comprised *two* books only, instead of three, so that a reduction in the number of dynasties is the less startling, especially since a comparison of his particulars with those given elsewhere, stamps his scheme as resting upon an entirely independent tradition. For all these reasons we decidedly incline to the opinion that his sixteen dynasties form an unbroken line from Menes to Nectanebus II., "the last Pharoah of the kingdom of Egypt," as he himself styles him, and are, in fact, no other than the *missing recension* of Manetho, to which the above *obiter dictum* of Syncellus, on which Bunsen and Lepsius lay so much stress, is alone applicable. This Castorean Manetho, as it may perhaps be provisionally called, we translate from the "Excerpta Barbara," as follows. The numbering of the dynasties we enclose in brackets, to intimate that none is to be found in the original.

(I.)	"Menes and his seven descendants reigned .	253	years.
(II.)	Eight other kings reigned . . .	302	"
(III.)	Necheroches, and eight others . . .	214	"
(IV.)	Likewise seventeen others . . .	214	"
(V.)	Likewise twenty-one others . . .	258	"
(VI.)	Othoes and others . . .	203	"
(VII.)	Likewise fourteen others . . .	140	"
(VIII.)	Likewise twenty others . . .	409	"
(IX.)	Likewise seven others . . .	204	"
(X.)	A Diospolitan dynasty . . .	9	"
(XI.)	A Bubastite dynasty . . .	153	"
(XII.)	A Tanite dynasty . . .	184	"
(XIII.)	A Sebennytan dynasty . . .	224	"
(XIV.)	A Memphite dynasty . . .	318	"
(XV.)	A Heliopolitan dynasty . . .	221	"
(XVI.)	A Hermopolitan dynasty . . .	260	"
Total . . . . .		<hr/> 8566 years."	

At the close of the whole list, the Barbarus, who himself counts sixteen dynasties in all, adds the words: "*Hæc sunt potestates Ægyptiorum.*" (These are the dynasties of the Egyptians.) This would seem to intimate, pretty plainly, that he has arrived at the end of the reign of the last native Egyptian dynasty, i. e., at the last year of Nectanebus II. This, according to Boeckh, was B.C. 341–340. To this date we have from Menes 3,566 years as above, or since this was *four* years only before the commencement of the reign of Alexander the Great,\* we have 3,555 years from Menes to the *fifteenth* year before that event, just as in the statement of Syncellus. Hence, the last prop of the theory of collateral dynasties in Manetho breaks down, and with that theory, the chronological systems of Bunsen and Lepsius also fall to the ground.

We have said enough, we hope, to show that this boasted science of Egyptology is rather a shaky business, and that a little more modesty than is sometimes found in its professors, would not ill become them. For instance, were there no less arrogant terms at hand in which to speak of those who are sceptical about the alleged Hyksos domination, than Bunsen employs in the following passage? The reader will observe that in it the enormous strain upon our faith, which the admission of the fact pre-supposes, is distinctly acknowledged by our author,—is put, in fact, in the strongest possible light. The section is headed, "*Prejudices of those who have not made Egyptology their study, against the Hyksos period—especially the Jewish-Christian Theologians—and the Futility of their Lucubrations.*" After this note of preparation it thus proceeds:—

"The introductory observations in the former volume [vol. i.] must have made us sensible of the invaluable guide posterity has lost in the work of Eratosthenes. He alone taught us how Manetho is to be understood,—he enabled us even to point out, when we were obliged to correct him, the superiority of his method in treating Egyptian research. Had Manetho's lists even come down to us wholly free from blunders, we should never have been able to have divined, from the epilogi of his dynasties, the historical sums-total of the years of reign—the only years which Eratosthenes, with his superior method, computed in his list. There, on the contrary, we found the genuine Manethonian computation so clogged with extraneous matter, and his entries so mixed up with blunders, that we were driven to conjectures alone in attempting any chronology whatever—conjectures which deviated widely from each other. Difficulties, however, of a far more serious nature, and considerations of a far more important order, sprung up in opposition to the arguments in favour of the assumption of there being a period of at all events FIVE FULL

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\* Taken, as often in ancient writers, at B.C. 336, when he succeeded his father Philip.



CENTURIES,\* perhaps NINE,† intervening between the Old and New Empire. There we had an almost unbroken series of names and dates of reign, the coincidence of which, in Eratosthenes and Manetho could not be denied [!], from the moment we found the key to the connexion between them. Wherever there was an hiatus or confusion in these lists, the monuments so providentially preserved, especially the two invaluable Royal Tablets,‡ supplied and restored what was omitted. It merely required an impartial eye, and a system of historical criticism consistently carried out after the model left us by the restorers of Greek and Roman history [!], to see at once that this agreement could not possibly be the result of accident. *Here, on the contrary, we seem to assume as historical, fifty and odd kings, upon the mere entry of lists which do not give us one single name—one single date of reign. We demand a place in general history for kings whose very existence has hitherto not been believed even by those who admit the Hyksos period in general to be historical.* These latter persons still thought themselves obliged to limit it to a century, or some such like short period, either because they were *blinded by Jewish prejudices*, or because they stood aghast before an array of centuries about which they had nothing to relate, though obliged to compute them in the chronology. If they could not venture here to rely upon those whom they declared to be trustworthy, on the whole, in the Old Empire, namely, the Egyptians and their monuments, they took courage from their prejudices, and exercised the right of talking about what they did not understand. Most modern writers of this turn, however, presuming on the prescription of long-repeated absurdities, and calculating on the credulity of mankind [!], mutilate ancient history to a much greater extent than the ecclesiastical writers, who so anxiously and honestly limited their computations of the earliest epochs. They think to facilitate the restoration of the old chronology by denying the Hyksos period altogether. This not only lightens their labours in that department, but even gives them, in the eyes of many, the appearance, which costs nothing, of being thoroughly sound critics; for it seems a higher mark of genuine criticism, especially in these times, to deny a thing rather than to maintain its truth. People are ashamed of being ignorant in matters of research with which the sound common-sense of mankind might long ago have grappled; but professed scholars even, especially in Germany, do not blush to parade before all Europe a scandalous ignorance of Egyptian research, and to talk with caste-arrogance of ‘so-called contemporary monuments’ and ‘pretended explanations of the hieroglyphics.’ When, however, this will not answer their purpose any longer, they come forward, especially in England, with theological suspicions and charges of infidelity,—men who never gave a single proof of being able to read and critically explain the records of their own faith in the original. All such persons rush eagerly to attack our assumption as to the length of the Middle Empire with

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\* This is the view of Lepsius.

† Bunsen's own view.

‡ Those of Karnak and Abydos.

the arms, so often victorious, of positive denial, and by referring to great names of those who lived before the discovery of the hieroglyphics. The 1,076 years of the Old Empire they must concede to us—at least we think so—unless they have a fancy to increase the number. But in the Hyksos period, the case of the old chronology seems, according to our own explanations, less strong. Besides this, there are scholars who are not ashamed, in these days, of advancing the utterly untenable proposition, that the Hyksos kings ever possessed the whole of Egypt. Improbable, indeed, and unexampled we must admit it to be, that a foreign people should maintain themselves in Egypt, for nine, or even five centuries, and have lived so like barbarians, that not a single monument of theirs, that is of the whole period, can be pointed out. Unless, forsooth, the pyramids are such! for it appears, from the latest publications in Germany, that Egyptian research has not removed the unhappy idea that they were erected by these Shepherds. Such persons who, instead of patiently studying and endeavouring to make themselves masters of facts, adhere, like the mediæval inquirers, to probabilities, may find themselves in a greater dilemma than others, on finding that, at the end of this period, which is longer, perhaps, than the duration of the historical life of most modern peoples, the Old Egyptian Empire comes forth again in renovated youth, and, in fact, as the monuments prove, with its national peculiarities, its religion, its language, its writing, its art, in precisely the same condition as if no interruption had occurred, or, at most, nothing beyond the temporary inroad of some Bedouin robbers.

"Yet these are the fairest opponents amongst those who doubt the correctness of Egyptian archaeology. They enter upon the inquiry with seeming impartiality. Their Bedouins, at least, are taken from fact. But the dogmatic sceptics condescend to entertain apprehensions of a very different character. What will become (they ask first of all) of the Bible dates? And what becomes of the Flood? exclaim the zealots. Two thousand years' history and chronology before Moses!\* and that from one for whom the Bible chronology prior to Solomon is not good enough! And here a wide door is opened for sarcasm and scoffing; for there are many zealous souls who desire nothing better than to prove that the 'scoffer,' the 'God-despiser,' the 'infidel critic,' himself deals uncritically. In such persons' eyes, however, every man is naturally a scoffer who declares he does not believe anything they assert, however devoid it may be of any sound foundation, and however insignificant in itself. It would be, therefore, far more advisable, in a worldly view of the case, to abandon the point at once. For such a concession, perhaps, the chronology of the Old Empire might be allowed to pass muster—nay, we might even gain the cheap reputation of having exercised strict and impartial criticism in researches undertaken from an innocent affection for Egyptian antiquities. Opponents of this class will naturally consider us prejudiced throughout in favour of the Egyptian

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\* A trifle more, as we shall presently see.

authorities, of which we were the first to prove the historical authenticity [!]

“The affair, however, is no affair of ours. Be we right or be we wrong, it is *truth* of which we are in search. What we contend against is indifference to the discovery of truth in the old traditions. It is the deceitful pretence of real knowledge which we have zealously laboured, and that not for a short time, to expel, even in the domain of the oldest chronology, from its prescriptive strongholds, to offer it up to the manes of Eratosthenes, of Scaliger, and of Niebuhr.”—*Bunsen* ii., pp. 415—419.

In the new portion of the work the Chevalier is still less reserved in his treatment of what he contemptuously styles the “Rabbinical chronology,” meaning thereby that which is enshrined in the text of the Bible. Lepsius had already broached the ridiculous notion that the Israelites sojourned in Egypt only “about a century.” Of course this is the conclusion imperatively demanded by “science,” and a “critical” investigation of the monumental as compared with the literary sources, not forgetting the truthful national historian, Manetho. Such being the case, Bunsen will of course agree on this question with his brother Egyptologer, for whom, on every occasion, he is wont to profess such profuse admiration. No; the Egyptologers are lavish in complimenting one another, but they must not be expected to *agree* in anything. The Egyptian exile of the Hebrews, according to the last deliverance of “science” upon the subject, lasted precisely 1,434 years, viz.:—

From B.C. 2747=ninth year of Sesortosis I., of the twelfth dynasty.

To B.C. 1314=eleventh year of Menephthah, of the nineteenth  
——— dynasty.

1434 years.

This latter date for the Exodus is really borrowed by Bunsen from Lepsius, who owns to having taken it from the “Rabbinical chronology.” It is part of the system handed down by tradition in the Talmudical schools, and rests, as is well known to scholars, upon a confusion of Darius Hystaspis with Darius Codomannus! As to the date of the Descent into Egypt, the Chevalier has found a monumental record of a famine under Sesortosis I. Of course that is quite enough to determine an ardent temperament like his to pitch upon this king as the Pharaoh under whom Joseph was prime minister. Of course, too, his determination of the epoch of Sesortosis I. is beyond all dispute.

Our author is still more revolutionary in his dealing with those portions of the Mosaic narrative which relate to the anterior times. He avowedly sets about its reconstruction, and wild work he makes of it! Abraham’s father, and even his

grandfather, may possibly be historical personages, but beyond that limit we have migrations of races disguised under the form of genealogies. The other members of the series of patriarchs, from Shem downwards, are geographical (Arphaxad, Reu, Serug,) or historical designations (Selah, Heber, Peleg). Arphaxad is the district Arrapakhitis, the mountainous country between Armenia and Assyria. Reu or Re'hu = Rohi, the ancient name of Edessa, and Serug = Sarug, the district situated somewhat to the west of that city. On the other hand, Selah (= the Dismissal) denotes the epoch of the first descent from the summits of the craggy highlands; Peleg (= the Separation) is clearly to be explained as that of the branching off of the race (the Joktanidæ), which emigrated to South Arabia; and lastly, "the Passage" ('Heber) can only be that over the Upper Tigris, in a south-westerly direction. The ingenuity of these explanations is undeniable, but they are hazardous in the extreme, and will require much sifting of the chaff from the wheat before they can be utilized. On the chronology of this section of the Biblical history, our author offers his criticisms in the following unceremonious style:—

"Let us now glance at the numbers. And here we must certainly reject at any rate the view and arrangement of the narrator, since an historian can make nothing of men who beget children in their thirtieth year like others, and then live more than four hundred years afterwards. If any one should not be touched by this, he will surely at least be startled, when he comes to reckon how, according to this, the patriarch Noah himself must have lived in Abraham's times, unconcerned how the world went on."

He accordingly proceeds to eliminate the years of generation as fictitious, but retains as a portion of genuine ancient tradition, the number of years assigned to the life of each patriarch respectively, treating these data, however, after a fashion of his own:—

"The numbers of the first three (geographico-historical) items—Arphaxad, Selah, Eber—are remarkably near to each other. The numbers are—

Arphaxad	.	.	.	438 years.
Selah	.	.	.	435 „
'Heber	.	.	.	464 „

If now we conceive of Arphaxad as indicating the duration of the immemorial settlement of the Semites in Arrapakhitis, the mountain-land beyond Assyria, so far as memory reached back, the 'Dismissal' will denote the beginning of the march towards the plain three years before the end of this migration, and Heber will signify the period when the migrating race crossed the Upper Tigris, in order to proceed

to the river valleys of Upper Mesopotamia. Then the race would remain together 239 years, before that great migration of a portion towards the South began, by which the primeval kingdom of South Arabia was founded, that kingdom of the Adites in Yemen, which retains the consciousness of having come from the holy North, and of having once dwelt in a glorious garden of the earth, which they restored. The first division of our genealogical table, accordingly would give us  $464 + 239 = 703$  years. The seat of the portion which remained behind, we must, no doubt, seek between the Tigris and the Chaboras, that is once more in the country about Nisibis, that Ur which at a later period was styled Ur of the Chaldees (Kurds).

"Now, since the item for the first member belonging to the period of settled habitation is again precisely 239 years, we must assume that this period, and that denoted as 'Separation,' are only different designations of one and the same chronological period. At the time of the great Arabian migration (which was perhaps involuntary, as the result of the pressure of the Aramaic race or of the Turanians) a part of those who had stayed behind in Mesopotamia may have settled in the beautiful western valley of the Skirtus in the neighbourhood of Edessa. On the other hand, the spreading of the population towards Sarug, which lay more to the west and south, we take as a new period, and, accordingly, of 230 years.

"We should thus have to Nahor, Abraham's grandfather, 933 years." —Bk. IV., pp. 451—453.

In a scarcely less free way Bunsen handles the Biblical history of the other patriarchs from Nahor, Abraham's grandfather, to Joseph inclusive. After citing the Mosaic account of the section down to Abraham, he says, "Here are many points which cannot be historical." "We are here at the point of transition from geographical particulars of colonies to the history of persons." "Just so is it with the numbers. The 148 years of Nahor's life, and the 205 of his son's, cannot be historical." "But why," he goes on to ask, "may they not be years of an era? First, as regards Nahor's 148th year, we must look upon it as the 148th year of the settlement on the Skirtus, which is given at 230 years, and which, therefore, lasted 82 years longer; for the Abrahamic or Hebrew computation is carried forward not through that of Sarug, but through Nahor of Ur, in Chaldea." On the other hand, "the seventieth year for Terah is, doubtless, traditional," only it is not that of his becoming a father, as stated in the Pentateuch, but of his death. Thus the following reconstruction is arrived at:—

"Nahor becomes the father of Terah; birth of Nahor the	
emigrant to Ur.	1
Nahor emigrates to Ur along with Terah, who is 13 years	
old	13

Terah becomes the father of Abraham at about five-and-twenty ;	
birth of Abraham . . . . .	26
Terah has a second son, Haran (Abraham, 5) . . . . .	30
Haran becomes the father of Lot at about five-and-twenty,	
(Abraham, 30). . . . .	55
Terah removes from Ur to Haran with Abraham his son, and his	
wife Sarai, and with his grandson, Lot, in the year 70, or some-	
what earlier.	
Terah dies (Abraham, 45), . . . . .	70
Abraham emigrates to Canaan five years later, at 50."	

As it stands, the first line of this table reads rather oddly ; for we have the birth of both father and son (Nahor and Terah) taking place in the very same year, which is somewhat extraordinary, even for the East. There is a *lapsus calami*, no doubt, and for "birth of Nahor" we must read, "birth of Terah." It shows, however, the hasty manner in which an author can write who undertakes to correct Moses, when we find this egregious blunder repeated on the very next page, where we have the following *résumé* :—

" From Arphaxed to the <i>birth</i> of Nahor . . . . .	933 years.
From Nahor's <i>birth</i> to the death of Terah . . . . .	70 "
From the death of Terah (Abraham's five-and-fortieth	
year) to the removal to Canaan . . . . .	5 "
	<hr/>
	1,008 "

By adding these 1,008 years to his date of Abraham's removal to Canaan, which is B.C. 2877, he gets B.C. 3885 for the beginning of the ethnological history. Since the former epoch is only 130 years higher than his date for the Descent into Egypt, or little more than half the interval usually imagined to be interposed between the two events in the Mosaic narrative, we must, of course, not be unprepared for fresh instances of the same slashing criticism upon the sacred text, for which our author fancies he has so peculiar a vocation, and apart from whose sanatory processes it stands no chance, as he is always passionately telling us, of passing muster in the eyes of "modern science." We will not afflict our readers with the details, but shall content ourselves with expressing our strong reprobation of the whole of this piece of Rationalist legerdemain, and especially at the levity with which the miraculous birth of Isaac in Abraham's 100th year is disposed of. When we remember the stress laid by St. Paul upon this supernatural event, it is perfectly revolting to find it coolly cashiered with the customary commonplace: "A historian can make nothing of this statement." "That a greybeard of a hundred years," it is added, "should become the father of a



child is nowhere more impossible than in a land of early development, like Syria and Canaan." Now, there is not the shadow of a doubt that the book of Genesis does not speak of Isaac's birth as according to the course of nature, but as miraculous, and thus it was understood by St. Paul. Hence, if God, with whom, according to the Bible, if not according to "modern science," all things are possible, did not promise and perform this impossibility for Abraham, the whole account is simply false in woof and warp; and to attempt to extract history from it, is like trying to milk a bull. Bunsen fancies he has succeeded in filling his pail with the taurine milk,—a clear miracle, if the problem have really been solved, and a fresh corroboration of Mr. Rogers's singular discovery in his controversy with Mr. Newman, that what is impossible with God may be possible with men. But, banter apart, it is quite painful to find a man of such strong Christian sympathies as the Chevalier, so stubbornly wrong-headed on the subject of miracles. To a man who sincerely believes in the resurrection of our Lord, with which fact, as the apostle tells us, the whole Gospel stands or falls, the inspired narrative of Isaac's birth ought not to be such an insuperable stumbling-block. And as to one who does not admit that Christ rose from the dead according to the Scriptures, we cannot conceive what claim he can put in to be considered a Christian at all.

On the frowardness of a prejudiced "science," however, the faith of a church is always amply avenged by the huge credulity of scepticism. Those who are squeamish about the Scripture history, even when unencumbered with miracles, always make amends by swallowing Manetho, Berosus, and Sanchuniathon. We have already seen the capacity of the Chevalier's appetite for the strong meat of "the flesh-pots of Egypt." But the crowning instance has yet to be mentioned. Will it be believed that he gravely treats as perfectly accredited history, Manetho's dynasties of gods, demigods, and ghosts, who are said by that veracious historian to have reigned before Menes, the first human Pharaoh, during a period of 25,000 years? We believe he is the first to take by the hand these Egyptian Pre-Adamites, to whom his predecessors have one and all shabbily given the cold shoulder. His consistency in this respect is, we admit, exemplary. For it really would be hard to say why the human Pharaohs should be taken, and their godships and ghostships left. Bunsen fully anticipates bringing about a reaction in favour of these divine mummies, and takes great credit to himself for adding so many thousands of years to the history of the human race. This discovery, he believes, he is now able to announce to the world as "a matter of fact of

historical science," and he even flatters himself that he shall be hailed hereafter on account of it as the Galileo of chronology. In his "Christianity and Mankind" he had already hinted at some strange theory of the kind, and we now learn on what sort of foundations these sixteen millennia of oblivion and darkness rest. In the preface to his fourth book he says:—

"The memorials of documentary national history reach back to about 4,000 years before our era, and a long foretime and primeval age necessarily precede them. If, for reasons which our Fifth Book developes, we set these down at from 8,000 to 9,000 years for Egypt, and at from 15,000 to 16,000 years for the human race, this is not arbitrariness and presumption on the part of the inquirer; but simply emancipation from an erroneous arbitrariness which throws everything into confusion. The first epoch of the historical human race demands at least that space; and, as its starting-point, the twentieth millennium before our era presents the first eligible point of time. He who imagines this to be insufficient would accordingly have to go 21,000 years farther back; for our earth even that would be quite a late time, but I find no reason to go back a second telluric-solar period."

After reading this passage, with more to the same effect, we eagerly turned to the fifth book for the promised information as to Egypt's "foretime," and found, as we expected, that the statements of Manetho as to the divine kings who reigned before Menes were the "reasons" on which such a vast superstructure had been erected by our chronological Pugin. The Manethonian fragment is as follows:—

"The first [man] in the opinion of the Egyptians is Hephestus, who is also celebrated amongst them as the inventor of fire. From him proceeded Helius; afterwards Agathodæmon; then Cronus; then Osiris; afterwards Typhon, the brother of Osiris; lastly, Horus, son of Osiris and Isis. These were the first who reigned amongst the Egyptians. Down to Bydis the royal authority was transmitted successively in uninterrupted series during 13,900 years. After the gods, heroes reigned for 1,255 years; then, again, other kings reigned 1,817 years; then thirty other Memphite kings for 1,790 years; then ten other Thinite kings, 350 years. A dynasty of Manes and Heroes then followed during 5,813 years."

The Chevalier's view of these interesting revelations may be summed up briefly thus: Of the 13,900 years assigned to the gods, he can make nothing, and offers no explanation; only, contrary to the opinion of all his predecessors, he is certain that Bydis, whom Jamblichus seems to make a priest of the Egyptian god Ammon, was not the last monarch of this, but the first of

the following series. The kings of this latter series he thinks are improperly styled "Heroes," by Eusebius, especially since Herodotus expressly affirms that no heroes or demigods were known to the Egyptian mythology. They should have been called "Justified" or "Blessed," which in the national idiom simply meant "Deceased," for which the term "Manes" is also nothing more than an improper rendering. For their reign he reads with Lepsius 1,855 instead of 1,255, although this emendation is contradicted by the summing up in Eusebius, who makes the grand total of the divine reigns to be 24,920 years, a round number which is only five short of the actual amount. This correction enables Bunsen with some plausibility to assume that Eusebius, "with his wonted carelessness," has repeated in his last item, as though it were a new one, the four preceding series, the reigns of which would thus together amount to 5,812 years, or only one year short of the number assigned to the last dynasty. Hence the following reconstruction:—

"After the gods reigned the Blessed	. 1,855 years (text 1,255)
Then other kings . . . . .	. 1,817 "
Then other kings (Memphites) . . . . .	. 1,790 "
Then other kings (Thinites) . . . . .	. 850 "
<hr/>	
Sum of the dominion of the Mortals before	
Menes . . . . .	. 5,812 "
	(5,813)

In other words, the lists of actual human kings before Menes, not merely provincial princes, but such as claimed to reign either over the whole of Upper or Lower Egypt, give us almost 6,000 years."

After the Chevalier's hazardous manipulations, will our readers allow us an experiment or two on this fragment? It is really a shame that so genial a knight should have been imposed upon by the men in buckram of this Egyptian Falstaff. Mark how a plain tale shall put the braggart down.

We first cite honest old Herodotus into court. He states (ii., 142), "from information which he received" from the Egyptian priests, that from Menes to Sethos (whom Africanus calls Zet) were 341 generations, and 11,340 years. He means to Amasis, the last monarch before the Persian Conquest, down to whom he reckons in all his other computations. Correcting this *lapsus memoriae* or *calumi* (as, indeed, he himself does partially in the next chapter, where he assigns the same number of years not to 341 generations, which bring us only to Sethos, but to 345, which carry us down to Amasis), we proceed to compare this astounding chronology with that of Manetho.

Between the first year of Menes and the last of Amasis in the Africanic Manetho, Boeckh, counting *continuously throughout*, makes 5,177 years. The difference between this number and that in Herodotus is 6,163 years, which is precisely the sum of the last two items (5,813 and 350) of Manetho's divine chronology, and brings us, therefore, to the first year of the first of those ten *Thinite* kings. He, therefore, must have been a Menes the Thinite before Menes the Thinite! But, perhaps, our readers would like to know the names of the whole ten kings belonging to this interesting dynasty, and if so, Bunsen's friend Eratosthenes is quite ready to oblige us. Here they are as large as life :—

I. Menes the Thinite reigned	.	.	.	62 years.
II. Athothes	.	.	.	59 "
III. Athothes II.	.	.	.	82 "
IV. Miabies	.	.	.	19 "
V. Pemphos	.	.	.	18 "
VI. Momcheiri	.	.	.	79 "
VII. Stoichosares	.	.	.	6 "
VIII. Gosormies	.	.	.	30 "
IX. Mares	.	.	.	26 "
X. Anoyphis	.	.	.	20 "
Total				351 years.

These surprising coincidences will be enough, one would imagine, to open the eyes of the most prejudiced Egyptologer. Herodotus and Manetho evidently shed most important and valuable light upon the highly artificial structure of Manetho's work. Kings, held to be merely human and commonplace, have manifestly been apotheosized to the tune of more than six thousand years, by the Egyptian priest, whom Bunsen thus reverently addresses :—

"Truth have I sought at thy hands—truth have I found by thine aid."

It is by means of our German friend's other great authority, Eratosthenes, that the highly curious fact is demonstrated, beyond the possibility of cavil. The difference of a year, in the two ancient writers, between the totals for the ten Thinite kings, beginning with Menes, no one will make a difficulty. Manetho has simply rounded off the 351 into 350. If we suppose that the 1,790 years for the thirty Memphite kings is similarly rounded off from the more ragged 1,789, or one year less, we stumble at once upon a fresh discovery of no less interest and moment. These thirty **KINGS** are nothing else than the prototype of the thirty **DYNASTIES**, which in Africanus, according to Boeckh's construction, whose truth here again vindicates itself, reign during 5,367 or  $1,789 \times 3$  years exactly!

Other no less convincing illustrations of the nature of the outrageous imposture, of which Bunsen and the Egyptologists at large are the passive dupes, must be forborne at present, for want of the necessary space. The general conclusion is, that Manetho is only an older and rather cleverer SIMONIDES, so that it is no wonder if those who, like Lepsius, and the other Berlin *savants*, were so unwary lately as to allow themselves to be victimized by the modern forger, have fallen into the toils of that wily Greek's ancient forerunner. "Cunningly devised fables" have taken in the philosophers and historical critics, at all events. Whether the humble believers in the Bible *without* "professing themselves to be wise," have thus "become fools," is another question.

Mr. Rouse's *brochure* we have taken the trouble to read; but the only fruit of our pains is our being enabled to assure our readers that they may save themselves the vexation. Bunsen and the Egyptologists have not solved the problem: Mr. Rouse does not even understand what the problem is.

### ART. III.—LITURGIES AND FREE PRAYER.

1. *A Chapter on Liturgies.* By the Rev. C. W. Baird. With Preface and Appendix by the Rev. T. Binney. Knight & Son. 1856.
2. *Form or Freedom: Colloquies on Liturgies.* Jackson & Walford.
3. *A Biblical Liturgy.* By the Rev. D. Thomas. Part I., Second Edition. Ward & Co.

WE believe there are Nonconformists, even of the more educated class, who scarcely know, or have very little considered, the modes of Protestant Christian worship in the congregations of foreign countries. While the use of unwritten prayers is known by them as the practice of all Congregationalists in Britain, and of the Presbyterian Kirk and Free Church of Scotland, the use of Liturgies is usually thought of as peculiar to the churches which adhere to Diocesan Episcopacy. Most, it is true, may be aware, either from reading or observation, that foreign Reformed churches, not Episcopalian, retain, in part, the Liturgical mode of worship; but the habits of those churches, being distant and seldom witnessed, have been little attended to by them.

The work of Mr. Baird has brought the modes of Protestant

worship on the Continent more prominently into notice. We are glad that it has been republished here, for all facts relative to so important a subject should be known. The knowledge of these may, perhaps, induce some modification of opinions, which have been held without advertence to the usages of other times or other communities. Mr. Binney has our best thanks for having not merely edited the work, but enhanced its value by a preface, and an appendix of some extent, on the question—"Are Dissenters to have a Liturgy?" written with his accustomed ability and candour.

The facts set forth by Mr. Baird remind us, that many of those Presbyterian Protestants, who suffered most for their faith, were in the habit of using precomposed prayers; and it surely follows that we should neither depreciate those Christians on account of their use of forms, nor even the forms themselves, as if implying or inducing a want of spirituality. The use of them, in the signal instances of the Huguenots and the Waldenses, has concurred with a most devout fervour, and steadfast readiness to encounter the heaviest persecutions. "Even the excited bands of the Camisards in the south were accustomed to celebrate with regularity their ancient services. The worship of the desert was the same as in times of freedom: Liturgical prayers, the singing of psalms, preaching, &c." (*De Felice*, cited by Baird.) "It was in the act of repeating the Morning Prayer of Calvin's Liturgy, that the last moments of Coligny's life were spent." While "confined to his bed by the wound he had received from an assassin, he sent for his chaplain, to engage with him in the customary devotions. While following the familiar words thus uttered, he was attacked by the band of murderers." (*Mémoires de Coligny*, in *ibid.*) We are led to ask—What could public services of "free prayer" have done more, in or for these confessors and martyrs, than make them ready either for prison or for death?

It will be scarcely averred that those noble sufferers, the pastor Rabaut, Marolles, Chalus, the counsellor Lefebvre (this last endured sixteen years of noisome and cruel bondage for his faith), would have been *more* spiritual and heroic, if they had not been brought up in the use of a Liturgy.

The truth is, although we find in some forms what we deem unscriptural, and could not honestly adopt, it no way follows that forms, as such, are necessarily either unscriptural or unprofitable.

The question, as between the best Liturgy that is, or is to be, and the method termed "free prayer," is a question of expediency (as Paley admits) between two lawful practices. "Pre-concerted forms of public devotion" (he justly states, *Mor.*



*Philos.*, vol. ii. p. 57) are "neither enjoined in Scripture nor forbidden." As to the "history of Liturgies," in the first three ages of the Church—a subject far too large for us now to enter upon—no candid reader will examine Clarkson's treatise on it,\* without allowing that the proof for an invariable and imposed form in those ages is utterly defective, or rather, perhaps, null.

But the question, thus left open in Scripture, is of much importance, as one of Christian expediency and spiritual profit.

We shall attempt some estimate of the arguments on each side; this will involve further notice of the facts which Mr. Baird has ably stated, and of the opinions which both he and Mr. Binney, and the ingenious "Colloquist" for "freedom," respectively espouse; and will thus be a review, though not formally, of each. Those arguments we think may be illustrated, and in a measure, tested, by putting an imagined case of a secular kind; which, though it cannot be parallel, may be applicable in the way of partial analogy.

It is conceivable that in some ancient monarchy—or in the isle of Utopia, if the reader prefer—it might be a custom for several bodies of the nation, to offer, respectively, frequent periodical addresses, both of petition and loyal homage, to their sovereign, whom we shall assume to be the best among earthly rulers. Such a supposition may be the less inadmissible, if we call to mind the statute of Darius's presidents,—none "shall ask a petition of any God or man—save of thee, O king." Let it, at least for the moment, be admitted, and then be inquired—What would be the probable manner and method of such periodical addresses?

We shall suppose the good king to allow that sundry councils of loyal and discreet persons should regulate or recommend the several modes of conducting them respectively. From the good sense of the islanders, we may conclude that the delivery of them would be assigned to persons qualified for expressing the joint feelings and wishes of such assemblies. It is likely that they would be partly in precomposed forms of language, read or recited; but it seems to us most unlikely, that there should be only *one* form, and this invariable,—having a fixed sameness through all its repetitions. It is to us also highly probable—the leader's office being given to competent persons—that many expressions of veneration and gratitude, and special petitions adapted to new and varying circumstances,

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\* A Discourse concerning Liturgies. By the late learned and judicious divine, Mr. David Clarkson. London. 1689. (Clarkson's Select Works. London. 1846.)

would be left to be shaped and varied, both as to matter and diction, at the discretion of those appointed leaders.

We may suppose the further custom, of having these addresses to the king followed by discourses to those who had joined in them, touching their privileges and duties, political and social. Now, it is all but certain, that these would not consist, week after week, of one and the same "homily;" that the discourses would differ with the occasions, or even for variety's sake. The same topics would, no doubt, occur: the just and beneficent acts of the ruler—the desires and duties of the subjects;—but, naturally and fitly, certain points of these would be more enlarged on at one time, some at another. The discourses, we cannot doubt, would be free and diversified as to order of topics and as to phraseology: the capacity of the selected spokesman would allow this; and either special occurrences, or a general feeling of preference, would often prompt it.

But, if such degrees of variety and freedom would be certainly used in admonitions to the people, still more, as we judge, they would be introduced in portions of the addresses to the prince; because the topics of these would, almost necessarily, be at once more general and more defined or limited; and from veneration for the monarch, there would be still less likelihood of any trespass there over the bounds of the appropriate and becoming.

Discerning readers must have noted our purposed application—If such would be the probable and best practice in the case supposed, is not the presumptive inference deducible, that such at least *might* be the wisest and most profitable methods, both in religious exhortation, and in public religious worship?

Some, we quite foresee, will contend that no true analogy exists, and that our inference is, therefore, groundless. We must leave such to their own mode of vision; to us analogy in the cases is evident; and the inference proportionably fair and valid.\*

The objection, indeed, is very common, that a diversity and freedom might be suitable in addresses to a human ruler, which would be most irreverent in approaching the Majesty of heaven; and that thus, although in treating of addresses to a king, we might argue, with some fairness, from the character of discourses made to his people, it is anything but allowable to argue, that because public discourses to men may properly be varied or even

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\* We perceive, since writing the above, that the same analogy has been used, though to a different end, by Bishop Patrick, who writes, "It is natural for men to be careful when they have petitions or thanks to prefer unto earthly gods, that they may be delivered in a decent and grave form of words."

order to understand a sermon of Dr. South, or even "Holderforth's," whether written or *unwritten*; for in hearing those, they would not half so easily foreknow what was coming. There is always more reasoning, more that is difficult or novel, in sermons than in prayers. Yet indisputably sermons are aimed to reach all understandings, and to move and touch the affections and raise devout sentiments at one and the same time: if they do not so, they fail of their sole proper object. How much more, then, may "free prayers" be believed to do all this simultaneously. To advert again to Dr. South, we doubt not that many a poor woman of Bedford would have been quite able—except scared or abashed by his erudite presence—to give an outline "beforehand" of what John Bunyan would pray *about*, fully sufficing to show that she and her friends would "apprehend," and heartily join, in their pastor's free prayer, without any baffling or puzzling exertion of their faculties, and with a heartfelt consciousness that it was—as they perfectly knew it would be—altogether "fit for them to concur with him in."

Another objection, to which we must advert, is not so devoid of real strength. It is said that free or extemporaneous prayers are often, both in matter, diction, and utterance, not such as the truly devout and judicious would desire. Dr. South inveighs against those who "throw out crude, sudden, and misshapen conceptions in the face of Infinite Perfection;" and alleges that extempore prayers are "fraught with nonsense and incoherence, confusion and impertinence." Elsewhere he terms them "ramble and confused talk, babble and tautology;" and, again, "a saucy, senseless, and extemporary way of speaking to God;" or, as a variation, "compounds of incoherence, profanity, and insufferable nonsense." Such instances it is possible there may have been, or even may yet be; but we believe them to have been always exceedingly rare; and we can fully testify, on the other hand, that we have cordially joined in very many extemporaneous prayers, even from most *unlearned* men, to which *no one* word of these charges could be justly or even colourably applied. As truly can we affirm of the free prayers of some Christian pastors, that they have been, in every sense—in true elevation, solemnity, fervency, appositeness, impressiveness—highly preferable to any read or recited forms that we have heard or seen. At the same time we acknowledge occasional instances of an opposite kind, where either a certain meagreness, or the use and sometimes the recurrence of phrases not well chosen, or omissions or disproportions as to topics, or a diction not duly simple, unadorned, concise, have been faults to be regretted. This is still more strongly stated, in other terms,

by Percival in the "Colloquies" (p. 17), and by Dr. Pye Smith also, in his admirable sermon on "Free Prayer." It should be remarked, however, that those faults occur likewise, not very unfrequently, in prayers written and published; and it would therefore be unjust to regard them as wholly ascribable to the want of precomposition.

On the whole, we believe that the occasional occurrence of such faults—considering their comparative rareness—is far more than compensated by the life, warmth, variety, and adaptedness for the time being, which characterize the "free" method.

But we think such faults, although probably more rare than heretofore, conduce to make it desirable that free prayer should be accompanied or supplemented by some brief and varying Liturgical forms: especially for this further reason, that even the ablest ministers, from an ill state of health, or from peculiar and oppressive trials, must be, at certain times, less in tone for free prayer, as well as less "apt to teach," than at others. If the diverse forms were of differing length, or constructed so as to admit abridgment or extension, the amount and effort of free prayer could then be duly accommodated to varying occasions. Nor do we believe that this would tempt good and faithful men to decline or curtail *indolently* that portion of the services; and in this we speak to some extent experimentally, for having habitually practised free prayer in domestic worship, but yet, during indisposition or in times of some mental agitation or anxiety, having resorted partially to approved forms, we have always felt, as soon as those pressures were removed, the immediate desire to return to a "free" expression of thought and feeling.

The chief motive, however, yet remains to be mentioned. It has been strongly urged by the advocates and eulogists of the Anglican Liturgy, that in its services the people largely *bear a part*, whereas in those of British Nonconformists they do not orally take part at all. We are of opinion that this is a defect: and its having been often urged in a calumnious or exaggerated form—in the shape of an attempt to prove that with us the people only hear prayer, and do not pray—will not prevent us from estimating and avowing the *true* measure of our—or our forefathers'—mistakes. We know well, and we have even heard zealous Anglicans acknowledge, that responses are much misused, in being thoughtlessly or formally uttered; still we believe that primitive Christian worship was *in part* responsive or antiphonal. As far, at least, as relates to the "Amen," this seems to be proved by 1 Cor. xiv. 6; and if our thanksgivings and prayers were more subdivided into portions, or separated by *pauses*, which we judge they ought to be, the oral Amen—

seldom heard—might become more frequent, without any unseemly interruption of the minister. But we feel that, besides this, those parts of the Anglican Liturgy in which responses, properly so called—as distinguished from the mere oral *following* of the words uttered by the clergyman—are introduced, form, on that account, as well as for their intrinsic goodness in the main, its most valuable parts.

We deeply share the dislike spoken of in Mr. Binney's "Appendix," for anything like "*aping* the church," but we could make light of the charge of *aping*—from whatever quarter it came—while using the privilege of borrowing what we account really good and edifying. Such loans would neither impoverish our brethren, nor disgrace ourselves. We believe that if some chief petitions of the Litany, with the responses, and other brief responsive parts of the services, with many of the collects, and some prayers beside—differing prayers for variation's sake being supplied—were adopted into our worship, it would be thus enriched, while due room, and even predominance, might be left for free prayer. We are told by Marston (Appendix, p. 327), that this is seeking "some possible fusion of contrary things—an impossible amalgam." But these figures are not suited to the matter: "fusion" is a thorough commixture by melting; an "amalgam" is the resulting compound. Anything like this is impossible in regard to Liturgies and free prayer; nothing like it is or can be sought, but merely a conjunction, or rather juxta-position. Even if the services were so far intermixed as that a free prayer should become between two Liturgical prayers, or *vice versa*, still this would be but nearness, and in no sense an attempt at "fusion." Such junction, on a small scale, takes place whenever the *Lord's Prayer* follows or precedes free prayer in our assemblies, which it sometimes does. We cannot see or feel, with Frankland in the "Colloquies," that the union or "alliance between forms and free prayer, will and must be a failure." The free prayer, if good and judicious, will not essentially or substantially differ from the written ones which precede or follow, though it may considerably differ from them in topics and in phraseology. Frankland mentions, though he does "not lay stress on" it, "the reasonable proposition, that the arguments which justify Liturgies *at all* would justify their *exclusive adoption*, and so with free prayer." But we think that proposition little to the purpose. If the exclusive adoption of either were *justified* (made allowable) by those arguments, it would not follow that this exclusive method was the best, or was expedient. Nor do we think the argument of an able writer in the *Freeman* is conclusive, that "in practice the o would speedily supersede and drive out the other." To l

remark, that "there is no theoretical difficulty in combining the habitual use of crutches with the free use of our limbs, and yet the two never go together," it might be answered—Travellers in the Alps sometimes use the aid of the sure-footed mule, at other times they prefer that of their own feet. The alternation is as easy and convenient in practice as in theory.—The same writer appeals to history for proof that forms and free prayer have excluded each other. The reference, however, can extend only to Protestants using the English tongue; and in regard to them there have been large exceptions. In many churches of Ireland free prayer was, of late years, combined with the Liturgy, till Archbishop Whately forbade or effectually discountenanced it. If our memory be correct, from two to three hundred of his clergy had adopted that practice, which he thought fit to disapprove and suppress.

From these moderns we may go back to the seventeenth century, and find the fact of free prayer, conjoined with forms, thus stated by its derisive opponent, Dr. South. He writes: "As for those long prayers so frequently used by some before their sermons, the constitution and canons of our church are not at all responsible for them, having provided us better things. But as for this way of praying, now generally in use, as it was first took up upon an humour of novelty and popularity, and by the same carried on till it had passed into a custom, and so put the rule of the church first out of use, and then out of countenance also, so, if it be rightly considered, it will, in the very nature of the thing itself, be found a very senseless and absurd practice. For, can there be any sense or propriety in beginning a new tedious prayer in the pulpit, just after the church has, for near an hour together, with great variety of offices, suitable to all the needs of the congregation, been praying for all that can possibly be fit for Christians to pray for. Nothing certainly can be more irrational. For which cause, amongst many more, that old sober form of Bidding Prayer, which, both against law and reason, has been jostled out of the church by this upstart, puritanical encroachment, ought, with great reason, to be restored by authority; and both the use and users of it, by a strict and solemn reinforcement of the canon upon all without exception, be rescued from that unjust scorn of the factious and ignorant, which the tyranny of the contrary usurping custom will otherwise expose them to. For, surely, it can neither be decency nor order for our clergy to conform to the fanatics, as many in their prayers before sermon now-a-days do." (Serm., vol. ii. p. 173.) On the Doctor's judgment we shall not comment, nor will we undertake fully to reconcile his remark that the church prays "for near an hour together,"



with his five preceding arguments to enforce great *brevity* in prayers. He would have said, no doubt, that nearly an hour employed in several *short* prayers, is less "tedious" than nearly an hour in one *long* prayer; and in this one point we entirely accord with him. Meanwhile his statements clearly show that free prayer in those days could be and was "frequently" (he says "generally") used together with the Liturgy. When it ceased to be so, it was not from any proved incompatibility or repugnance of the two methods in themselves, but it was by force of canon or ecclesiastical rule or influence.

It may, indeed, be asserted, that had this practice been suffered to go on, either forms or free prayer would at length have given way, and fallen into disuse; but this is quite conjecture. If it be at all probable, we think its probability rests far more on the proneness of mankind to go unwisely into extremes, than on any intrinsic tendency in precomposed prayers and unwritten prayers to "drive out" each other. At all events, the only thing proven in this matter from history and observation, is the disapproval by the *hierarchy* of free prayer, and its power of absolute or virtual prohibition.

That may be true which Wellsford, in Mr. Binney's "Appendix," says, that no "old-established Nonconformist congregation could be brought to try or bear a change so great" as the adoption of forms in union with free prayer would involve. "If anything," he adds, "is ever attempted, it must be in some new place, and by a select people." His suggestion may prove a fruitful one, as conducing to what seems, on this and several other accounts, not unlikely.

If the old Nonconformists do not somewhat modify their practice, and adopt brief Liturgical services as *subsidiary* to free prayer, new free churches may be formed who will choose and effect this, and will thus organize, in their own judgment at least, a completer method of public worship than has yet obtained in England.

Nor could such Christians be justly censured as innovators, for so moderating former habits and opinions. It is not at all surprising, if Christians of a former age were hurried by certain aversions and fears too far. While Anglicans have done well to bring in *hymns*, and to sing some composed in other sections of the church universal, as well as in their own, dissenters have done well to sustain and regulate congregational singing by aid of the once dreaded organ. If there be other wholesome changes or loans yet practicable, *they* at least are free and unfettered to take them.

The problems however remain, for all who incline to the change here discussed—What shall be the *basis* of such formula-

ries? *Who* shall prepare them? What shall prevent a *multiplicity* of them, and a consequent confusion?—We venture to answer—The forms should be chiefly compiled from several Protestant Liturgies. Those which Mr. Baird has given the prayers of Calvin, of Knox, of Baxter, of the Dutch church, afford very valuable matter; but judging, as we do, that a *responsive* branch of public worship is the chief desideratum, we should look, at least for that, to the Anglican Liturgy. It is shown by Mr. Baird how much that Liturgy owed to Calvin and Knox. He adduces clear proofs how far the fathers of the English Reformation were “from entertaining those unfriendly sentiments towards the ministry and churches of Scotland and the Continent which in our day disgrace the cause of Protestantism” (p. 195). “When, in 1551, John Knox visited England, he was invited to assist in the revision of the Prayer-Book, then in progress.” “Calvin too was consulted in the compilation of it.” “The introductory portion of the daily service is due to him.” Mr. Baird quotes Bishop Jeremy Taylor’s statement. (Works, vii. 288,) that the framers of the English Liturgy “joined to their own star all the shining tapers of the other Reformed churches, calling for the advice of the eminently learned and zealous reformers in other kingdoms, that the light of all together might show them a clear path to walk in.” The whole passage (pp. 195—206) calls for the attentive perusal of “Anglo-Catholics” especially.

The task of compiling or preparing such forms might be best *initiated* by one judicious Christian divine; best perfected, or rather settled and finished, by the concurrent revision of several, but of a few. There may be peculiar gifts both for prayer and preaching, and yet their possessor not be well fitted for *such* a task. The late highly esteemed William Jay published a copious variety of prayers for families; but, as we judge, he failed in simplicity. In truth, some qualities of a popular preacher and writer are not at all conducive to success in composing, or even selecting, prayers. In all prayer, ingenuity and ornament must be quite misplaced; doubly so in *forms* of prayer, because the recurrence of those peculiar turns of thought or phrase, which memory must often recognise, cannot approve itself to the devout and judicious. For compiling such forms, or aiding in their revision, correct taste and judgment, with simple piety, must be the true requisites.

The objection of Frankland in the “Colloquies,” as to the *multiplication* of Liturgies, where he says, “each congregation, every conventicle, would have its own prayer-book,” appears to us greatly overstated. As far as it was likely to be verified, it would not be very weighty. Another of the speakers refers to

the diversity of hymn-books. No doubt they are diverse, and in churches as well as meeting-houses; but only a few are *extensively* used; and if there should arise as many prayer-books as there are hymn-books, they might yet, like most of these, *essentially* agree.

Only since writing the foregoing words, have we examined the last of the works which head this article, "A Biblical Liturgy," and now only the first part of the second and emended edition. Several notices of this occur both in Mr. Binney's "Appendix," and in the "Colloquies." The impression received by us from the strictures of those writers, was considerably less favourable than that given us by a view of the book itself. Mr. Thomas's work has deepened our perception of the wonderful riches of the sacred volume, and of their multi-form applicability.

It has done so even more, we think, than another small "Biblical" work, which we have long highly valued, the "Bible Catechism" of the late excellent W. F. Lloyd. That little manual displays remarkably the treasures of Scripture; but it was necessarily more open than "A Biblical Liturgy" to the suspicion of *misapplying* Scripture, because the method of what lawyers term "leading questions," was there unavoidable; and this method affords the easiest occasion to make the Scriptures speak the language of a human system or scheme of pre-formed opinions and interpretations. We do not, however, think that this charge could be fairly brought against the "Bible Catechism," except, perhaps, in a few minor instances. Still less, as we judge, could it be rightly made against the "Biblical Liturgy," so far as we have perused it. Nor do we accede to the remark of Frankland (referring, it seems, to the Appendix, p. 287), "that Warrington, in a few weighty sentences, levelled a stunning blow at Mr. Thomas's work." We dislike to find the dialect of school-boys and undergraduates in any matter of grave criticism; but since *stunning* is the word, we should say that the compiler of the "Biblical Liturgy,"—judging from his "advertisement to the second edition,"—has not become as senseless as that term might imply. We observe in the "prologue," that "revisional assistance" was taken; which accords with our notion, expressed in a preceding page. We shall be pleased, when any opportunity may arise, of joining in worship where the "Biblical Liturgy" is on trial, and judging thus, from experience, of its worth and fitness. In some of Mr. Binney's remarks on it we quite agree. It may be that we should prefer something different; or, perhaps, some altered or abridged edition of this. But it affords the partially *responsive* character of worship for which we

have pleaded, more fully and suitably than we had foreseen. We shall be happy to learn that many are edified, and continue to be so, by the use of it. Meanwhile, we cannot but welcome other judicious attempts of a like kind. Freedom and diversity in the adoption of Liturgical parts of worship, are quite in harmony with the use of free prayer in other parts, and with the general principle of Christian liberty.

We account it highly desirable that a subject confessedly so important, be fairly and diligently canvassed. The uncandid and dogmatical on both sides will retain their inflexible prepossessions; others may have their conclusions somewhat modified, or their dislikes mitigated. We have, therefore, welcomed the publications now reviewed; and desire that they may be largely and carefully perused, since they present a clear view, and in very moderate compass, of the question in its chief aspects on all sides.

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#### ART. IV.—TRAVELS IN AUSTRALASIA.

*Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand.* By an Englishman. London: Saunders & Otley. 1857.

It is very difficult to write a good book of travels. Yet it seems the easiest thing in the world. Apparently, the aspirant to literary fame has only to take with him on his tour a note-book and jot down at nightfall the principal events of the day; to enumerate the towns, villages, and remarkable places he has passed through; to indicate in a few sketchy lines or hieroglyphics answering the same purpose, the principal features of the landscapes; to make a remark or two on the costumes and customs of the natives; to abuse the insolence of the men and admire the beauty of the women; to quote something about the institutions, civil, military, and religious; to condense the various topics of conversations he has heard or held; to add a paragraph about the pleasure and the profit he has derived; and so when he finds himself once more quietly ensconced in his snug chamber—*en pantoufles*, of course—to attempt the unenviable feat of beating out his raw material into an ample and courageous volume. Such is the idea of travel-writing which not a few indulge in. It is thus that many of the "Tours," "Walks," "Pilgrimages," "Travels," "Voyages," of the present day are *got up*. The adventurous Peripatetic who during a vacation has had the good fortune to

stretch his legs on foreign soil, considers this act of locomotion as conferring the necessary diploma, and at once sets to work to write a book. But we dissent from such a standard of qualifications. We would see a higher appreciation of the powers and knowledge requisite to indite a good work on the condition of a foreign country. A mere casual glance at its external aspects is likely to deceive where there is much to be examined, to be studied, to be contrasted. Knowledge alone can teach us what to observe. We ought, therefore, to be acquainted with what has been written and published on the people we are about to visit. Johnson's remark is well worthy of attention in these days of railways and volume-making. "Books of travel," said the learned Doctor, "will be good in proportion to what a man has previously in his mind." There is another danger in the character of the works we are speaking of, which must not be overlooked. How difficult is it to regard things with impartial feelings! How eager are we to allow our prejudices to anticipate our judgments! This is never more obvious than in the case of thousands who annually plunge into the midst of their neighbour-nationalities their preconceived ideas — false, of course — blooming thick upon them. The necessity that some check should be placed upon this blind *cacoethes* of judging and writing is becoming every day stronger as communication between place and place increases, and greater facilities for taking these hurried sketches of foreign manners and institutions are given. We have frequently great reason to distrust our first, nay our third and fourth judgments, of persons and events; we are, therefore, little inclined to submit to the authority of persons who pick up their information whilst scudding from town to town at a railway-pace, and like the butterfly, now resting for a second on this spot and now on that.

There is another class of persons whose system of book-making is equally pernicious with the travel-writers. It suffices them, instead of wandering through distant lands, observing and studying, to collect volumes of pamphlets, statistics, and miscellaneous matter, and extracting what is available, to cement the whole together by the feeble mortar of their own ingenious comments. Few more unblushing instances of this kind of composition have come before us than is to be found in the volume under consideration. The author of the "Rise and Progress of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand," belongs, we suspect, to that class of writers above-mentioned, who collect together pamphlets and official statements, and using pretty largely the scissors, act the part of a sub-editor. If we are to believe his own confessions, he failed to produce anything

original when he attempted it, and therefore took to the more promising expedient of compilation. His present work appears to be composed largely of extracts from colonial papers, histories written by persons on the spot, and government statistics. We are, however, assured, "that each colony, city, or province mentioned has been personally inspected although imperfectly described; and the habits and peculiarities of the inhabitants have been taken from actual observation, however feebly they may have been drawn." There is an air of modesty in thus referring to the "imperfectly described" and "feebly drawn," which would be most charming did not D. P. in his observations on the people of the different colonies he visited, show that his prejudices are *not* feeble, and his instincts, at least in his own opinion, "*not* imperfect."

The disorganized state of the colony of Victoria consequent upon the discovery of gold-fields in its neighbourhood, is a fact so patent that no writer could well avoid depicting it. Yet we doubt if any writer beside D. P. would attribute this state of demoralization to such senseless causes as he does. Those who flocked to the diggings were naturally the bold, thoughtless, enterprising spirits, who with no settled occupation at home, were ready to assume the character of adventurers. The rude and unfettered life they led up in the mountains, the dangers with which they were surrounded, necessarily roughened their manners, and gave an independent, rugged dash to their conduct. A visitor from the *salons* of Paris, or the drawing-rooms of Belgravia, stepping out at once, as it were, from the luxuriance of a first-class cabin into the streets of Melbourne, would naturally be struck, and possibly repelled, by the ridiculous and low scenes presented to his view; but that a person of education, a person who had studied the causes and effects of government, should infer from such an accident the deduction, that "the better an administration is, the more clamorous are the populace to get rid of it," is unscholarly and unphilosophical. Upon this plea the governments of Naples and Austria, especially in Lombardy and Hungary, must be perfect models of government, and command our highest admiration.

Our astute author made two voyages in prosecution of the design of writing this book. In the year 1853 he first visited Melbourne.

"Speculation, crime, excitement, and disorder had then," he tells us, "probably attained their greatest height. The yield of gold and the price of land had touched their highest points up to that period; robbers and murderers commanded extensive trades, which they prosecuted with impunity, and mostly without detection; land jobbers, many of whom were magistrates and the millionaires of the



colony, made their thousands of pounds per diem, and were too much engaged in their profitable traffic to attend to the arrest or punishment of law-breakers; merchants and storekeepers had too many additions to make on the profit side of their ledgers either to think of or care about anything else; swindlers, grog-sellers, and gamblers were reaping an abundant harvest, and were too busily employed in gathering and storing the same even to dream of anything like scarcity elsewhere; while agents, great and small, of every country and denomination, were growing rich at the expense of that sanguine but deluded class of friends or creditors at home who forwarded their various wares with a view to those golden and long wished for remittances, which—we can vouch for—in a great many instances have either *miscarried or have not reached their proper destination*."—P. 5.

Here, then, is a deplorable picture,—a wholesale grouping of vice, selfishness, and excitement, a parallel to which could possibly be found only in California. Not content with giving us the above picture of the colony, we have the following of the town of Melbourne:—

"Melbourne, we said, as it appears to us is a kind of modern Babel—a little hell upon earth—a city of rioters, gamblers, and drunkards—a crowded den of human iniquity, where, from the highest merchant downwards, there appears to be but one object in view; where the very faculties of mind, body, and soul are employed and directed to one worldly end; where thousands are anxiously and almost exclusively bent towards the consummation of their own selfish and ambitious desires; where delusive schemes are the pickpockets of honesty, and where the abuse of useful invention is too often the bane of its own utility; where calm reflection and all the higher attributes of the mind lose their proper influence in artificial excitement; where the ties of friendship, domestic duties, kindred obligations, intellectual study, and the moral spirit of true religion are often neglected, if not entirely forgotten, in the busy work of self-aggrandizement; where, in fine, the priceless possession of health, together with all those sweet enjoyments which constitute the real happiness of life, fall a sacrifice to an insatiable thirst for gain."—P. 6.

This is, we are bound to admit, a flourish worthy a Demosthenic peroration. Exaggerated, however, as the account doubtless is, we cannot but admit that there is truth in the statements, whilst at the same time this condition of things can easily be comprehended. Under any national excitement, whether political or commercial, the public mind assumes an energy and recklessness resembling frenzy. A whole mass of individuals is hurried along in the current of general action. Personal responsibility seems forgotten in the mania of imitation. The desire, added to the possibility, of acquiring great wealth in a

short time naturally unsettles the mind, if it does not undermine and throw down those principles which support the moral fabric of society. We need not refer to the precarious but enormous sums picked up in ingots at the diggings; it is a well-known fact that land in Melbourne fetched no less than from £160 to £210 per foot, and that within the space of six months fortunes of £50,000, £100,000, and even £150,000 were amassed. In one instance it is recorded that a land-jobber bought a plot of ground, and resold it within the same hour at a clear profit of £10,000. This system of speculation, in its unhealthy influence on the mind, resembled, if it did not surpass, the feverish excitement of the gambling-table. The only difference seems to be, that the former contained a greater number of *bons numeros*, or good chances, and afforded a less uncertain risk to the speculator.

D. P., in his second impressions of Victoria, condescends to remark, that in all, except the climate itself, a striking improvement was observable. We presume that D. P. could hardly have expected a different result. After the first fever of excitement had subsided, it was natural that things should settle down; that the thoughts of men should become tranquillized; that business should return to its usual channel, and order re-establish itself; nay, that the conveniences of civilized life should be procurable. We find such was the case:—

“Personal and social comforts, formerly unattainable, are occasionally within the reach of those who have the monetary means to secure them. A *gentleman* has not at all times to submit to the *indignity* of sleeping, or rather lying, in a room with some half-dozen human strangers, together with countless living things of a smaller but not less objectionable species. The requirements of the people may at present be satisfied with something at least approaching to civilization.”

Our author, with greater justice, denounces the excessive use of intoxicating drinks, than which nothing can more impair the health and corrupt the morals of a people, whilst at the same time it impedes the development of art and science. Habits of intemperance lead to habits of improvidence. We are, therefore, not surprised to have enumerated many instances of uneducated and feeble-minded individuals, who, with good prospects before them, have been reduced to comparative poverty. These persons are to be found principally amongst the labouring and artisan class.

We have already said that a reaction had set in, that the appetite for speculation had subsided, and that a visible improvement both in commercial matters and in the tastes and habits

of the population had taken place in this colony. We will, therefore, take a glance at its rapid development. In 1851, Melbourne, the capital of this province, was but a collection of houses or huts thrown up on the banks of the Yarra-Yarra. The settlers who had fixed upon this spot for their residence could never have dreamed of the vast change that was to come over the country. Within a few years houses sprang up like mushrooms, and covered a vast area. Streets and squares were built, churches and public edifices erected, and the town lighted like a European city with gas. A chamber of commerce, banks, public companies, railways, and other institutions, not to forget a university, have been established, which give evidence of the progress, intellectual and material, of the place and its people. Unfortunately, however, Melbourne is badly situated, possessing few natural advantages which a capital ought to possess. It lies low, and the river is too narrow and shallow to admit of vessels approaching within seven or eight miles of the wharfs. Geelong, a sister town, and which will at no distant day become a very important rival, surpasses Melbourne in its natural advantages. It is built on a delightful slope which shelves down to the edge of a bay capable of containing docks equal in extent to any in Great Britain. Already it has been predicted that "Geelong will one day become the Liverpool of Australia." In its climate, in the salubrity of its air, in the beauty of its scenery, in almost every respect, it is superior to Melbourne.

We have not been disposed to take so harsh a view of the moral condition of this colony as the writer of the present volume would wish to impress upon his readers, because we do not think that a just estimate could be formed of the character of any people whilst under the state of excitement into which the population of Melbourne was plunged when first introduced to us. Nor are we inclined to take the evidently official and government view of their political creed, which D. P. indulges in. According to him, Melbourne is in a state of reprobation, handed over to the influence of immoral demagogues, polluted by what he is pleased to call "*the dregs of the press*," and agitated by the spirit of revolution. What can be more presumptuous than the conduct of the colonial democrats? What can be more ungrateful than their desire to have a parliament of their own? How audacious the desire of the Victorians to choose their own governor! Yet D. P. cannot see that these are questions, which being once mooted, cannot be suppressed; that the feeling of separation from the mother-country will develope itself as the child-kingdom grows, and that it must eventually happen that the wishes and the will of

the colonists be accomplished to the letter of their petition. These are considerations which are not to be scouted because they originate in the minds of demagogues, and take root in the hearts of democrats. They are much more properly met by a judicious investigation of their merits, and an earnest desire to deal with them in the spirit of reconciliation. It has been shown how utterly impossible is it to govern our colonies by the same *régime* as that by which Charles I. attempted to govern England, and George III. the United States of America. The development of liberal ideas, the reduction, as it were, of the principles of personal and national privilege to a science, the increasing strength of these rising dependencies, render it impossible to return to the old systems of government. This has already been recognised by our colonial ministers, and it only remains to see how widely colonial notions of self-government can be permitted to expand. We do not wish to pursue this subject any further; but the recent effort on the part of the citizens of Melbourne to have the power of electing a governor for themselves, proves that before many years have elapsed this subject will be brought prominently forward.

Leaving the colony of Victoria, our author proceeds to New South Wales, and is delighted with its capital, Sydney. There is as much difference between this city and the queen-city of the southern hemisphere, as there is between Regent Street and Whitechapel, or between Belgravia and Southwark. So states D. P. In fact, so charmed is he with it and its institutions, that he cannot find words to express his admiration. Accordingly, he borrows largely from local sources. Out of the few pages he devotes to this colony, no less than five-eighths are extracts from already published histories, or articles taken in full from the local newspapers. His chief pleasure, however, is to draw a parallel between this long-established province and its younger neighbour, Victoria. He finds society classified in New South Wales. Men of property and position hold themselves distinct from men of property *without character*. Intellectually, the inhabitants of Sydney are greatly in advance of those of Melbourne, at least so may be inferred from the well-stocked libraries and superior habits and tastes of the former. The gentlemen of the press of New South Wales display "a brighter spirit of independence, reason, and moderation," than the members of the press in Victoria, who, "like the members of any other trade or profession in that colony, propound their doctrines, advocate their claims, or descant on their grievances, by a species of colonial slang or low Irish bullyism." As a proof of superior taste, it is alleged that the inhabitants of New South Wales collected a sum of £60,000 for the Patriotic Fund,

whilst Victoria, with a larger population, only subscribed £7,000.

From Sydney D. P. crossed over to Tasmania, the recently adopted name of Van Diemen's Land. Seeing the loveliness of its land and lake scenery—"so grand as almost to baffle an attempt at description"—perceiving, too, that the climate is no less beautiful than the country, he endeavours to conjecture what caprice could have doomed this delightful spot to the degradation of becoming a convict station. He very naïvely inquires if it were with the object of improving or restoring constitutions, previously steeped in vice and impaired by dissipation, since, as he observes, in no part of the habitable globe, can be seen a more healthy body of individuals than the criminals at present under sentence in this penal settlement. Again D. P. is indebted to a little work published some years since for the descriptive matter about the colony with which he favours the reader. This occupies six pages out of the eleven. Adding a page and a half more of a letter penned by Sir Henry Young to the "Editor of the Times," we have seven pages and a half of extract—a modest proportion. As, however, we see nothing in the extracts which has not already been more ably described in other works, and which has not been long familiar to the English public, we spare the reader any further allusion to it. We think it, however, our duty to expose this evident system of book-making, more especially as it is confidently announced on the title-page that the work has reached a *fifth thousandth*. We regret to see, if this statement be true, that "patchwork" is preferred to works of far higher merit. There are in our libraries many works written by long-resident colonists of much less pretensions but of much greater utility, *turned out*, we may say, in a workmanlike style, but which unfortunately cannot boast of half the circulation.

We have now to learn our author's views of New Zealand. These are given, as far as he is concerned, in a short introductory notice, the body of matter being still, as in the other instances, second-hand.

"A longer residence in New Zealand might have made the author of the following sketches," so he modestly informs us, "more familiar not only with the natural capabilities of the country, but likewise with the political dissensions of the people, although a longer period for praise of the one or censure of the other would not have increased the writer's present high opinion either of the colony or of its incomparable climate. To the interest taken in the progress of New Zealand may be attributed the reprehension of those local evils by which that progress is impeded. In New Zealand, as in other colonies, may be found a swarm of political blue-bottles,

incapable of good themselves, although they seriously affect what has been or might be prepared and dispensed for the public weal. But these Liliputian statesmen, in attempting great characters, present the world with an unenviable picture of their own littleness. With the exception, however, of a few of these provincial trumpeters and certain members of the house of clamour and confusion, by which some of the provinces are misgoverned and the commercial expansion of others retarded, the inhabitants are in every respect superior to those in either of the Australian colonies. And if asked to name the first colony in the southern hemisphere as a desirable home for the intending emigrant, the writer with the most impartial sincerity would answer, **NEW ZEALAND.**”—P. 225.

This is briefly an exposition of the views of D. P. on the political condition and the physical superiority of New Zealand. He is compelled to admit the inadequacy of his experience with regard to the colony. Yet he imagines himself to have had a sufficient insight into the conduct and characters of the “*political bluebottles*,” as he calls the anti-government-house party of the colony, to visit them with his severest censure. It is not difficult to perceive that the reprobation with which D. P. visits the political agitators of the southern hemisphere, he would heartily inflict upon all opponents of ministerial rule at home. We cannot say to what degree of passive obedience D. P. would reduce our colonial subjects, but it appears to us he would be delighted to see them treated as we treat our convicts. Liberty of thought and freedom of expression seem to be inconsistent with his ideas of good government. He reminds us of a young officer, who dilating indignantly on the presumption of the Crimean correspondents of the press in daring to criticize the management and manœuvres of the army, declared “he would, had he been in Lord Raglan’s place, have treated them with martial law, and shot them at once.”

We now close our notice of this volume. Perhaps we have devoted too much attention to it. Our object, however, has been to expose the system of book-making, of which this is a glaring instance. We might, had we chosen it, have performed the more agreeable duty of describing the different colonies which D. P. has so incompetently and at second-hand described. At all events, we should be in no want of materials. Within the last two or three years the press has teemed with valuable information on the subject, and it would require but little labour in a historian to organize a thorough account of these colonies, and their physical resources and capabilities.

It were vain to attempt to trace out the future of these distant provinces. We cannot, however, fail to perceive that under the blessing of Divine Providence, they will become the



centre of a new and glorious civilization about to dawn upon the sunny isles of the Pacific. The uninhabited regions of the earth are being fast filled with a gospel-bearing population, and wherever a new settlement springs up we hear the voice of independence and the song of liberty, so distasteful to the ears of D. P. We trust it will be impossible for the spirit of oppression to visit these shores. We trust that the crimes and tyrannies which empurple the soil of the North will never find shelter beneath the radiant skies of the Southern Cross. We rather trust that the influence of these distant colonies shall react upon the governments of our northern climes, and assist in emancipating the groaning nations of Europe and Asia from their long-tolerated and deeply-rooted social and spiritual bondage.

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#### ART. V.—THE WANDERING JEW.

*The Legend of the Wandering Jew.* Translated by G. W. Thornbury.  
With Illustrations by Gustave Doré. Addey & Co.

THE Legend is here printed in a large but thin folio volume, on beautiful paper, and in stately type. Several men of talent and two men of genius have co-operated in the work. We mark as the men of genius, Gustave Doré himself, the marvellous Rabelaisian illustrator of Rabelais; and Dupont, the author of the rhyme, which is a shadowy, quaint, singular poem, redolent of Middle-Age superstition and simplicity, as well as of the rare mystic grandeur which made that superstition terrible and that simplicity sublime. Certainly, Mr. Thornbury and Mr. John Stebbing are men of talent, their translations bearing the impress of scholarship and taste, as well as of considerable literary power. We think it as well to introduce their names and merits at once to the notice of the reader, who is impatient, perhaps, to follow the Wandering Jew on his terrestrial rounds.

The literature of almost every period presents some enigma of authorship as matter of speculation, argument, or research, according as its solution is attempted by the man of theory, the controversialist, or the antiquary. Fancy, reflection, diligence, have alternately been exercised; yet the "*Tribus Impostoribus*," the still more celebrated "*Remarkable History of Master Reynard*," the "*Chatterton Fragments*," the "*Letters of Junius*," are, fortunately for the *dilettanti* of literature, as pro-

lific of discussion as ever. But mystery, stimulating the imagination, incites a peculiar interest; and to the obscurity usually accompanying the origin of legends and traditions, often attributed by credulity to some supernatural source, is in a great measure owing their powerful influence over the popular mind. This uncertainty surrounds the famous Legend of the Wandering Jew. The production of some earlier Bunyan, it existed previously to the thirteenth century—an era introductory to the magnificent religious allegories of Dante; the characteristics distinguishing the Wandering Jew, rendering him unmistakably the personification of the Jewish nation, the fulfilment of whose destiny is typified in his history. Like the Jewish people, he had rejected the Messiah—had eagerly desired his crucifixion—had persecuted and reviled him in his hours of agony; and his chastisement, like theirs, was pronounced by the Saviour himself. From that time, its expiation has been seen in the strange vicissitudes of the Jewish nation, which, in the midst of a perpetual exodus, again and again banished, persecuted, and despised, has, nevertheless, with peculiar tenacity, maintained its nationality unaltered, even to minute details of observance and costume. This singular individuality, ineffaceable in spite of continuous intercourse with the different nations of the world, and the influence of variety of custom, climate, and character, is symbolized strikingly in the career of the Wandering Jew, hurrying in inextinguishable vitality from region to region of the globe, wooing death vainly everywhere—an immortal Cain upon the earth.

The Legend, whether introduced by the Crusaders from the East, or derived elsewhere, was, at all events, known and credited widely among Christians, as we have said, anterior to the thirteenth century. According to some, its origin was connected with the year 1000, the date it was prophesied, through an erroneous interpretation of a Scriptural passage, of an event, the anticipation of which became a terror to men's minds. This was the coming of Antichrist, and the Last Judgment. The occurrence of famine and pestilence strengthened the delusive dread, while the crisis, favourable to impostors, was improved by them to their profit, through personating the part of Antichrist, and thus collecting alms, which weakness and ignorance liberally awarded. The year, however, in spite of omens, came to an ordinary termination; but the appearance of the pretended Antichrist in different places led to the supposition that it was the Wandering Jew, whose melancholy fate rendered it impossible for him to rest, and who was transported rapidly from quarter to quarter. Then arose discussions among theologians to certify his personality. Some sought to prove

that the wanderer was no other than Malthus, against whom Peter had drawn the sword, some maintained that he was the unrepentant thief, and others, that he was Pilate. The testimony of respected authorities was not wanting to prove his existence. In the year 1228, an archbishop of Great Armenia having made a pilgrimage to England, took up his abode in the Monastery of St. Albans; and the legend, narrated by him to the holy brotherhood, concerning Joseph, otherwise Cartaphilus, constitutes the first historical record with reference to the Wandering Jew: the chronicle being transcribed in the monastery, a few years later, by Matthew Paris, one of its members. It was here narrated, that at the moment when Jesus was delivered to be crucified, the Jews dragging him harshly from the judgment-hall, caused him to fall upon the threshold, when Cartaphilus, the door-keeper of the hall, insolently pushing him, struck him with his fist, and cried, mockingly, "Go faster, Jesus, go!—why do you stop?" And the Saviour, sternly regarding him, replied, "I go; but you shall tarry until my return." After the death of our Saviour, Cartaphilus having become a Christian, took the name of Joseph; and at the present time, says the story, living a life of frugality and piety, awaits the coming of the Lord.

The Legend, in this form, having made its way into France, passed into the Low Countries, was received with especial favour in Germany; and, current throughout the Middle Ages, became gradually incorporated into the literature of Continental nations. In June, of the year 1564, we find the existence of the Wandering Jew, under the name of Ahasuerus, through the medium of Paul d'Eitzen, a doctor of theology, and bishop of Scheleszving, affirmed by a devout citizen of Hamburg, who religiously received, and narrated in a letter, the testimony of Paul. This venerable prelate, when a student at Wittenberg, in 1542, went to visit his parents at Hamburg. During a sermon, which he listened to one Sunday, he observed, opposite the pulpit, a tall man, having long locks hanging down upon his shoulders, and naked feet, who sat absorbed by the discourse, never moving in the least degree, except at the mention of the name of Jesus Christ, when he bowed, and struck his breast, at the same time breathing heavily. His age apparently was fifty. His dress, although it was winter, consisted only of *chausses à la marine*, reaching down to his feet, a jupe, which hung down to his knees, and a cloak.

In answer to the interrogatories of the doctor, which were now put to him, he replied that he was a Jew, named Ahasuerus, and had followed the trade of a shoemaker; that during our Saviour's mission upon earth, he had lived in Jeru-

saalem, and had joined the persecution against the Messiah. Having heard that the sentence of crucifixion was passed, he ran to the porch of his dwelling, situate in the road which the Saviour had to traverse; and that Jesus, burthened with his cross and weary, leant against the house of the Jew, who reviled him, and pointed onwards, when the Saviour, steadfastly regarding him, replied, "I shall stop and repose, but you shall go on!" whereupon, Ahasuerus, resigning the child he held in his arms, became an exile from home and country—for ever traversing strange lands—for ever witnessing fresh scenes.

Again, in the year 1575, the envoys of the Duke of Holstein to Madrid, met on their road the Wandering Jew, who addressed them in good Spanish! A few years later he entered Strasburg, even presenting himself to the magistrates, reminding them of his visit to the city two hundred years before—a fact corroborated by the national records! His appearance in France was reported in the year 1604, which chanced to be signalized by an especial number of storms and tempests. By these whirlwinds it was supposed that the Wandering Jew was borne from place to place; and to this day, when a hurricane howls along its desolating tract, the simple Breton peasants and the rustics of Picardy cross themselves, while they cry, "The Wandering Jew is passing."

But poems, no less than proverbs, have been inspired by the belief in this untiring wanderer, whose imaginary existence has proved so propitious to the practices of vagabondage and the encouragement of credulity. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, a complaint was penned, which, though inserted by Louvet in his erudite historical volumes, if of any value, is only so as indicative of the popular taste of the period.

In biographical and historical compositions, moreover, the Wandering Jew is a notable personage. Gustave Brunet, of Bordeaux, in his "Notice Historique et Biographique sur la Légende du Juif Errant," relating how he was met by two citizens of Brussels, in the Forest of Soignes, says: "He was clad in a costume extremely ragged, and cut in the antique fashion; he entered with them into an *auberge*; he drank, but would not sit down; he told them his story; said that his name was Isaac Laquedem; and left them terribly frightened," adds the chronicler, with *naïveté*. About the same period, a high-flown, romantic narration appeared in Belgium, under the title of "Histoire admirable du Juif Errant," describing, at length, the adventures of the renowned traveller in different regions, and followed by "a canticle," of even less merit than the "complaint." At schools and academies, moreover, the Jew

was the subject of discussion, and his history gave rise to many a learned dissertation, "the most singular among which," says Gustave Brunet, "is that of Droscher: this Sachem, deeming the thing proved, pretends to establish, that Ahasuerus and Cartaphilus are two distinct persons, and stands up for the existence of two Wandering Jews." Possibly, this enlightened champion of superstition had his own especial evidence, having met the Merchant of Rotterdam and Cartaphilus in companionship together on their travels!

After his welcome in the Forest of Soignes, it was confidently hoped that the wanderer would visit alternately the various towns of Germany; but not until the year 1772, on the 22nd of April, was the expectation fulfilled by his entering into Brussels at six in the evening, as the date is carefully preserved. Since that period, whatever was his reception by the good citizens, he has not been induced by it to visit Europe again in the character of either Cartaphilus, Joseph, or Ahasuerus, though invoked by the painter, the romancer, and the poet, and often selected as the favourite theme of the drama and the opera. Not less than ten French productions of this kind bear his name, from the play of "*Caignez*," represented at La Gaîté, in 1812, to the opera of MM. Scribe and Saint-Georges. Numerous poems are dedicated to him, pre-eminent among these the productions of Schubart and Quinet; but distinguished above all others, the noble song of Béranger, melodiously accompanied by the music of Ernest Doré. Pierre Dupont has added to these his admirable composition, the subject of which is peculiarly adapted to elicit the characteristic genius of Gustave Doré, so strikingly manifested in the splendid illustrations of the present work. The tradition, as adopted by Dupont is that of Ahasuerus, the shoemaker, condemned to perpetual wandering until the Judgment. Infinite diversity in situation, incident, and emotion, is afforded by the poet's theme, the changes of which resemble the variations to an air,—the measure ever distinctly heard through the intricacy of harmonies inseparable from and attendant on it. Thus, amidst the most contrasted localities, seasons, and circumstances, all which are apprehended and vividly depicted to the minutest details by the artist, the shadow of the Cross ceaselessly appears over the path of the wanderer, who, toilworn and weary, if reposing for an instant, is urged irresistibly on by the beckoning hand of the avenging angel.

The graphic interpretation of this marvellous legend through the skill of Doré, immortalizes it anew. As we have said, it is suited especially to his particular order of talent. His fancies, wondrously bold, not to say grotesque, powerfully express the ex-

travagance of the subject. His genius does not, with the accuracy of a Durer, appeal so much to the actual as to the ideal conceptions of the poet. Mountain, valley, ocean, appear transfigured into a dream of poetry by his pencil, yet are vividly natural. The grandeur of architecture, the gloom of forests, the busy life of cities, groupings of age and youth and infancy, the terrors of the battle or the storm, sacred awe and quaint humour, are alike truthfully delineated by the creative versatility of his imagination, which blends the most incongruous elements into one harmonious whole. The very surprises, ingeniously bold and fanciful, which in his pieces awaken admiration, would excite only ridicule if attempted by a less able artist.

First among the twelve magnificent designs of M. Doré, he has chosen to represent the moment of the malediction. On the adjacent hill crosses are seen erected; a busy crowd hastens to assemble round the scene of suffering. Pharisees, executioners, legionaries, women, boys, and all the rabble of the city are collected, affording ample scope to the artist for the portrayal of physiognomy, who improves it to the exhibition of the Jewish face under the varying aspects of an Absalom, a Caiaphas, a Barabbas, a Judas, and a Saul. Ahasuerus, the cobbler, stands, boot in hand, beneath his shop-sign. He hears the fearful doom in answer to his taunt as the Saviour toils towards Calvary, and remains immoveable for an instant with horror,—then hurries on the hopeless wandering. The Jew is next seen emerging from a town of an antique stamp. The steeples of its buildings are in view, and a cross by the wayside arrests his agonized gaze. It is a bitter night, and the rain dashes remorselessly; a tempest glooms in the sky; the trees groan as though in pain; a rough wind bears the exile onwards, his garments and long flowing beard fluttering in the gale. A ghastly light is reflected on the figure of the Saviour. Desolation is impressed on the entire scene.

The city of Brussels next appears. Towers, domes, gables, windows, and bell-turrets, all bespeak the lavish architecture of the age. Opulent burghers surround the remarkable stranger in order to interrogate him, and are joined by a motley group of boys and animals, one of which, the salesman's ass, mistaking the flowing beard of the Jew for hay, nibbles at it. The varying phases of the throng, the burgesses with wigs and queues, doffed hats and ceremonial antics, the ignorant trades-boy in gaping wonder, the stoic regarding all contemptuously, are graphically described, and form an excellent specimen of the picturesque.

The fourth illustration represents the traveller consenting to an invitation to rest awhile in an inn, forgetful momentarily, it is inferred, of his doom, but instantaneously recollecting it, is



## THE WANDERING JEW.

seen breaking away from his companions, urged forwards by the figure of the angel. All are eager to detain him in order that the relation of his pilgrimage might increase the entertainment and jollity of the evening, and, uproarious at his resolution to depart, essay different temptations to induce him to remain. One reveller holds up a glass of beer; another, clicking the lid of his flagon, shouts an intoxicated ditty; and the buxom landlady is at her wits to maintain order. The reckless mirth of these wassailing Flemings at the inn, and the blaze and bustle of its interior, contrast forcibly with the gloom of the night without, into which the exile is hurried by inexorable mandate—a burning and ever present remorse within his breast. The pathos of Guido, the truthfulness of Holbein, and the humour of Hogarth, are concentrated in this picture.

The traveller is next seen hurrying along the Rhine, the waters of which reflect the vision of Calvary and himself in an attitude of reviling, as with figure bent and head bowed down, he pursues his ceaseless course. The landscape is grand and of vast extent. Caves, rocks, and trees appear, black as night. The relics of feudal banqueting-halls and dungeons are seen in the ruined towers crowning the steeps and glimmering far in the blue horizon. Among them, on a rocky eminence, rises a chapel spire. Over all is the cheerful sky fleeced with sailing clouds.

The Jew then enters a graveyard decorated with urns and amaranthine garlands. Epitaphs tell either of vanity or affection. The white tombs glisten against the sombre blackness of yew and cypress. The church-tower tolls a knell, and the wanderer wishes it were for him. But no; in his own gaunt shadow on the turf, in the waving grass, on the earth, in the sky, in mountain, wood, or torrent, in light and in darkness, the Cross is before him ever. The curiously woven aspects of the clouds have for him a symbolic meaning, and their irregular outline pictures to him the memorable procession. He sees the Saviour goaded onwards by the crowd whose yells still echo in his ears. He rushes on through the lofty Swiss valleys, where fir-darkened slopes lead up to snowy peaks. Torrents gush from out the forests. The scream of the eagle rings among the defiles. Suddenly the pines and stones take hideous shapes. Faces are formed by the boughs. The tree-tops appear like menacing axes; indentations in the trunks yawn into a ghastly smile; the leafless branches wrestle together in fierce anguish; when glittering against the blackness of the scene, the white-robed angel of his destiny shines radiant as the sun, bearing in her hand a torch of fire.

Nature glorified into matchless beauty by the glow of sunrise,

beaming with opal and amethystine splendour, attracts him, but he cannot stay. He wanders on amidst the loftiest regions of the Alps. Their pure summits seem crimsoned by the blood of the Cross. On, on he hastens—the marmot and the lamb-vulture his sole companions—leaving the track of the chamois-hunter and the blue blossoms and roses of the mountain far below, from whence the bell of the herdsman sounds faintly. The Jew, holding by a rock, looks from the surrounding glaciers mournfully to the chill sky above. There the vision haunts him still. Fantastic carvings in the ice form the solemn procession. The ponderous cross beneath which the Saviour bows, the uplifted hand, the fierce soldiers—all are vividly depicted. Beyond and above, through the misty air, as though heaven itself were revealed, a majestic band of saints and apostles appears. The artist has lavishly expended the resources of his genius on this awful scene. It is magnificently picturesque, vast, and wondrously varied, yet not confused. Amidst the multiplicity and diversity of the objects introduced, each one is distinct and expressive, from the strange, faded form of the unresting traveller—his white head, flowing beard, and loose garments, fluttering in relief against the darkness of surrounding rocks, clefts, and ravines—to the little cross on the hospice-tower. The wild grandeur of the scenery—its gloom and solitude, contrast strikingly, yet are in peculiar harmony with the celestial revelation irradiating the heavens. The whole picture, expressive of sublimity, is suited to the bold range and lofty inspiration of the artist's fancy.

The ninth illustration exhibits a widely dissimilar vein of Doré's imagination. It is a battle-piece. Here all is action and turmoil. A town is besieged by an army in the mediæval age. Fortified heights of feudalism occupy the background. Before is seen an array of clashing spears. All the horrors of the struggle are graphically described, often with a morbid and fantastic extravagance. Enemies have hewn each other to pieces in the fierceness of their malice, and mangled limbs strew the ground. One invincible warrior fights with his sword in his mouth. Some, falling under the mortal blow, are receiving consolation from the priest. The glitter of the armour, the plumed helmets, and the trappings of the horses, present the rude splendour of knightly warfare. The Jew rushes into the thickest of the fight, but no danger menaces his marvellous life.

He is next seen plunging into the ocean, but the angry waves will not receive him. Out of a ship's crew wrecked by the hurricane he alone is saved, fording the seas as easily as the river. A loaded boat disappears beneath the tossing surf, and forth from the gigantic billows seething round him, despairing faces appear. A spar, the sole remaining hope, is swallowed by

a sea monster. The doomed ones cling to the Jew's beard in their agony. From amidst the heaving, foaming waste, are revealed the forms of the dead long since victims of the relentless ocean. The stony gaze of these expands into wonder on beholding the deathless traveller.

He toils on through the Andes. Lions, serpents, wild beasts fail to destroy him. Snakes and river-monsters crowd his path, but no sting can harm him. The snowy peaks of the mountains are here portrayed above the dense shade of thickly growing palms, and the dark, sunless river whitened by the trail of the alligators.

At length, after ages of wandering, the Jew is summoned to repose. The trump of the Last Judgment is heard by the awe-stricken universe, and the Jew welcomes it with a shout of wild laughter as, leaning on a stone, he tears off his time-worn boots. The very act of reposing is a millennium to him, and is greeted by an irresistible burst of merriment. A mingled crowd of demons, saints, and mortals, are here represented, and all the reckless ingenuity of the artist is invoked for the description of the scene. Amidst the vast array of the resurrection, kings, popes, and priests are seen, some in antique costume, some in the various peculiarities of more modern attire. The centre of the picture is a chaos of flames and blackness. A shower of light streams from above, and myriads of rejoicing angels cleave the air. In spite of certain eccentricities of fancy, dignity and pathos characterize this illustration. It is adequately conceived, as a whole, when we consider the difficulty of worthily representing a subject which not even the genius of Angelo could depict unalloyed by error and extravagance.

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#### ART. VI.—OVER DARIEN BY A SHIP-CANAL.

*Over Darien by a Ship Canal.* Reports, &c., published by Effingham Wilson. London. 1856.

DR. CULLEN has recently endeavoured to revive public interest in the scheme for the execution of a Ship-Canal across the Isthmus of Darien, by the publication of some severe criticisms upon the mode in which the recent expeditions, undertaken for the purpose of verifying his assertions of the practicability of the undertaking, have been mismanaged; and the importance of the Canal itself to all the nations of civilized Europe may be

sufficiently great to warrant us in dwelling a little longer upon this controversial pamphlet than we should, under ordinary circumstances, have thought necessary. The disappointed doctor is irate with the parties who rendered abortive his project for fame and fortune ; and he, perhaps naturally enough, endeavours to cast doubts upon their capacity for the duties entrusted to them, —a style of criticism in which the *Sun*, a paper friendly to Dr. Cullen's views, energetically, and, we think very correctly joins. The whole story is, however, so illustrative of the strange state of the engineering and speculative world in England about 1850, that its perusal cannot fail to afford amusement, even if it do not afford instruction, to those who will take the trouble to review its previous phases.

For our own parts, we are somewhat sceptical with respect to the commercial advantages to be obtained by the execution of a ship-canal through the tongue of land uniting North and South America. Even if an easy passage existed there, the navigation from North-Western Europe to China, Australia, or India, would be very slightly benefited ; and the trade between our ports, and those upon the western shores of America, is certainly, at present, not of sufficient importance to justify any considerable outlay in this direction. It is remarkable, too, that none of the canals executed for the purpose of avoiding navigation round the great headlands of the Old World, have hitherto paid their expenses ; and the Caledonian, Gotha, and Eyder Canals may be pointed to as illustrations of the comparative worthlessness, in a politico-economical point of view, of such operations. This portion of the inquiry—that is to say, the practical monetary return to be expected—has, in fact, been entirely lost sight of by the advocates of the various schemes for traversing the Isthmus of Darien ; but it must force itself, sooner or later, upon the attention of the commercial world.

But even if it be admitted that a ship-canal were required, and that it would pay a fair interest upon the money invested in carrying it into effect, there remains the serious question as to the best position for its execution ; and herein do we cordially agree with Dr. Cullen, that no proper examination of this subject has yet been attempted. It is mortifying, particularly to Englishmen, who affect, as a nation, to pride themselves upon the practical application of their scientific knowledge, to think that so much money and so much time should have been wasted upon the discussion of the feasibility of schemes, which were, in fact, only based upon an inspection of imperfect charts, or the vague rumours of Indians, of backwoodsmen, or of buccaneers ; and Dr. Cullen himself, if he had possessed the slightest knowledge of the laws of physical geography, ought at once to have

perceived that the engineer he accepted to verify his assertions as to the ease with which the Isthmus might be traversed, Mr. Gisborne, was totally incapable of forming an opinion of value upon the subject submitted to him. Of all the absurd so-called scientific documents which have lately issued from the English press, there is perhaps none worthy to be compared with Mr. Gisborne's "Darien Journal" (London, 1853); and we can easily understand the mortification of the doctor at finding the result of his labours destroyed by such manifest incompetence as was exhibited on the occasion of Mr. Gisborne's second visit. Mr. Gisborne indeed avows, in his first work, that before arriving upon the ground he was sent to examine, he had settled in his own mind the hydraulic conditions of the Ship-Canal so far as they were likely to be affected by the tides at the respective extremities; and throughout his book he reasons upon the assumption, that the tides in the Pacific and in the Atlantic were very different in the height of their vertical range; but, although he does not expressly say so, he also assumes that they are synchronous. Neither of these assumptions is based upon actual observation; and, indeed, from the earliest, and, perhaps, the most careful observations upon the tides of this part of America, it would appear certain that the latter especially *must* be incorrect. Colonel Lloyd, indeed, found that at Panama, the mean rise of the tide of the Pacific was about 21.22 ft., whilst the rise at Chagres was only 3.52 ft., and that they were synchronous; but the Atlantic tide makes from the S.W. towards N.E., and the tide of the Pacific from N.E. to S.W.; so that in the neighbourhood of Caledonia Bay, it is very probable that the hours of high water in the two oceans are separated by so considerable an interval as to render all Mr. Gisborne's reasoning with respect to them valueless. But unfortunately our uncertainty upon this important part of the investigation, is rendered greater than it previously had been by Admiral de Rosamel's observations; for he states that the mean rise at Panama is only 10.66 ft.; but whatever it may be, it is certain that if the tides be synchronous at Panama and Chagres, they cannot be so near Caledonia Bay. We dwell upon this point, because to our minds it offers one of the most striking illustrations of the carelessness with which important investigations are conducted in our country: and really we are not surprised that Dr. Cullen should have been dissatisfied with the subsequent conduct of the expedition under Mr. Gisborne's orders. From his own showing, this gentleman seems, in 1852, to have penetrated a very short distance from the Atlantic shore towards the interior; he was frightened by the Indians; then he went round to the Pacific shore by another route; penetrated

again a short distance into the country without taking any levels or making any surveys worthy of notice, and returned to England after an absence of only four months and a half, and an expense not recorded! Truly, there never was a more ridiculous exhibition of incompetence and folly on the part of those who selected such an observer, as well as on the part of the observer himself, and yet he was selected by our government to lead the expedition undertaken conjointly with that of France in 1854!

The published accounts of this expedition certainly are far from favourable to Dr. Cullen's views; but it must also be confessed that they are equally far from solving satisfactorily the various questions with respect to the physical geography of this part of Central America. They remind us, indeed, strongly of the expedition under the orders of a certain monarch, who with his army "marched up a hill, and then marched down again;" for with a force of about nine hundred men under their orders, the commanders were positively frightened from any systematic surveys by their dread of some invisible Indian tribes. As Dr. Cullen says, the whole question is still open, so far as the practicability of a communication between Caledonia Bay and the Savana River is concerned: but who shall decide it? After the miserable failures and the ridiculous blunders of both private and official expeditions, we despair, for some time to come, of seeing any really important steps taken in the business. From all that has yet been published, we ourselves believe that if a ship-canal across the Isthmus of Darien be feasible anywhere, it would be in the district to which Dr. Cullen has again called attention; and it is curious that, at page 1 of Dampier's "New Voyage Round the World," (1699), that bold adventurer should have indicated, as "the author's entrance into the South Seas," a route which corresponds as nearly as could be expected with that recently proposed for the line of the canal. If, therefore, it can be shown that any great good could be effected by the execution of such a work, it is essential that a "survey *should be* made by competent engineers." As to "an exploration by parties with compasses," it would be very costly, very unsatisfactory, and prove nothing. Men who can observe, who know *what* to observe, and will tell the truth, are required for this investigation in a country at present totally unknown to Europeans, notwithstanding its peculiar position in the path of commerce. Unfortunately, these qualities do not appear to be grounds of recommendation to the distributors of official favours, or the result of the expedition of 1854 would very probably have been different from that to which we have been obliged to allude.



One incidental remark may be made before concluding this notice. It is, that we regret to observe that very little attention has been paid by recent authors upon the Isthmus of Darien to the documents connected with the vice-regal governments of the ancient Spanish colonies which are known still to be in existence. Had they been consulted, much disappointment and loss would have been avoided; and, indeed, if the recent English writers upon the subject of the inter-oceanic communications across this tongue of land had studied the various works in French, Spanish, and Dutch, or those published in England or the United States, upon the physical geography of this part of the globe, it is but reasonable to suppose that the investigations undertaken abroad would have been conducted in a very different manner to that in which, from Dr. Cullen's, or even from Mr. Gisborne's statements, they seem to have been. Dr. Cullen himself has not given any indications of his having studied the numerous array of authors who have previously treated of Central America. As to Mr. Gisborne and Sir C. Fox's productions, they display an amount of flippant ignorance, which would be positively surprising had we not been of late tolerably accustomed to the exhibition of that amiable defect by most of our blue books or other official publications. The Dutch and the Swedish governments have already sent competent observers to study other portions of the Isthmus than that asserted by Dr. Cullen to be the most fitted for the execution of a ship-channel; and as the governments of England, France, and America have shown that they are incapable of managing such operations, perhaps Dr. Cullen would do wisely in addressing himself to one or the other of these secondary powers, or to private industry, for the purpose of obtaining an efficient examination of the district near Caledonia Bay. One thing is, however, certain, viz., that it would be madness to attempt the execution of a ship-canal of the magnitude proposed for this place without having previously observed the physical and hydrographical conditions of both land and sea during several years. Since railroads have existed, we Englishmen seem to have adopted the system said formerly to have been the exclusive characteristic of fools, "we rush in where angels would fear to tread;" but the public may depend upon it, that in a highly volcanic region,—in a district where the laws of the tides are excessively complicated,—it would be worse than folly to invest large sums of money without long, able, and conscientious observations. The knots our recent observers pretend to cut in months, could not be unravelled in years.

## ART. VII.—CAMBRIDGE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

*Cambridge in the Seventeenth Century : the Autobiography of Matthew Robinson.* Now first Edited, with Illustrations, by J. E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Macmillan.

THERE are readers who never read a preface. As conscientious critics, we always begin with the beginning, and attend deferentially to what an author has to say for himself before we enter upon our own examination of his wares. But Mr. Mayor has dashed our confidence on this matter with a doubt. Nine persons out of ten reading the preface to this volume would stumble over the very threshold, and getting up and rubbing their knees, lose their temper, and proceed no farther. And so they would lose also a very entertaining and very curious narrative. Yet who could wonder? Never was a writer so bent upon setting his worst foot foremost. Apparently he has fallen, at some time or other, into the hands of critics more churlish, perhaps, than competent; and instead of never heeding them, as he can well afford to do, and going magnanimously about his tasks, he writes philippics against "effete serials" and "the deluge of purposeless declamation which overwhelms us in daily, weekly, fortnightly, monthly, and quarterly publications, until the stream of knowledge is lost in stagnant pools of gossip." Suppose every word of his complaint against "the noisy province of our literature" to be true, what has it to do with the autobiography of a divine of the days of Charles II.? As to the other grievance; that "most people read no books beyond the works of the season," has it never occurred to him that if they did not read these ephemeral productions, they would probably read nothing at all; and that, in the majority of cases, if book-clubs and circulating libraries were to carry his suggestion into effect and devote their funds to the materials of which a permanent library ought to be composed, the managers would incontinently be left with no funds at all! We cannot think with Mr. Mayor that it is "a question whether these book-clubs are not on the whole productive of as much harm as good." They give a habit and perhaps a taste for reading, and many a man, we suspect, who began in the merest "rage for amusement," becomes imbued in the long run with higher and soberer purposes. As little can we agree with him that "the scholar's best ally, the dealer in old books," is deserted. We are greatly mistaken if, on the contrary, the dealers in old books are not more numerous and better patronized than ever they were. But the twenty or thirty pages of preface once got through, the reader finds his reward, not only in the Autobiography itself, but in the manner in which it is presented to him. For to do Mr. Mayor justice, he is an excellent editor—painstaking in the highest degree, and bringing to his work a mind stored with all kinds of reading. Never was MS. more carefully and thoroughly illustrated; and, to crown all,

there is the charm of an "index of names and things," so copious and so complete as to be a very model.

Matthew Robinson, Vicar of Burneston, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, and diocese of Chester, and some time Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, was born in 1628. His father, "a stout and popular gentleman," who was "engaged by my Lord Fairfax to stand up for his country" in the beginning of the Civil Wars, died when the son was but twelve years old. His first impulse was to follow in the fortunes of Fairfax; but his mother sent him to Edinburgh, where he remained till the plague drove him away. On his return home, he went to Cambridge, the journey thither being no easy matter in those troubled times. He went to Hull, "designing to slip through the washes of Lincolnshire, the higher road by Lincoln Heath being much infested by the raparees of Newark, and having got a firm pass from the Governor of Hull, he with another companion, of the same inclination, passed the Humber into Lincolnshire, in company with some other persons of quality; but being on Caster Heath, they were all forced to ride for their lives many miles, being pursued by a party of Newarkers, who waited for such a prize; of these fugitives, our student *para prima fuit*: for though mounted with the worst, he came off with the first that night. The next day he and his companion resolved to get farther off the like danger, going over several ferries in that washy country, where enemies could not march: and getting to Spalding in Holland, thought it not safe to lodge there that night (the enemy's army having just then taken Leicester), but hastened for Crowland, a garrison whither no enemies could come but by water. There he was kindly received of the Governor, and appointed to a mean quarter, but could take no rest for swarms of night-enemies, the gnats and hummers, thousands of which he left slain upon his bed. He used to say, in relating this night's execution, *Quis stragem illius noctis, quis funera flendo explicet?* Here he could not rest, but by break of day made to Peterborough that morning, where he took his rest a little, and kept his sabbath that day devoutly; but that night the city was alarmed, notwithstanding they had four troops of horse in it; so that our student was forced to fly again with the first, leaving the troops to make good his rear; and to Huntingdon he got by noon, and to Cambridge safely ere night." Though of the second year in Edinburgh, he entered himself freshman of the first year in St. John's College. Cambridge was at that time in the hands of the Parliamentarians; and Robinson had "scarcely settled himself many nights in quiet, till the King's army broke into the associated counties, took Huntingdon, and in parties came near to Cambridge." "On which alarm," continues the biography, "the bells rang backwards, and the beacons were fired as if Hannibal had been at the gates; all the Cantabrigian students in four hours' time were all fled, two and three on a horse, and the rest footed it to friends in safer places. He being an absolute stranger, left with another friend of his, by his advice betook themselves to his old stratagem, flying into marshy countries and making to the Isle of Ely, where

the enemy's horse could not come but by boat. But the country circumjacent being called in on pain of death to defend Cambridge, the rude rabble stopped him flying and beat his companion, bringing them back to Cambridge. After two or three escapes, other rustics treated them in like manner. He being thus brought back to Cambridge, and remembering his many flights of this nature, resolved never more to fly, though he died on the spot: therefore, to the castle in Cambridge he goeth, addressing himself to the then Governor, who was a master of arts and a captain, offering his service in that juncture to live and die in the defence of that citadel. The Governor armed him with sword, firelock, and bandoliers, taking him into his own post. In this castle he was upon his military duty every night, and in the mornings stole into the College with his gown, none knowing this his new adventure until the King's forces were driven away. After this time he met with no interruption at all in his studies." His college tutor was Mr. Cawdrey, who was chosen proctor: "but being a noted Royalist, the counter faction prevailed with the Parliament to purge him and out him of his proctorship." Between the tutor and his pupil there was a strong mutual attachment, and the latter "was much dissatisfied with his tutor's enemies, and out of love with that college life; and expecting nothing but ruin to the church by the present times, he betook himself from that occasion to the study of physic, waiting only till he had fully commenced bachelor." "But by the time that he was bachelor, the army faction being victorious, had seized King Charles I., and brought him up to London to his fatal trial. This he so passionately resented, that he forthwith left the University, going to London, which he had never visited before, to await the tragical issue. There, during the King's trial, he joined with those who kept solemn days of fasting for the averting that national sin and judgment. But the King being sentenced to death, he had not the heart to stay the execution, but posted home to his friends in the north, that under his guard he might see what God would do to the city." He was pursuing the study of physic when a church-living in his native county, belonging to his family, became vacant, and at the importunity of his mother, he accepted the presentation. And, as vicar of Burneston, he spent the rest of a long life; preaching sermons which drew many to hear him, putting into practice his medical knowledge, "being three or four days per week and often more, carried unwillingly abroad to visit patients;" recreating himself with a small pack of beagles; never wanting "a choice gelding for his pleasure in galloping, and a beautiful curiously going pad for his saddle; and at length setting up a small stud of brood mares from which he bred "many choice colts which proved gallopers of fame at Newmarket." "His eye and judgment was so curious in horses that he would buy sometimes a choice colt foal at twenty guineas, and in less than four years sell him for a hundred; and geldings he would buy at eight, and ten, and twelve pounds, and within three months sell them at twenty, sometimes at thirty and thirty-five pounds. So that this which was his pleasure redounded

much unto his profit." In connexion with his fancy for horses, we have the following very amusing and characteristic anecdote. Passionately as he is said to have resented the violent death of Charles I., he was not so thorough-going a Royalist as to be blind to the demerits of Charles II. He set a just estimate on the royal favour, and did not want it. How novel and agreeable it must have been to the merry profligate to give audience to somebody who would neither ask nor accept anything of him; and how certain we are that he spoke the hearty truth when he said, "He is to me the more acceptable for that."—"Nay, King Charles II. having got a beautiful horse of his breed which he admired, hearing casually, by the governor of Dover, Colonel Stroote, that the horse's master was in town, desired to see him at Whitehall: but he declined to listen to that court compliment, saying that, *The King if he pleased might do him much harm, but he could do him no good, nor give him anything that he would accept of*; and, to avoid the inquiry, got him out of the city into the country awhile. But no sooner was he returned to his brother's house in the city, but a footman, with the royal livery, came to fetch him to the King. He was amazed much at this, but knowing himself innocent, attended the livery to Whitehall, where he was sent up into the Long Gallery unto the Governor of Dover, who quickly took him to the apartment next the king's bedchamber in the morning, bidding him tarry at the door a little. The door being half open, he heard the Governor speaking to the King in bed, telling him that, *He had brought him a great stranger, the clerical horseman, Dr. Robinson. But, saith he, sir, you must offer him nothing but your hand to kiss: for you have nothing that he will either ask or accept.* Saith the King, *He is to me the more acceptable for that; give me my night-gown that I may see him.* Hold, sir, saith the Governor, pleasantly, *you must not do so, for he is as comely and fine a clergyman as you have in your dominions.* Then, saith the King, *give me my royal robes, that I may appear finer than he.* Mr. Robinson, at the door, smiled to hear himself thus played upon with the bedchamber gallants, and perceiving the King drawing near the door, had gone back. But the King soon spied him out, holding out to him his hand to kiss. The courtiers made a cockpit round about him and his majesty, and the King's inquiry was immediately about the fine horse of his breed which he had sent to Newmarket, thinking to beat all England with him. His real thoughts being thus asked, he modestly told his majesty that, *The horse in season would neither credit much the breeder nor the owner; for though he was an horse of rare size, colour, beauty, marks, and strength, he was but an half-bred horse in the bottom, out of a Flanders coach-mare; and though he had heels for any horse, he was thick-winded and ungovernable, and would soon run himself out*; which his majesty soon found to be a truth, and prized him highly for a charging horse, and gave him to his son the Duke of Monmouth, who charged upon him at Bothwell Bridge in Scotland. Many more discourses past betwixt him, the King, and the Earl of Oxford, on some questions of horsemanship, his majesty seeming to be taken with his judgment and modesty. But the King

offered to try the latter with some glances of pleasantry, not becoming his gravity, and so waiting an opportunity when the King had singled out some wanton wit to disport upon, Mr. Robinson got stolen out of the circle; but never would see the court more to his dying day. Many hearing of his being sent for to the King, were very inquisitive to know of him what favour or preferment the King had conferred upon him. He answered, *No more than the back of his hand, and as much as either the King or he ever dreamed of.* Yet he believed he might have had a good place in the mews (if he had asked it), but none in the church. The Governor of Dover after asked him, *What he thought of the King?* He answered that, *Though he had never been born to a crown, any man would take him to be a great gentleman for civility, courtesy, wit, and pleasantry; but how solid and serious in matters of polity and religion, belonged not unto him to judge.* A shrewd answer, showing that he had taken the full measure of the King's character. A love of horses, however, was not the only point of sympathy between the King and "the clerical horseman." Mr. Robinson, whenever he appeared abroad, was not only "rarely mounted, and in rich clothes above the common rate of clergymen," but was always attended by three or four "masset spaniels, very little, beautiful, and of rare conceit." They had bells about their necks, and were his "van-couriers" when he visited the neighbouring gentlemen, to announce his arrival. The "personal manage" and conduct of his private affairs does, indeed, seem next to miraculous. His estate consisted of an annuity of £40; his living, which rarely exceeded £80; and the interest of his wife's portion of £800. He lived genteelly, kept a plentiful house and table, entertained suitable persons of quality, was charitable to the poor, bountiful to his relations, erected and endowed two free-schools, an hospital for six aged persons, "well approved for poverty and piety;" yet left an estate to his friends of £700 per annum, and gave moneys at once to his nephew which would have purchased £100 per annum more, "and £20,000 his estate might safely be computed at, *quantum ex quantillo!*" The real source of his wealth appears to have been his "small stud." He rarely exceeded four brood mares, and he professed never to be out in stock above £300 at one time, yet for many years he took for its produce £100, £200, and sometimes above £250. But notwithstanding these somewhat unclerical tastes and practices, he lived a strict and orderly life; had family prayer daily, and at set times expounded the Scriptures to his household, examining them after sermons. Though an Episcopalian, "he had an high esteem for many divines of the Presbyterian and Congregational way, and was as highly esteemed by them." He agreed, too, with Bacon, as to many things in the Church needing reformation. "As to church ceremonies, as things indifferent, he was indiffering, never admiring them, nor judging them otherwise than Calvin did for *tolerabiles ineptias*. Yet for these he would not break the peace nor forego the communion with the Church; submitting to them, since imposed, yet wishing many of them by the same power deposed for peace's sake."



The question will be raised in the mind of every reader—Is this an Autobiography as it professes to be? If it is, most happy must Mr. Robinson have been in his own unparalleled conceit of his work. Mr. Mayor seems to entertain no doubt on the subject. The MS. is in St. John's College, and the title, in Zachery Gray's hand, runs thus: "The Life of Mr. Matthew Robinson, M.A.," &c. "All written with his own hand excepting the Four Last Pages." Robinson's signature when he was admitted to a fellowship, is in the same crabbed hand as the first eighteen leaves of the MS. On the other hand, the narrative is in the third person (no great argument it is true); and the heading runs thus: "The Life of the Author, [Mr. Mayor suggests that it was written to accompany his "Annotations on the Bible,"] written by one who knew him thoroughly, and had many of these things from his own mouth." And this we should take to represent the literal fact, unless the evidence of the handwriting were indisputable. We can hardly think the comparison with a mere signature to make it so.

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## Quarterly Review of French Literature.

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[All the books mentioned in this Article may be procured of Mr. Nutt, 270, Strand.]

It is no use attempting to classify the works which are now accumulated around us, and which have been awaiting for the last six weeks, some of them at least, *l'honneur d'être nommés*; so without any previous reference to their size, their colour, or their bulk, we shall proceed to discuss them in due sequence, and to give thus a slight idea of the latest doings of *gens de lettres* in Paris.

The first thing which meets our eye is a pile of disquisitions,—*"dissertationem proponebat," "thesim proponebat," "quæstionem proposuit,"* etc., etc., and so on, with the indication of a great many interesting subjects upon which candidates have been holding forth before the Sorbonne in order to obtain the doctor's degree, and thus an access to the higher distinctions which the university of France offers to her meritorious sons. We had often wished we could form some idea of the state of classical studies on the other side of the channel; and the attentive perusal of the *brochures* we are now referring to, enables us to acknowledge that the university which was formerly the resort of all European scholars, bids fair to maintain still its reputation and its character as a place of sound and accurate learning. M. Boissier, for instance, in a pamphlet of fifty-nine pages, gives us a most interesting account of Plautus as an imitator of the Greek comic writers.<sup>1</sup> M. Maignen represents to us in

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<sup>1</sup> Quomodo Græcos Poetas Plautus transtulerit. 8vo. Paris: A. Durand.

Euripides<sup>2</sup> the man who made of the drama a vehicle for those moral lessons which he had learned under the guidance of Socrates, and then, travelling from Greece to Rome, he takes up a point in Cicero's character which had previously been very little studied, and endeavours to describe him as a man of taste—a virtuoso: "Propositum est," says M. Maignen, "ut vir ille . . . . quo sensu, quali animo in æstimandis artis operibus judicem egerit, diligenter perquiramus."<sup>3</sup> To some readers, a subject such as the last may seem perhaps somewhat trifling; no scholar, on the other hand, but will rejoice at hearing of a good monograph of Clemens Alexandrinus, an erudite appreciation of Thomas Aquinas as a sermon writer, or a complete though concise history of the celebrated monastery of Lerins, from which came, in days long gone by, so much learning, so much piety, and, on some occasions, such bold speculations on topics connected with theology.

M. l'Abbé Hébert-Duperron, in discussing the life and doctrines of the author of the "Stromata,"<sup>4</sup> could not of course but adopt the views and endorse the prejudices of writers belonging to his own community; yet the reader will acknowledge with pleasure that setting aside a few almost unavoidable blemishes, the learned abbé's essay is a masterly production, and that it reflects the greatest credit on the judgment of the author. M. Hébert-Duperron won his doctor's degree under the auspices of an oriental divine; M. l'Abbé Goux selected as his patrons Thomas Aquinas and the monks of Lerins. The theologian who composed the "Summa Theologica," is almost exclusively known amongst us as a casuist and a controversial writer; it was, therefore, an original idea to take for the groundwork of a disquisition: "B. Thomam clarioribus suæ ætatis oratoribus, quorum in dicendo morem servavit, annumerandum esse, si vel horum, ut theologorum, princeps non potiori jure censendus est."<sup>5</sup> This thesis is a valuable contribution to the history both of the church and of literature in general.

"Lérins au Vme. Siècle."<sup>6</sup> How attractive a title! around this subject may be grouped all the important question which engaged the thoughts of mediæval doctors. The duties of monastic life, the growth of Pelagianism and of semi-Pelagianism, the rule of faith, and the refutation of heresy,—it was in connexion with these momentous topics that the small island of Lerins, situated in the Mediterranean, became, during a short space, one of the glories of the Gallican church, and one of the chief centres of intellectual life in Europe. M. Goux has related the history of that famous monastery with all the zeal and enthusiasm which animated in olden times his predecessors, the Ducanges, the Mabillons, the Dacherys. The notices he

<sup>2</sup> *Morale d'Euripide*. Par Louis Maignen, Docteur ès Lettres. 8vo. A. Durand.

<sup>3</sup> *Quid de signis tabulisque pictis senserit Marcus Tullius*. 8vo. A. Durand.

<sup>4</sup> *Essai sur la polémique et la philosophie de Clément d'Alexandrie*. Par l'Abbé Hébert-Duperron, Docteur ès Lettres, Principal du Collège de Bayeux. 8vo. A. Durand.

<sup>5</sup> *De Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis Sermonibus*. 8vo. A. Durand.

<sup>6</sup> *Lérins au Vme. Siècle*. Par M. l'Abbé Goux. 8vo. A. Durand.

gives of the famous *commonitorium*, and of the all but heterodox tenets of the semi-Pelagian Faustus are very satisfactory.

But without stopping to examine at any greater length the small fry of *brochures* which bear the *typis mandetur* of the Sorbonne, we shall for a few moments direct our attention to a couple of goodly volumes devoted to the consideration of a subject, the importance of which no one can question.<sup>7</sup> M. Denis, taking for his motto the line—“*Et quasi cursores vitæ lampada tradunt*,” has written the history of ethics, or of moral science, in Greece and in Rome. His leading idea is the importance of metaphysical speculation, therefore he points out and proves the superiority of the Grecian civilization over the Oriental system, where philosophy was resolved into mysticism, and where man, whose destiny was ultimately to be absorbed into the Supreme Principle of all things, could hardly be considered as a responsible being. M. Denis says of Greece: “La Grèce, c’est le mouvement, c’est la vie, c’est la précision et la lumière, c’est la liberté. . . . Les penseurs Grecs furent dans l’antiquité les seuls qui aimèrent la vérité pour lui même.” Such is, so to speak, the “*quod demonstrandum est*” of the work we are now noticing; by bearing it in mind, we shall have no difficulty in forming an estimate of the opinions maintained by M. Denis, and of the application which he intends that the reader should draw from his narrative. The eloquent author detests thoroughly what he calls the “*esprit de caste*,”—that disposition which some persons have to concentrate all their affections upon their native place, their country, the society in which they move; such being the case, he was naturally led to lay much stress on the Stoics, whose great ambition was to make of man “the citizen of the whole world;” indeed, he seems to have studied rather exclusively the bright side of the doctrine; and the feeling which induces him to sympathize so much with the Teaching of the Porch, by a direct consequence, makes him too partial for the laws, the institutions, and the civilization of ancient Rome. For a correct appreciation of the wonderful part played by the city of Romulus in the history of the world, we far prefer M. Taine’s “*Essai sur Tite Live*,”<sup>8</sup> a small volume which obtained lately, as well as M. Denis’s production, the honour of one of the rewards annually bestowed by the French Institute. Whilst weighing Livy’s merits as a thinker, a critic, and a writer, M. Taine was of course brought to consider the progress and decay of that wonderful administrative machinery which fell to pieces, so to say, carrying along with it in its dissolution, the entire fabric of ancient society; and he has well analyzed that intense selfishness, that passion for conquest which gradually subdued the whole of the known world, but only to end in the catastrophe of those who had devised so gigantic a scheme of annexation.

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<sup>7</sup> Histoire des théories et des idées morales dans l’antiquité. Par J. Denis, ancien élève de l’École Normale. Ouvrage couronné par l’Institut. 2 vols., 8vo. A. Durand.

<sup>8</sup> Essai sur Tite Live. Par H. Taine, ancien élève de l’École Normale, Docteur ès Lettres. 12mo. Paris: Hachette.

M. Taine's remarks on Montesquieu, Niebuhr, and Beaufort, are marked by great discrimination; and, notwithstanding his very justifiable predilection for Livy, he has, we believe, most fairly stated the faults as well as the merits of one of the great historical monuments left to us by antiquity.

A laureate of the *Académie Française*, and a *quondam* pupil of the Ecole Normale, M. Taine, has in another work lifted up his hand against the system of philosophy which, not many years ago was the only *official* one, and had become almost identified both with the Ecole Normale and the Institute:—

“Fils de Victor Cousin, il renia son père.”

With this casting away of a tattered metaphysical garment, we would perhaps not find much fault, for, as a system, eclecticism has certainly failed, and we believe that it has only strengthened the general scepticism which pervades French society. But, on the other hand, we do not like to see the rehabilitation of sensationalism; and the doctrines of Condillac, even modified by M. Lacomiguière, are, in our estimation, far more dangerous still than a theory which, although artificial in its construction, had the great merit, at least, of always proclaiming in the most uncompromising manner the superiority of spiritualism. M. Taine's “*Philosophes Français*”<sup>9</sup> is very amusing reading, but the tone adopted by the author is scarcely dignified enough if we consider the importance of the subject. Irony and *persiflage* are not the fit characteristics of a work on moral philosophy. We are, however, quite ready to acknowledge the uncommon talent evidenced by M. Taine, and it is on account of his very ability that we feel bound to caution our readers against the views which he upholds.

The fresh outburst of intellectual life we notice in the French university, finds its expression in the treatment of all sorts of questions. It is plainly “*de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*,” whilst some, as we have just seen, study the destinies of a nation, or concentrate their attention upon one point in the phenomena of the human mind, others confine themselves more exclusively to literature, but still, whilst examining an æsthetic theory, or the merits of a poet, they can rise far above the unimportant trifles of a mere squabble between *beaux esprits*, the settling of a disputed text, or the authority of a questionable commentator. Grown out of the more modest dimensions of a scholastic disputation, M. Hippolyte Rigault's “*Histoire de la querelle des anciens et des modernes*,” is a noteworthy production.<sup>10</sup> On the title-page of the volume we find a quotation from the dialogue *De Oratoribus*: “*Magnum, inquit secundum, et dignum tractatu questionem movistis*,” and we cordially subscribe to the legitimate application of the motto in the

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<sup>9</sup> Les philosophes Français du XIX<sup>me</sup>. Siècle. Par H. Taine. 12mo. Paris: Hachette.

<sup>10</sup> Histoire de la querelle des anciens et des modernes. Par Hippolyte Rigault, ancien élève de l'Ecole Normale, Professeur de Rhétorique au Lycée Louis le Grand. 8vo. Paris: Hachette.

case M. Rigault has selected. The question, indeed, is not merely the superiority of Euripides over Racine,—we do not care much to know how nicely the respective claims of Perrault and Madame Dacier can be adjusted; but we see at the bottom of the discussion which engaged the attention of so many distinguished persons, a much more important principle involved, and this is what M. Rigault has clearly explained,—this is what gives so much interest to his volume. The quarrel between the “ancients and the moderns,” as it was called, is only the old contention between tradition and innovation, conservatism and progress. Happy would it have been if the sharp disputes, which history has left on record in connexion with that affair, had always ended in newspaper scribbling, and in drowsy folios poured forth by the exhaustless learning of the Dryasdust family! M. Rigault’s view of the doctrine of progress is excellent: “Le progrès,” says he, “n’existe que si l’on ne sépare pas le bien du vrai ni de l’utile, ou, selon la poétique image de Platon, si l’on ne pousse pas l’esprit en avant, en laissant l’âme se traîner en arrière: si non, pendant que le bon courrier s’élance et que le mauvais regimbe et s’arrête, le char se brise, et l’homme tombe du haut des cieux.” The nature of the subject has led the author to touch upon a few English writers; Temple, it is well-known, had written an essay upon the “Ancient and Modern Learning,” and Dryden’s Dedication of the *Æneid* is full of allusions to the controversy we are now alluding to. This part of M. Rigault’s work will not be deemed the least valuable, and it evidences a deep acquaintance with the English literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

M. Rigault is right,—the idea of progress meets us everywhere; but, unfortunately, man, who can never keep the true medium—the *via tutissima*—is always rushing from the attempt after the realization of utopian schemes to the most absurd respect for antiquated traditions and exploded theories. The idea of progress was that which inspired even the alchymists, whose marvellous life M. Figuier has related to us, and who out of so many strange errors have brought the elements of modern chemistry.<sup>11</sup> But, from the fancies of Jerome Cardan and Raymond Lully, let us return to the scientific researches of the nineteenth century, and to wonders which we see daily wrought before our eyes by the applied resources of mechanism and of nature. Here, again, M. Figuier greets us, and his *résumé* of the labours, inventions, scientific works, and discoveries, which have enriched art and industry during the year just passed, must be considered as one of the most useful hand-books both for general reading and for practical purposes.<sup>12</sup> The author of the “*Année Scientifique*” possesses in the highest degree the talent which has rendered the late M. Arago’s works so justly popular. Without going into all the weary circle of mathematical formula, he has the talent of explaining clearly scientific technicalities; and although

<sup>11</sup> Louis Figuier. *L’alchimie et l’alchimistes: essai historique et critique sur les philosophes Hermétiques*. 12mo. Hachette.

<sup>12</sup> *L’année scientifique et industrielle*. Par Louis Figuier. Ire. Année. 12mo. Hachette.

many of his readers can, no doubt, neither solve a problem of trigonometry, nor account for the laws of comparative anatomy, they will rise from the perusal of M. Figuier's volume with an accurate knowledge of what has been going on in the scientific world, and a deep feeling of astonishment at what man can now accomplish. A beautiful map of the Isthmus of Suez, illustrating the work undertaken for the junction of the two seas, adds much to the value of the compilation.

M. Hachette, the indefatigable publisher of many of the books we have now been reviewing, seems determined to emulate the activity of his predecessors, the Stephenses, the Alduses, the Elzevirs. Besides productions of a more serious character, he has not neglected fictitious literature, a branch which is constantly becoming more important, and which if carefully watched and directed into a right channel, can do much for the dissemination of sound principles, both on religious and social subjects. Some tales of Mr. X. B. Saintine have lately been added to the *Bibliothèque de Chemin de Fer*,<sup>13</sup> a series of small volumes of which a contemporary newspaper truly remarks that, by weeding French imaginative literature of its many offences against morality and taste, the editor bids fair to rescue it from the ban under which it has long been placed by English moralists, as well as from the degrading popularity which it has in consequence enjoyed among fashionable readers. We have also before us two volumes of a new collection, which is to comprise translations of the best English novels.<sup>14</sup> Lastly, let us just mention M. Arsène Houssaye's witty statement of grievances against the *Académie Française*.<sup>15</sup> In this work also, the subject already more than once insisted upon by us meets our view. To that shadowy forty-first *fauteuil* which M. Houssaye supposes placed within the precincts of the "Pavillon Mazarin," he promotes all the great writers who never belonged to the illustrious *forty*, and he thinks that he has put the Academy to the blush because he tells them that, on several occasions, blockheads or noodles have been elected instead of such men as Molière, La Rochefoucauld, or Count Joseph de Maistre. But, in the first place, we question whether the Academy was the proper domicile for either the author of the "Misanthrope," or the publicist who wrote the "Soirées de Saint Petersburg;" we can hardly imagine the purist Boileau, that great oracle of taste, receiving as his *cher confrère* the Duc de Saint-Simon or the Cardinal de Retz. In the next place, we would just say that, if learned bodies are such useless contrivances, it is far better for men of genius to keep aloof from them. Let us wait, however, till M. Arsène Houssaye takes his seat amongst the immortals, and then we shall hear, perhaps, the other side of the argument.

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<sup>13</sup> Récits dans la tourelle. 1re et 2de séries. Par X. B. Saintine. Hachette. 12mo.

<sup>14</sup> Bibliothèque des meilleurs romans étrangers. L'oiseau du bon Dieu (Ladybird), par Lady G. Fullerton; Mary Barton, par Mrs. Gaskell. 2 Vols., 12mo. Hachette.

<sup>15</sup> Histoire du 41me fauteuil de l'Académie Française. Par Arsène Houssaye. 12mo. Hachette.



## Brief Notices.

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**NAPOLEON THE THIRD.** A Review of his Life, Character, and Writings. By a British Officer. Longmans & Co.

It is unnecessary to give a lengthy account of this book. The "British Officer," who holds a commission in the City Volunteers, is, in other words, a sort of "Brook Green" militiaman, inspired with a veneration of imperial glory. His work is literally a pamphlet, large in size, loose in texture. The few biographical details are generally incorrect. Thus, the "Officer" does not know even where the Emperor of the French was born, misses the most interesting episodes of his life, quotes little shilling volumes of no authority whatever, and wanders up and down his subject in a manner which proves him to be a tyro in the art of literary composition. His reasoning is generally the most absurd,—Louis Napoleon's allegiance to his oath being compared with the immutable laws (which *were not* immutable) of the Medes and Persians. In fact, the "British Officer" may be described as a golden bee which, having deserted the rich *deposits* of the English hives, has alighted in France on a purple robe, and distilled three hundred pages of eulogistic honey. We have no fault to find with so obsequious a flatterer, except that, promising a biography, he is inaccurate in matters of fact. Had he presented us with a faithful account of Louis Napoleon's life, we should have been interested, because no competent writer had previously fulfilled that task; but, as it is, the volume displays as much ignorance as enthusiasm; and it is really inexcusable on the part of a gentleman so devoted to the French Emperor, that he has not been at the pains to gather the materials of a correct biographical sketch, however slight. Nonsense is fatiguing; but nonsense and misstatement united are intolerable.

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**LOUIS NAPOLEON, EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH :** a Biography. By James Augustus St. John. London: Chapman & Hall. 1857.

VERY different from the "Life of Louis Napoleon by a British Officer" is this biography of the second emperor of the French by Mr. St. John. In the one instance we have a rhapsody of adulation, a vague and distorted outline of events described in a shuffling and inartistic style, an attempted narrative in which error and ignorance compete for the mastery. On the other hand, the biography of Mr. St. John is well-studied, well-digested, full of anecdote and information, and written in his most pleasing manner. It has also the great merit of being calm, impartial, and severe, as might be expected from his well-known Miltonic cast of thought. Those who have read Mr. St. John's various philosophical works, and are acquainted with the inflexible manner in which he has always inveighed against despotisms, whether oligarchical or autocratical, may perhaps be surprised to find how little the warmth of his feelings has in this case biassed the decisions of his judgment. He has

endeavoured to anticipate the verdict of posterity, and, as we believe, the success of the attempt is a remarkable feature in the work. The book is impartial; it is also deeply interesting throughout. It is true the subject of the biography makes no conspicuous appearance on the scene at first. But then the interval is rendered luminous by the introduction of the beautiful and charming Hortense Fanny Beauharnais, whose affection, whose tenderness, whose suffering, whose heroism as a mother—traits graphically described by Mr. St. John—almost make us overlook her character as a daughter and a wife. Then, as accessories, we have the exciting events which foreshadowed the overthrow of a dynasty—the impression of disaster, the whispers of defeat, the alarm of a siege, the terrors of flight, and all the bewildering accompaniments of the loss of empire. The subsequent calm introduces us to the education of the young prince, Louis Napoleon, to the signs of his character, the studies of his youth, his dreams of ambition, his faith in destiny, and the Italian episode full of peril, death, and ruin; whilst the conspiracy of Strasbourg, the exile in America, the Boulogne attempt, the imprisonment at Ham, the escape into England—all grand epochs in the life of this hitherto throneless adventurer—leads us up to the events which were once more to place a diadem on the head of a Buonaparte. It is not our intention to dwell upon those events. They are discussed with the dispassionate candour of a historian by Mr. St. John. We regret to see, however, that the public at large, by a false process of logic, is apt to extenuate the guiltiness of those dark deeds which deepened the gloom of the December of '51. It is too frequently affirmed as an excuse, that the Assembly and Louis Napoleon had assumed such an antagonistic attitude that one or the other must yield, and that to yield was to fall; that, therefore, in self-defence Louis Napoleon was justified in taking the step he did. As well might the highwayman plead he had a right to assassinate a resisting victim. The Assembly had committed no act of violence against the Constitution; and if it had, the nation, and not Napoleon, were the judges. Louis Napoleon, on the contrary, from the moment he had taken the oaths to observe the laws, to uphold the Constitution, and protect the lives and liberties of the people, never ceased secretly to plot against that Constitution, and openly to violate his oath. He stood, a culprit, at the bar of France. There are occasions when the accuser must also be the judge. It is when a nation rises to defend itself against the machinations of a treacherous subject. In such a position was France placed at this crisis. The offender, however, acting with the greater promptitude and energy, succeeded in crushing the Republic. He has reached the cold and solitary pinnacle of power—the object of his ambition. But from that frozen eminence he cannot but look down and behold the mass of seething misery he has created. He must behold it in the dreary wanderings of those exiles whom he has outcast, in the wasting forms of those wretched convicts whose home is in the torrid fever-fens of Cayenne, and in the sufferings of those who people the political prisons and dungeons of *la belle France*. As the future shall unveil the deeds of the present, we fear the

charges against despotism in France will be found to be still more numerous than we contemporaries would wish to imagine.

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MEMOIRS OF THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT PEEL. By M. Guizot. Bentley.

M. GUIZOT'S Memoirs are more than an eulogy, — more than a biography of Sir Robert Peel. It is a minute analysis of the statesman's policy and character; calm, profound, impartial,—the work of a critic who can admire, and of an admirer who can criticize. Compared with Mr. Jellinger Symons's essay on the same subject, it is infinitely superior. M. Guizot, of course, has his own "point of view;"—what writer, what Frenchman especially, has not? But it is exalted, and surrounded by a pure moral and intellectual atmosphere. We have dealt so recently with the events of Sir Robert Peel's career, and with his characteristics as a politician and as a man, that we do not feel called upon to say more. The reader will find in these Memoirs a tribute to the statesman's name, which is honourable to the living and the dead,—to the English parliamentary chief who deserved, and to the French parliamentary chief who bestows, a panegyric so discriminating and so noble.

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JOURNALISM AND THE PULPIT. By the Rev. David Thomas. Reprinted from the "*Homilist*," of March, 1857.

IN this able discourse, Mr. Thomas forcibly exhibits the vast influence possessed by the newspaper press of the present day; but, while paying due homage to its intellectual ability, he points out its grave moral defects, and calls on his brethren in the Christian ministry to assist in their removal. Not content with vague generalities (for "no man who is powerfully actuated can rest in generals"), he brings forward a specific plan for establishing a journal which shall have at command all the mental and mechanical resources which the age can supply, but placed under the guardianship and control of Christian principles. This plan, as probably many of our readers are aware, is already partially realized, and has a fair prospect of being completely carried out. An association has been formed, called "The National Newspaper League Company," for the publication of a daily paper, to be called the *DIAL*. It is proposed to raise a capital of half-a-million, in £10 shares, towards which, we understand, above £34,000 has already been subscribed. To those who are not yet convinced of the importance of the object and the feasibility of attaining it, we earnestly recommend the perusal of this eloquent appeal by the editor of the *Homilist*. The *DIAL*, as we learn from the prospectus of the company, will estimate and discuss all questions, social, political, and ecclesiastical, according to truth and fact, and in the light of equal justice, unswerving honesty, and Christian ethics. It will foster a high tone of moral feeling on all public questions, and impress on the people the necessity of *bringing conscience to the hustings* (that spot from which it is so often scared, or only stays to be alternately bullied and cajoled),

and of carefully discharging their *duties*, as well as of energetically asserting their *rights*. An *administrative* reform, it is justly remarked, must come out of a *parliamentary*, and a true parliamentary reform must grow out of a *moral and social regeneration of the people*. To a scheme so perfectly coincident with the principles of the **ECLECTIC**, we give our most cordial adhesion, and shall gladly embrace every opportunity of pressing it on the attention of our readers.

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1. **THE COMMENTARY WHOLLY BIBLICAL.** An Exposition of the Old and New Testament in the very Words of Scripture; in Monthly Parts. Parts L—V. Crown 4to. Bagster & Sons.
2. **THE LARGE-PRINT PARAGRAPH BIBLE;** with Marginal Renderings, Introductions, Alphabetical Indexes, and numerous Maps: each Book of the Holy Scripture being published separately. To be completed in Four Volumes.

IN the “*Commentary Wholly Biblical*,” a copious selection is given of parallel and illustrative passages printed at length; a plan, in our opinion, far preferable to that of crowding the margin with a host of references, which few persons comparatively, we suspect, are at the trouble of verifying; and supposing this initial task to have been performed, there must be no small difficulty in comparing the various passages with the text and with one another. But in the work before us, a glance of the eye easily surveys the whole, and thus the employment of comparing Scripture with Scripture is rendered easy and delightful. The typography and general execution are admirable, and leave nothing to be desired.

“*The Large-Print Paragraph Bible*” is also deserving of high commendation. The type is as large as that often used for quarto bibles, but on a small octavo page. The text is printed in paragraphs, but the verses are marked by small numerals. To the aged and to invalids, such an edition of the Scriptures must be invaluable. A clear, beautiful type is really almost a commentary, and it has at least the merit of never misleading. We would suggest to the respected publishers the extension of their plan to the original Scriptures, by publishing the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament in a large type, but in volumes of the same size as those under our notice. The type of their Polyglot Hebrew Bible is far too small for continuous reading, and even the pocket edition by Hahn (1834), though more legible, is better fitted for occasional reference than for constant use. We remember seeing an edition printed at Antwerp by Plantin, which approaches very nearly to the size we deem desirable, but it is rarely to be met with. The Hebrew Bible might be brought out in separate books like this large-print Paragraph Bible, and would form, when completed, the same number of volumes. Whether Messrs. Bagster may think this suggestion worthy of attention or not, all Biblical students and Christians in general, must feel under great obligations to them for the two valuable editions of the authorized version which are now issuing from their press.

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**CONSOLATOR**; or, *Recollections of a departed Friend, the Rev. John Pearson.*  
By the Rev. Alfred Barrett. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co.

THE Rev. John Pearson was an earnest and fervent Wesleyan minister, whose general abilities seem to have been very respectable, and whose preaching was characterized by more than ordinary power. He died young; and his friend, Mr. Barrett, a well-known and popular preacher belonging to the same community, has written a brief memoir of him, which, we are sure, cannot be read by a devout, right-hearted man without profit. Mr. Pearson was distinguished by that thorough devotedness to the work of preaching the Gospel, and entire freedom from conflicting pursuits and tendencies, which the peculiarities of Wesleyanism so frequently help to produce and cherish. Breadth and depth of theological thought, a free sympathy with all forms of the religious life, adaptation to cultivated and thoughtful men,—Wesleyanism was never intended or fitted to develop, either in its ministers or private members. It has done a noble work, however, among the masses of the people; and there are indications in this little book that its strength is not yet exhausted. Badly as we think of its ecclesiastical constitution, and of some passages in its recent history, we are too thankful to recognise religious earnestness and power in any shape, not to rejoice that it still possesses men who breathe the spirit of the subject and writer of these "Recollections." We like Mr. Barrett none the less for the full, undoubting confidence he has in the excellence and wisdom of class-meetings, and other Wesleyan appliances, on which we ourselves are not disposed to look with any great favour. We have read his little book with deep interest.

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**ON GOD'S GOVERNMENT OF MAN.** Ten Lectures. By John Howard Hinton, M.A.  
London: Houlston & Wright.

THESE Lectures are only a continuation of the author's former volume, entitled, "On Acquaintance with God." In the first, he treats of the character and perfections of the Divine Being; in the last, of His dispensations and operations. The one shows who He is; and the other, what He is doing, and will do. The subjects are cognate,—are closely allied, and, in some instances, the same. And this is necessarily the case. For how can we show the government of God without noticing His character and perfections. And how can we describe His character and perfections, but by rehearsing His deeds, the greatest and most important of which are those which relate to the government of rational agents. Having so lately reviewed Mr. Hinton's former work (see *ECLECTIC REVIEW* for the month of June, 1856), it is not necessary that we should enlarge upon the present volume. It possesses the same general character,—its subjects are the same, or similar, and so is the mode of treatment. We have the same linked continuity of thought; the same closeness of logic; the same theological stress and earnestness of mind; the same tone and spirit; the same desire to vindicate the ways of God to man. In most of his theological essays, Mr. Hinton might take

for his motto the words of Elihu, "I will fetch my knowledge from far; I will ascribe righteousness to my Maker." We were particularly interested in the fourth Lecture; the argument of which, we think, might have been strengthened by referring to Dr. Campbell's rendering of the words of our Lord in the parable of the sower (Matthew xiii. 18—23): "When any one heareth the word of the kingdom and *considereth it not*, then cometh the wicked one, and catcheth away that which *was sown in his heart*. But he that receiveth seed into the good ground, is he that heareth the word, and *considereth it*, which also *beareth fruit*." With this the language of the prophets may be compared. The charge which they bring against the disobedient is only this, that they refuse to consider what Jehovah speaks (see Haggai i. 5, *cum multis aliis*). The exhortations to wash their hands, to purify their hearts, to make them a new heart and a right spirit,—language which appears to some so strange, so Arminian and heterodox, are all resolvable into that one primary duty,—a duty which lies in the power of the most ignorant and the most depraved unto whom the Word is addressed. If they have no inclination for such an exercise—if they are so much occupied with their pursuits and pleasures, and would rather perish eternally than attend to the call of God, they make their own deliberate choice—they take the whole responsibility upon themselves: God and His throne are guiltless. The words originally addressed to Cain apply to all men, "If thou dost well, shalt thou not be accepted? And if thou dost not well, sin lieth at the door."

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LOTA; and other Poems. By Devon Harris. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

THE poem which gives its title to this volume is an extraordinary one, displaying high poetic genius and power. It exhibits, chiefly in symbolic form, various phases of mental history, and points, though perhaps somewhat vaguely, to the true resting-place of man's spirit. Although the language is highly impassioned and metaphorical, yet Mr. Harris never allows the mysterious to run into the incomprehensible: and we look forward with pleasure to future poems from his pen, feeling sure that he has a rich mine of imaginative wealth yet unworked, and hoping he will mould it into forms of still greater beauty than those before us. In the shorter pieces, we hail a contribution to our store of mountain poetry, breathing the true spirit of mountain scenery.

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THE DIVINE LIFE: a Book of Facts and Histories. By the Rev. John Kennedy, M.A., F.R.G.S. London: Religious Tract Society.

IN the Introduction to this volume we find the following sentences: "It is the boast of modern science that its decisions are based on facts. . . . The inner world of man's spiritual nature has its facts as well as the outer and material; and to the examination of one class of them this book is devoted, in the hope of finding in them some help towards understanding wherein the Divine life consists, and how it is produced. The name by which the facts in view are



ordinarily designated, conversion, is offensive to many; but the wise man, who would make good his title to be a follower of Lord Bacon, will examine them without prejudice; he will not conclude at once that all who use this term are fools or hypocrites, but will seek to ascertain dispassionately the true character of the phenomenon (if we must use scientific language), which occupies so prominent a place in religious history." Accordingly, the book consists mainly of authentic and well-chosen accounts of the great spiritual change usually spoken of as conversion. By these instances, the reality of a Divine life is demonstrated, and its nature exhibited. We are glad to see that the volume is issued by the Religious Tract Society, since a wide circulation is thereby secured; for apart from the interest which these records of the victories of religious truth must have for all Christian hearts, they are valuable as forming collectively, a mass of evidence in favour of the living power of the Gospel, which will be forcible and convincing to the minds of undecided but candid inquirers.

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**THE POETICAL WORKS OF HENRY KIRKE WHITE AND JAMES GRAHAME.** With Memoirs, Critical Dissertations, and Explanatory Notes by the Rev. George Gilfillan. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

THIS is a volume in the attractive series of the works of British Poets, which Mr. Nichol is giving to the world, enriched by Memoirs, &c., from the pen of Mr. Gilfillan. The Poems of Henry Kirke White are too well-known to our readers to need any introduction from us; but we must say that we are disposed to consider Mr. Gilfillan's estimate of that poet as somewhat too low. We grant that it is "difficult to insulate ourselves from all considerations connected with his lovely character, his brief, laborious life, and his premature end;" but we think that the very rare union of the perceptive and the contemplative which is manifest in his writings, together with the charming melody of his verse, form no dubious pledge of the success he would have attained in the highest walks of poetry had not the disease, which doubtless lessened his mental force, carried him from this world ere his powers were matured and concentrated. Mr. Gilfillan's remarks on the poetry of Grahame satisfy us better, awarding, as they do, the full praise deserved; though perhaps not quite justly apportioning it between his several productions. We should have placed "The Birds of Scotland," with its series of sweet moral pictures, in a higher relative position to the favourite "Sabbath" than Mr. Gilfillan has done. The "Georgies" is omitted, "on account of its 'great length and general dulness,'" "although it contains some of Grahame's most beautiful things."

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**ASHBURN. A Tale.** By Aura. London: Saunders & Otley.

IF the reader opens this volume with the expectation of finding an exciting or amusing story, he will be disappointed; but if he will take it up as an embodiment of beautiful and strengthening thought, on topics the most deeply interesting to the heart and spirit, we can

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promise him abundant gratification. It is not an ordinary book, but gives in an agreeable form the results evidently of experience and of patient musings on some of those points where the truths and supports of religion meet the varying needs of the soul in her earthly pilgrimage. In going through the volume we are often struck with the correctness and uncommonness of the sentiments. We give the following as one instance: "It is not so much depreciation of the value of truth, as a strong *practical* sense of the sovereignty of God in dispensing it, which tends to make a man charitable." "Ashburn," as will be inferred from our remarks, is not a tale suited to very young readers, but rather to those who are already interested in the questions which concern our inner life.

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## Books Received.

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- Allison's (Sir Archibald) History of England. Vol. VI., 680 pp. Blackwood & Sons.  
 Anti-Slavery Advocate for March. Wm. Tweedie.  
 Burnish Family (Prize Tale). 184 pp. Glasgow: Scottish Temperance League.  
 Chalmers's (Dr.) Select Works. Vol. XI., 587 pp. Edinburgh: Constable & Co.  
 Church of England Monthly Review, for March. Wertheim & Macintosh.  
 Commentary Wholly Biblical. Part V. S. Bagster & Sons.  
 Cooke's (Wm.) Shekinah, or the Presence and Manifestations of Jehovah. 526 pp. J. B. Cooke.  
 Cust's (Hon. Lady) The Cat: its History and Diseases. 30 pp. Groombridge & Sons.  
 Duncan's (Jonathan) Bank Charter Act. 194 pp. D. F. Oakley.  
 Fraser's Magazine, for March. Jno. W. Parker & Son.  
 Gassiot's (J. P.) 4th Letter to J. A. Roebuck, Esq. 16 pp. Administrative Reform Association.  
 Gilfillan's (Rev. Geo.) Scott's Poetical Works. Vol. II., 306 pp. Edinburgh: Jas. Nichol.  
 Hayden's (Jno.) Sketch of the Life of Samuel Weston. 39 pp. Jackson & Walford.  
 Houston's (Thos.) Youthful Devotedness. 359 pp. Paisley: Alex. Gardner.  
 James's (J.A.) Christian Father's Present to his Children. 19th edit., 289 pp. Hamilton, Adams, & Co.  
 Jay's (Rev. Wm.) Evenings with Jesus: a series of Devotional Readings. 564 pp. J. F. Shaw.  
 Jewish Chronicle, for March. Office: 7, Bevis Marks.  
 Kell's Commentary on Joshua. 501 pp. Edinburgh: Clark's Foreign Theological Library.  
 Kingsley's (Rev. Chas.) Two Years Ago. 3 vols. Macmillan & Co.  
 Lardner's (Dr.) Natural Philosophy for Schools. 241 pp. Walton & Maberly.  
 Leifchild's (Rev. Dr. John) Preaching and Preachers. 82 pp. Ward & Co.  
 Leisure Hour, for February. Religious Tract Society.  
 Literary Churchman, for March. J. H. & J. Parker.  
 London University Magazine, for March. Hall, Virtue, & Co.  
 M'Caul's (Dr. Alex.) Reasons for Authorized Version of the Bible. 51 pp. Wertheim & Macintosh.  
 Metaphysicians (The). 428 pp. Longmans & Co.  
 Miller's (Hugh) Testimony of the Rocks. 500 pp. Edinburgh: Shepherd & Elliot.  
 Norton's (Jas.) Australian Essays. 136 pp. Longmans & Co.  
 Our Christian Classics: Readings from the Best Divines. No. III. Jas. Nisbet & Co.  
 Paragraph Bible: Joshua; Isaiah; Galatians; Philemon. Maps. S. Bagster & Sons.  
 Peel's (Sir Robt.) Memoirs. Vol. II., 357 pp. Jno. Murray.  
 Pollock's (Rev. Wm., M.A.) Foundations: Essays on Fundamental Truths. 306 pp. Nisbet & Co.  
 Prospectus of the Euphrates Valley Railway Company. 106 pp. W. H. Allen.  
 Revue Chrétienne, for March. Paris: Meyrueis & Co.  
 St. John's Gospel, newly Compared and Revised. By Five Clergymen. 65 pp. Parker & Son.  
 Scriver's (Chr.) Gotthold's Emblems. 299 pp. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.  
 Stier's (Rudolf) Words of the Lord Jesus. Vol. VI., 522 pp. Clark's Foreign Theological Library.  
 Strutt's (Elizabeth) Feminine Soul: its Nature and Attributes. 240 pp. J. S. Hodgson.  
 Sunday at Home, for February. Religious Tract Society.  
 Tholuck's (Dr. A.) Light from the Cross. 301 pp. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.  
 Unwin's (Wm. J., M.A.) Prussian Primary Education. 48 pp. Ward & Co.  
 Wardlaw's (Dr. Ralph) Systematic Theology. Vol. II., 784 pp. Edinburgh: C. Black.  
 Wilson's (Dr. Jas.) Water Cure: its Principles and Practice. 342 pp. Trübner & Co.  
 Winslow's (Dr. Forbes) Journal of Psychological Medicine. No. V., New Series. Jno. Churchill.  
 Wray's (Jas.) Sabbath-School Teacher. 36 pp. Jno. Wesley & Co.  
 Wright and Robey's Our Elder Sabbath-Scholars. J. B. Cooke.

# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW.

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MAY, 1857.

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## ART. I.—CORNELIUS AGRIPPA.

*The Life of Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, Doctor and Knight, commonly known as a Magician.* By Henry Morley, Author of "Palissy the Potter," "Jerome Cardan," &c., &c. Two Vols. London: Chapman & Hall. 1856.

WHILE some are projecting or accomplishing great engineering feats in modern times, amongst which tunnelling and boring enormous lengths and depths are not the least surprising, it is some satisfaction to know that there are intellectual as well as matter-of-fact engineers, who labour strenuously to open up to us, with as little expenditure of effort upon our part as possible, pleasant and productive regions of literature, which but for their industry were difficult of access. One of the most plodding and painstaking projectors of schemes for our intellectual delectation is the ingenious Mr. Morley, who in addition to his "Cardan" and "Palissy," has conferred upon us a yet further benefit in the memoir of the celebrated CORNELIUS AGRIPPA, familiarly known to most readers as the author of the treatise on The "Vanity of the Arts and Sciences." The tastes and aptitudes of our literary craftsman, Mr. Morley, lead him, unlike the multitudinous brood of Apocalyptic prophets, into the realm of the past, and his exploits consist in tunnelling into the abysses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, wherein he has proved himself no unsuccessful adventurer—the Telford or the Dargan of the realms of old. He is unquestionably the greatest bore of our acquaintance, and the nuggets with which he has returned to us are demonstrative proof of the thrift of his speculation, the honesty of his exertions, and the high temper of his tools. Of his

abilities, and of the particular walk in which he has determined to exercise them, we entertain the highest opinion, for if we ourselves had a weakness, which as critics we shall of course stoutly deny, it were to hanker after and admire the celebrities, minor as well as major, of two centuries back, together with, we would hope, no lack of a generous appreciation of modern research. Of the latter we promise our author the advantage, while of his subject-matter we shall cull a few good things to justify our respect for the carronades and popguns alike of the fifteenth century, A.D. The carronades of those days were very imposing and effective pieces of ordnance, while the very popguns popped in a sonorous and martial manner. Our readers may be assured that the *dii* of the period we speak of were very *dii*, and no shams—gods every inch of them, though doubtless some *minorum gentium*—real marble, and ivory, and gold, not stucco, veneer, and ruddle. Our gentle public will bear with us while we prove it by the case of one of the subalterns, Mr. Morley's hero, the Herr von Nettesheim, more familiarly known as the magician Cornelius Agrippa.

In Cologne—renowned for its unsavoury smells and fragrant *eau*, its broad Rhine and narrow causeways, its Dom and its Deutz, its eleven thousand virgins and its three kings—was it the hap of the hero to be born. Taking occasion from the name, it has been more than conjectured that he entered this best of all possible worlds in a position the reverse of the usual one, with his understanding, instead of the case for his understanding, foremost; hence his appellative Agrippa, *ab ægritudine pedum*. The fact, we must subjoin, is doubtful, and the derivation queer, though Aulus Gellius avouches its legitimacy. But such an entrance into this mundane sphere would have been emblematic of Agrippa's every successive step in life, where we find him, in the more expressive than elegant phrase, invariably putting his foot in it. His course is a succession of mishaps and break-downs, and by the time he reaches his journey's end, he is utterly foundered, done up, and worn out. No edition of the "Calamities of Authors" can be complete which omits the disastrous life of Cornelius Agrippa. He only sets out to fail, only shoots to miss his aim, only climbs to sink more deeply than before. His advance is not progress. The obstacles increase as he goes; he—

" Drags at each remove a heavier chain."

The family of the youth were petty nobles of that class so common in Germany, where every possessor of a few acres, or lord of a paltry village, dignified his name with an hereditary *von*. They are said for generations to have been employed in

the service of the crown of Germany, whence we infer that they belonged to the rank of gentry, and looked down with due scorn upon the engagements of commerce; yet their genteel flunkeydom found the parents of Cornelius at the birth of their boy in possession of but slender resources for the maintenance of their dignity. They appear to have been just able to live in the city on the narrow patrimony which still remained in the family, and to give their son an education at the university of the place. Whatever the proceeds of the official employment of the father, it must be understood that the emperor was impoverished, and that stipends were in consequence everywhere cut down, and very irregularly paid: a gush came every now and then, like the spurt of a Geyser, but anon there was a long interval of rest. Be this as it might in the particular case before us, as gentlemen always appreciate the worth of education, the lord of Nettesheim secured the best education he could afford for the heir of his house and hopes.

Cologne furnished certain advantages in favour of his object. Its university had been established with some *éclat* for about a hundred years; the city swarmed with ecclesiastics of all grades—persons always reckoned among the learned classes of society. Here was the intellectual stir occasioned by the intercourse of traffic, and a large number of nobility and others in official residence within the walls. We must add, too, that for a score of years before the birth of Agrippa, the printing-press had been intensely busy in Cologne under the care of Ulric Zell, having issued in the course of thirty-seven years, namely from A.D. 1463 to 1500, as many as five hundred and thirty different publications whose titles are known. Amid such appurtenances and stimulants of study, a man of even narrow capacity could scarce fail of picking up a sufficiency of intellectual furniture for the uses of life, while a bright man was sure to have his wits polished to a rather superlative degree of phosphorescence. Agrippa was of this latter description, and he left the university and his father's house to enter the emperor's service ere he was twenty years of age, equipped with an unusual share of understanding and parts (for nature had been liberal in her gifts), as well as of gentlemanly accomplishments and learned acquisition. As a mere linguist, Naudé reports, a hundred years afterwards, that he spoke familiarly eight languages.

Of his position in connexion with the court we know nothing beyond the bare fact that some such connexion existed, told in the fewest possible terms in one of his own letters: *Maximiliano a primâ ætate destinatus aliquandiu illi a minoribus secretis fuit*. From this the natural conclusion would be that drawn by Mr. Morley, that Agrippa had actually been under Maximilian's eye

in Maximilian's closet—a kind of privy secretary, entrusted with court secrets, and employed in imperial intrigue before leaving for Paris. We think the whole course of the history rather implies that only after his residence at Paris did Agrippa find his way to Vienna, into the presence and employment of Maximilian.

Be all this as it may, at Paris we find him in the year of grace 1506, intimate with the students of the university, and looked upon as an oracle of learning and a leader of enterprise by the more adventurous of the young pundits. His age was at this time exactly twenty years, and no more. Among his acquaintance there was one lord of Gerona, a Spaniard of Catalonia, whom the troubles of his native province had driven from the country. He looked to the emperor of Germany for restitution of his patrimony, and with the emperor's connivance engaged in an enterprise to recover it of a desperate and questionable character. A disputed title to the regency of Spain, occasioned by the young king's unexpected death, induced Maximilian to countenance an extravagant and dangerous adventure, such as under ordinary circumstances, or with an upright policy, he would have condemned. A footing in Catalonia secured by the agency of Gerona, the capture of a fortress or two, an armed force established there in the Austrian interest, and a possible insurrection of the province in his favour, might have an important influence in the adjustment of political questions. Agrippa was encouraged to embark in this perilous speculation, the chances of discomfiture in which were tenfold beyond those of success, and success in which would be crowned with doubtful honour, while it would contribute to tie him to an occupation—that of arms—which he detested. At a distance, the *coup* contemplated promised well, but when actually on his way to undertake the surprise and capture of Tarragona, Agrippa had many misgivings. The attempt was treasonous in its character, and his own meddling with it was gratuitous, impelled to it only by the restlessness of youth, and a passionate desire of distinction.

The enterprise, however, was in the first instance successful; the citadel was seized by stratagem, and the garrison disposed of by the sword or otherwise; but the device was only successful in the same way as the lean mouse's contrivance by the small hole into the meal barrel. How to stay with safety, or get back with honour, that is the question now, for to maintain the place against a hostile population is impossible. The captors solved the difficulty as best they could; and their best solution was a humiliating one. It was to get out of the affair and the country with a whole skin, as quickly as possible, for the Catalan



peasantry resented their intrusion, had hot tempers, were dexterous in the use of the knife, and were reputed to be not over scrupulous as to what carcass its blade should find a sheath in. So imminent was the danger of the handful of invaders, that after an ignoble durance of two months in a mountain fastness to which they had fled, they contrived to make their escape, partly through the dexterity of Cornelius, and forthwith dispersed. He betook himself to France *toute suite*, and never ventured into Spain again. This occurred in 1508, when Agrippa was twenty-two years of age. This adventure, in which he risked his life to no purpose, acted it would seem without a royal commission, expended his resources, and retired therefrom without reputation or any desirable result, may be called of Agrippa's career, BREAK-DOWN THE FIRST.

Looking out for a home and a field for exertion more congenial with his literary tastes than either courts or camps, Agrippa lingered about the south of France—Avignon, Lyons, and Autun—wherever he could meet with either learned monk, physician, or professor; holding communion with them on the subjects which lay nearest his heart. The topic which most engaged his attention was that which had received such learned illustration and popularization at the hands of the Hebraist Reuchlin, at no long period before—the Cabbala, or mystic doctrine of the Jews, expounded in his treatise “*De Verbo Mirifico*.” For scholars of an imaginative turn, such a subject as this had a double charm, in the first place, as entering into the most recondite chambers of erudition, meddling in fact with all learning—the secrets of nature and the laws of art; and, secondly, as connected both in popular supposition and in their own practice, with a singular freedom of thought and emancipation from prejudice on all subjects. In the habits of ordinary life they were doomed to a fare no richer than that of the vulgar, but in their closet, while they pursued their researches into this hidden and higher science, their food had all the proverbial zest of the “bread eaten in secret.” Agrippa had been fascinated with its sweetness, Reuchlin's book, published when Cornelius was only nine years of age, had long been his study and constant companion. His liking for it he had sedulously nursed at Paris and elsewhere in the society of men like-minded with himself. There was a kind of religiousness about this theosophy which could not fail to cast its spell over serious minds, for it chiefly concerned itself with the sacred books, and the bold but reverent discussion of the most august problems of being. That it might be perverted to unholy uses, and was so perverted, cannot be denied; that it aimed at kinds and degrees of knowledge forbidden to mortals, an unprofitable experience

has proved; nevertheless, like the search for the philosopher's stone, it has yielded results in the emancipation of the mind from the chains of prescription, and in the enthusiastic study of the original Scriptures which it induced, that more than made amends for the disappointments and follies of its votaries.

About to make another venture to establish his fortunes in the studious and scientific line, Agrippa starts with an exposition of Reuchlin's profound book before the university of the pretty Burgundian town of Dôle. His course was but a means to an end, although the selection of his own inclination, his aim being to secure to himself some position, either in court or university, through the patronage of Margaret of Austria, at that period the sovereign of Burgundy, as well as governor of the Netherlands. A clever, witty, and lively woman, well known for her bounty to learned men, this was no extravagant nor unnatural expectation, the more so as his prelections on Reuchlin were entirely successful. The senate of the university, the parliament and magistracy, the clergy and aristocracy, heard these Latin expositions of the dark science with wonder and delight, and by universal acclaim the author was dubbed doctor of divinity, and had some trifling stipend allowed him. But Agrippa had not yet gained his royal mistress's ear, her residence being at Ghent, and the reputation of his oratorical triumph had scarcely had time to travel so far. Determined, however, to make sure work of the effort to gain her attention, and bring his queenly quarry down, our scholar bethought him of a likely scheme, to write a work in praise of women, and dedicate it to the princess. The work was dashed off out-of-hand, with the title "*De Nobilitate et Præcellentiâ Fœminei Sexûs*" (On the Nobleness and Superiority of the Female Sex), but not published nor presented while in Burgundy for a reason to be shortly stated. The work is a very learned but exaggerated assertion of the superiority of women to men; every weakness—physical, mental, moral—being exalted into a merit. One can scarcely conceive such a production to be the serious accomplishment of a serious mind, its extravagant perversion of fact and argument so much resembling that grave banter which is the most pungent ridicule. Some of the items are amusing:—

"It is because she is made of purer matter that a woman, from whatever height she may look down, never turns giddy, and her eyes never have a mist before them, like the eyes of men.

"Even after death nature respects her inherent modesty, for a drowned woman floats on her face, and a drowned man upon his back.

"The noblest part of a human being is the head; but the man's head is liable to baldness,—woman is never bald.

“The man’s face often is made so filthy with a most odious beard, and so covered with sordid hairs, that it is scarcely to be distinguished from the face of a wild beast; in women, on the other hand, the face always remains pure and decent.”

“The gift of speech is the most excellent of human faculties. Man receives this gift from woman, from his mother or his nurse; and it is a gift bestowed upon woman herself with such liberality that the world has scarcely seen a woman who was mute. Aristotle may say that of all animals the males are stronger and wiser than the females, but St. Paul writes that *‘weak things have been chosen to confound the strong.’* Adam was sublimely endowed, but woman humbled him; Samson was strong, but woman made him captive; Lot was chaste, but woman seduced him; David was religious, but woman disturbed his piety; Solomon was wise, but woman deceived him; Job was patient, and was robbed by the devil of fortune and family; ulcerated, grieved, and oppressed, nothing provoked him to anger till a woman did it, therein proving herself stronger than the devil.

“Was ever orator so good or so successful that a courtesan could not excel his powers of persuasion? What arithmetician by false calculation would know how to cheat a woman in the payment of a debt? What musician equals her in song and amenity of voice? Does not the old nurse very often beat the doctor?”

When Cornelius compounded all these truths and trash, it ought to be told that he was in love with a certain choice sample of womanhood, a young Switzer, and that she probably sat before his imagination while he sketched his portrait of female perfection. Love coloured the picture which talent at the bidding of ambition drew. It is some satisfaction to know that the young doctor of divinity gained a good wife in consequence of his lucubration, one Jane Louisa Tyssie, of Geneva, although he failed in his more remote object, that of securing such exalted patronage as was to moor the barque of his fortunes in the haven of prosperity. So far, however, all things went swimmingly—“merry as a marriage-bell,” and no anticipations of evil marred the happiness of his honeymoon. But a certain celibate, in the shape of a Franciscan friar, one Catalinet, provincial of the order in Burgundy, envied his bliss, as the devil might the innocent delights of the first pair in Eden. Catalinet preached the Lent sermons before Margaret at Ghent, in the year 1510, and in these denounced the lectures of Agrippa, both on account of the matter they contained, as because they indicated such an acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue as could only be acquired by sitting at the feet of those by whom Christ was crucified—a course which he chose to consider as tantamount to a renunciation of the Christian faith. This blow completely prostrated our hopeful young courtier, our gifted

young scholar, and so recent Benedick. Without the favour of the lady-regent of the country, Dôle held out but a poor prospect of permanent provision for himself and prospectively increasing household. The bigotry and virulence of that bitter monk, who smelt heresy in every harmless speculation, and still more harmless philology, changed the whole scene for poor Agrippa, spoiled his home, and exiled his household gods, almost at the same time breaking his heart. Back to her family must his beloved go, while the husband proceeds elsewhere in search of a home to which again to bring her and her first-born son. This is BREAK-DOWN THE SECOND in our hero's unfortunate career. He had tried Spain, he had tried France, his next experiment will be made in England.

In England his stay was only of a year—leaving that country in 1511. He was attached in some civil capacity to the embassy from his august master, and while here was the guest of the learned and devout Dean Colet at Stepney. The religious side of his nature received large development during this visit, from his intercourse with this pious and excellent person, whose chief study was the Holy Scripture. Agrippa engaged, by his advice, and with his aid, in commenting upon the Epistles of St. Paul, during his stay in Stepney; and while there addressed to his adversary, Catalinet, a very Christian and temperate remonstrance on his late denunciation. Further fruit came not of his journey, except the spiritual good it may have done him; and this may probably be recorded as BREAK-DOWN THE THIRD in the eventful history of this remarkable person.

“Once more upon the waters,” but whither now? *Cedat armis toga*. The civilian's gown and the scholar's coif must give place to the uniform of camps and the din of war. Cornelius serves a stirring master, and Maximilian aims at Verona, the town promised him by the League of Cambrai, on which he had most set his heart. But lack of means to support a sufficient force in the field caused his majesty to relinquish the honour of command to one of his princes, and the same scantiness of resources reduced that insufficient force to the utmost straits and destitution. Nevertheless they bore up bravely, and with all a soldier's quickness of invention, supplied the poverty of *meum* out of the fulness of *tuum*. In that year Agrippa won his spurs upon the field of battle, being made a knight, but deplores all the while the distinction which kept him from his beloved books. In one of his after letters he wrote:—

“I was for several years, by the emperor's command, and by my calling, a soldier. I followed the camp of the emperor and king [of France]; in many conflicts gave no sluggish help; before my face went death, and I followed, the minister of death, my right hand

soaked in blood, my left dividing spoil; my belly was filled with the prey, and the way of my feet was over the corpses of the slain: so I was made forgetful of my inmost honour, and wrapped round fifteen-fold in Tartarean shade."

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This to a man who had prelected at Dôle on the most recondite literature, and commented on St. Paul in the quiet suburb of Stepney, must have been gall and wormwood, and neither fame nor plunder could compensate for the self-denial. It is true he was only twenty-five, and youth in general adapts itself with ease to the varying circumstances of its lot, but our hero was a confirmed schoolman, and a brief vacation with the Muses was to him more congenial and exhilarating than ages of active occupation, or the excitement of peril and war. Even while his steps were bent towards Italy, while others thought of the laurels of renown and daring emprise, he only longed for a home amid the cloisters of some university, or the poorest cot where the wife of his youth might rejoin him with her infant son. The Council of Pisa, summoned against the interest of the pope, held out promise of withdrawal from scenes of bloodshed and violence; and with cordial promptitude does he hail the invitation of the Cardinal Santa Croce to don his frock once more, and attend the synod as a theologian. The place had other charms, for Pisa was a university town, and besides the ability Agrippa displayed in the ecclesiastical assembly, he seized the opportunity to lecture on Plato, the introductory discourse being marked with perfect acquaintance with his author. But the council was adjourned the same year, eventually broken up, and between Milan and Pavia, according to the fortunes of the war, the soldier-divine was bandied about till taken prisoner at Pavia, where he probably served with the German troops. But he was released instantly, and attached himself to the fortunes of some of the native Italian princes, the Marquis of Montferrat, and Maximilian Sforza, duke of Milan. Freed from the stigma of heretical pravity and opposition to the holy see by the indulgence of Leo X., successor to that Julius under whose ban he had lain both for his reputation of suspicious scholarship, and his participation in the Pisan council, he was now more at liberty to look after his own interests in connexion with learning. The years 1513 and 1514 are years of comparative quiet and persevering study of natural science in connexion with, or at least stimulated by, Cabalistic speculation. If it be urged that this connexion or stimulus was unworthy of Agrippa's great talents and learning, it may be replied that it is little discredit to him to have shared in the weakness of the greatest minds of his day. He could rise no

higher than the tide, and his contemporaries floated upon the same wave.

At length the wished for position seems almost within his grasp. By the favour of the Palæologi and Gonzagas, he was enabled to address the University of Pavia in exposition of the "Poemander" of Hermes Trismegistus. This book he proposed to explain theologically, philosophically, dialectically, and rhetorically, enumerating pertinent texts, authorities, examples, and experiences, and confirming the doctrine of the book by the sanction of the ecclesiastical and civil law. He formally disclaimed the heresy of any word which might drop from him in the course of his exposition, and which might be supposed contrary to the opinion of the church. As the result, he won unbounded commendation from the authorities of the university, having accumulated on his head the degrees in each faculty, of doctor of medicine, and doctor of laws. He had qualified himself by suitable acquisitions for these academic honours, and we shall find him afterwards practising both professions in consequence of his proficiency. Paid up his arrears of military stipend, and earning money by his teachings in Pavia, joined by his wife and child, and serving in the same force with his wife's father and brother, the present was one of those narrow oases of his desert life, to which it might be his rapture to return in thought in after days. With 1515, came new wars and rumours of wars, and with these the breaking up of a frugal scholar's home. The French, under Francis I., seized Pavia, and the adherents of the German emperor fled. Driven from the city, and wandering about in search of shelter, in what a strain of despairing perplexity does he write:—

"Either for our impiety, or through the usual influence of the celestial bodies, or by the providence of God, who governs all, so great a plague of arms or pestilence of soldiers is everywhere raging, that one can scarcely live secure even in hollows of the mountains. Whither, I ask, in these suspected times, shall I betake myself, with my wife and son and family, when home and household goods are gone from us at Pavia, and we have been despoiled of nearly all that we possessed, except a few things that were rescued. My spirit is sore, and my heart is disturbed within me, because the enemy has persecuted my soul, and humbled my life to the dust. I have thought over my lost substance, the money spent, the stipend gone; over no income, the dearness of everything, and the future threatening more evils than the present, and I have praised the dead rather than the living, nor have I found one to console me. But, turning back upon myself, I have reflected that wisdom is stronger than all, and have said, 'Lord! what am I that thou shouldst be mindful of me, or that thou shouldst visit me with thy



mercy?" And I have thought much concerning man during this unwelcome idleness, and in the sadness of absence from my children."

In fact, swallowed up although our philosopher was with domestic sorrows, he could not throw off his habits of study, but even in that time of sore trouble, separated from his wife and children, who were still in Pavia, he wrote, in inns and the houses of sheltering friends, his "Dialogue on Man," which has not come down to us, and the treatise on the "Triple Way of Knowing God," printed amongst his works. In this latter he expounds his theme in these terms: "The voice of God cries out of heaven, from his sacred mount, Contemplating creatures, hear the angels, listen to my Son, that ye may become just and pious." This is the threefold way of knowing God. But both this and the former essay were seasoned with a spice of theological bitterness, the protest of a soul growing more and more out of taste for those who, "never rising upwards themselves, pull heaven down to their own sphere, and standing in churches and monasteries, bar the upward way."

Speaking of the voice of God's Son as a way of learning the truth respecting God, he says:—

"If pontiffs, doctors, prelates, have not in them the spirit of divine wisdom, certainly the spirit of such men has not the light of the mind; its faith in Christ is weak, and languishes, because over the spirit the flesh dominates too much. For which cause all they as barren souls, shall be judged and condemned as impious and unjust."

An utterance more frank than prudent. All honour, however, to the man, who amid the horrors of war, and his little home in burning ruins before him, could nevertheless thus compose his mind to the task of Christian indoctrination and speculation. Whatever might be thought by the barren expositors of unfruitful truths—droning divinity professors and malignant monks—of the doctrine of his most reverent and Christian essay, Agrippa professes a profound submission to the voice of the Catholic church, and conforms habitually to its ritual and practice. He was a really good man, of scriptural views and blameless life, and it is with regret we see his attempts to establish himself in Italy rendered futile by the barbarities of war. This we must call his **BREAK-DOWN THE FOURTH.**

Retiring from the military profession in consequence of the victories of the French, Cornelius now is looking out, in 1516, for an occupation and abiding-place, and all his learned friends are exerting themselves in his favour. He was recommended to the Duke of Savoy, and negotiations for entering his service

were continued for the space of two years: tantalizing negotiations, which ended in nothing, and which kept him from strenuously seeking employment in other directions. Nevertheless, with his wife and child, he had taken up his abode in the dominions of the dukedom at the town of Vercelli, and was probably considered in the service of that court. Geneva, the birth-place of his wife, had some attractions for his unsettled soul, but speculation as to the future was for a time cut short by Agrippa's acceptance of the office of town-advocate offered him by the corporation of Metz. In 1518, then, with his wife and son, we behold him entering this extremely ecclesiastical city, to exercise his gifts in a new position, that of advocate and law-adviser to the authorities of the place. But his theological and other studies were pursued as strenuously as ever; witness his "Disputation on Original Sin." "He who studies law," wrote he to a young lawyer at Basle, who asked his advice about his studies, "he who studies law will build up his neighbour in the state, but he who studies sacred letters will build up himself in God."

In this year he lost his father, of which event he writes:—

"I grieve most vehemently, and find but a single solace for this grief—that we must yield to the divine ordinance; for I know that God bestows upon men gifts, not indeed always pleasant, very often even of adversity, yet always useful to assist us here, or in the heavenly father-land. For God acts in accordance with his own nature, his own essence, which is wholly goodness; therefore, he ordains nothing but what is good and salutary. Nevertheless, such is my human nature, that I vehemently grieve, and the depths are stirred within me."

In Metz, Agrippa had few men of like mind with himself for associates. He was a thoughtful and serious man, in days when thought was busy amongst scholars on questions of momentous interest which came home to every bosom, and pre-eminently to those whom the commonalty look to for guidance. Lawyer and doctor, Agrippa was still more a divine, and could not shut his eyes upon the abuses which had awakened the indignation and ridicule of Erasmus, Stapulensis, Luther, and others, and he was incautious in passing gibes upon the incompetent adversaries of these worthies. He also felt called upon to take part in one of the absurd controversies of the day, in which the side he advocated would not commend him to bigoted churchmen. Stapulensis (Faber d'Etaples) had put out a book against the triple marriage of Anna, the mother of the Virgin Mary, a tradition then universally current, in which that excellent person is represented, first, as being married to Joachim, and

giving birth to the Virgin Mary; next, to Cleophaa, and bearing another Mary; thirdly, to another husband, and producing a third Mary, the mother of James and John. In defence of Faber's treatise, Cornelius also published a work on the monogamy of St. Anna, in eighteen propositions, in the preface to which he declared that Faber's book is "lustrous with the authority of scripture and of reason." To this Salini, prior of the Dominicans in the town, replied; to which Cornelius issued a rejoinder, defending his eighteen propositions. The gentleness of Agrippa's former defence against a churchman forsakes him here, and though it be only in retort of corresponding treatment of himself, we cannot commend the tone and spirit of his reply. Salini probably deserved it all, for Agrippa describes his pulpit denunciations in this graphic fashion: the dog of a Thomist worried him "with mad barkings and marvellous gesticulations, with outstretched fingers, with hands cast forward and suddenly snatched back again, with grinding of the teeth, foaming, spitting, stamping, leaping, cuffing up and down, with tearing at the scalp, and gnawing at the nails." The *fraticelli*, or brotherkins, of the Dominicans, are made to look exceedingly small, while he magnifies the successes in controversy of their opponents, Reuchlin, Sebastian Brandt, Luther, Bodenstein, not forgetting Erasmus and Faber. This was bad enough in Agrippa, but he did even worse, for he had the humanity to rescue from the flames, but only after dislocation by the most cruel torture, a poor peasant's wife, falsely accused by another Dominican, Nicolas Savin, of witchcraft. Only the most strenuous efforts on the part of this noble-minded and humane advocate saved the wretched woman from death. He did succeed, but his triumph was a defeat. Every Dominican became his foe—every pulpit rang with his name, coupled with dark insinuation and vituperative epithet, except that of St. Cross, his parish church, of which a true friend, John Roger Brennon, was incumbent. The city of course became too hot to hold him; he resigned his post under the municipal council, and once more "the world is all before him where to choose his place of rest." This two years'-long experiment to establish himself in Metz, ending as it did so disastrously, may be called **BREAK-DOWN THE FIFTH**. In the history of the city by the Benedictines, they dismiss him in the following pithy style: "He was driven from the town in 1520; he passed during life for a great sorcerer, and died with the reputation of being a very bad Christian." Thus history gives immortality to scandal.

Cologne, and his mother's house, was the only port of refuge open now, and thither does the little household hie—the wife, the two children, dogs, and all. But there, in 1521, a sorcer

trial than all before, befel him in the loss of his beloved Louisa, of whom he wrote elsewhere: "I give innumerable thanks to the omnipotent God, who has joined me to a wife after my own heart; a maiden noble and well-mannered, young, beautiful; who lives so much in harmony with all my habits, that never was a word of scolding dropped between us; and wherein I count myself happiest of all, however our affairs change, in prosperity and adversity always alike kind to me, alike affable, constant; most just in mind and sound in council, always self-possessed." That wife so prized in life was sorely wept for when dead. By Pastor Brennon she was buried in St. Cross, at Metz; Agrippa supplying money for a worthy monument, and taking care that an annual service perpetuated her memory, and besought the repose of her soul. When all was over, he and his son betook themselves to Geneva; Cologne, a town full of spiteful ecclesiastics, holding out as little hope of rest as the inhospitable free city of Lorraine. To go to Geneva was to get nearer Savoy, and he still cherished the hope of settlement under the duke in some recognised capacity. Geneva itself, too, promised greater tolerance for free thought on church matters than he had hitherto succeeded in finding elsewhere. His freer theology, also, we may hope was deepening into more serious religion. The death of his father, wife, and one child at least, within so short a period, connected him by many ties with the world of spirits, and the atmosphere he now breathed was one impregnated with aspirations after divine communion. Religious individuals, not monastic communities, were about him here; and the influence they exercised was doubtless healthful to the soul of the bereaved physician. The Reformers exchanged communications with him as freely as if he were one of themselves; and yet, like Erasmus, while they had his sympathy and convictions, he never abandoned his mother-church. He continued to hold, until the end of life, the position from which the more strenuous and undaunted Reformers were early forced. Had his fortunes been more independent, it is possible his conduct might have been shaped differently with regard to ecclesiastical questions, but, as it was, he chose the less decided part. We only state facts, and do not pronounce opinions. He showed himself a friend of the Reformers, and the hospitality of his humble abode was tendered time after time to the preachers of the Gospel.

The year 1522 finds him doing the work of a physician in Geneva, and earning a scanty maintenance; distracted by the ever-pending, never-settled negotiations about the Court of Savoy, which had now lasted more than a year, and in dependence upon which, to use his own phrase, he had been catching

only flies, and letting the birds escape out of his net. But unwilling to defer giving his orphan boy a mother until providence should furnish a home, he married another Swiss maiden, of great excellence, and—singularly disinterested as Agrippa was in all his movements—without a dowry. She brought with her, if not a fortune, a prolific person and a fund of love, for in two years and a half from her marriage she had borne her husband three children, and entered upon a further steady course of child-bearing. This virtuous and amiable person, though of noble birth, could neither read nor write, but to make amends, she had every housewifery quality that could promise happiness to a partner.

Disappointed, after a two years' suspense, in completing the arrangement with Savoy, our friend, so sorely schooled in the discipline of disappointment, gladly transferred himself to the metropolis of Friburg, as physician to that mountain town. The salary attached to his public appointment was small, but the goodwill of the authorities and neighbours was great. In Switzerland his free spirit, too, had full play; it was in harmony with all around him, and seated in his quiet study once more, he resumed his learned labours, and was in the midst of his affectionate household, fondled pets, and respectful citizens, a comparatively happy man. His books were circulated far and wide in manuscript, for none of his works were yet printed. He was known to be diligently employed in experimenting in natural and mechanical science, and he shared in a degree of observance at home and abroad that must have been most gratifying to his spirit. But the narrowness of his income, and the rapid increase of his second family, made him listen to overtures proceeding from France. Scarcely had one year elapsed in his mountain asylum, when he treads the world's deceitful high-road again, and descends into the more congenial region of Lyons, in the position of physician to the Queen-Mother of France. The step was a false one, and disaster tracked his way from that luckless hour. In the year 1524, Agrippa being now thirty-eight years of age, became directly attached to the court of Louisa of Savoy, a vain, avaricious, and bigoted woman; he being a needy and liberal-minded man of science, the friend of those Reformers whom she thought it a religious duty to roast. A correspondent of Zwinglius could not expect much consideration from such a character; hence many slights, and a most iniquitous detention of his salary. One year rolled away without his receiving his stipend, although all the arts of intrigue were employed to enforce his right, and the queen was appealed to, personally and by her confidants, to see justice done. "Go to her," says Agrippa to a physician in

her train on the best terms with himself, "go to her, fasten upon her, seize her, ask her, conjure, compel her, torment her; add prayers, entreaties, complaints, sighs, tears, and whatever else there is by which people are stirred." With a large and needy household, in an expensive town, in a respectable position, experimenting in science at more or less expense, buying books, entertaining strangers, his situation was one of the deepest embarrassment. When he asked for money he was mocked by promises, and persons who laughed at his distresses amused themselves with his science. To certain courtiers who asked him for astrological predictions, Agrippa made the following noble reply: "Why do we trouble ourselves to know whether man's life and fortune depend upon the stars? To God, who made them and the heavens, and who cannot err, neither do wrong, may we not leave these things, content, since we are men, to attain what is within our compass, that is to say, human knowledge? But since we are also Christians, and believe in Christ, let us trust to God our Father hours and moments which are in his hand." How deeply he had drunk at the fountain of revelation, let his little work bespeak, with the title "*Dehortatio Gentilis Theologiæ*." He dedicated it to the Bishop of Trois-Châteaux, out of gratitude for that good-natured prelate's intercession for payment of Agrippa's salary. In this essay he writes: "What virtue is there—and virtue there is—in Hermes, Plato, Plotinus, Æmilius, Jamblichus, Proclus, that is not better taught by the apostles, the evangelists, and our Lord himself? Why go to those worthies before we have gone to Him who is the truth and the way?" Amid incessant labours and vexations, privation amounting to the utmost penury, and the abandonment of hope almost to the darkest despair, well might the luckless physician write to Chapelain, who had been using his best offices with the queen in his favour:—

"You see how we are played with! Think of me, fought against on every side by sorrows, by griefs, indeed, greater and more incessant than I care to write. There is no friend here to help me; all comfort me with empty words; and the court title, which should have brought me honour and profit, aggravates my hurt, by adding against me envy to contempt. Held in suspense by this continual hope, to this hour no messenger has told me whether to remain at this place, or quit it; here, therefore, I live, with my large family, as a pilgrim in a caravansery, and that in the most expensive of all towns, under a load of charges, subject to no little loss. You write that the queen will some day comply with my request; what if in the meantime I perish? Truly so slow a fortune cannot save me, mighty goddess as she is."



This was written in the second year of the dishonest holding back of his income, traceable partly to neglect or carelessness, but partly also, in all likelihood, to spite and bigotry. It had now become a serious question with the unpaid doctor whether the price at which he retained his dignity at court was not too exorbitant for his scanty resources; whether the purgatory of dismissal was not preferable to the hell of serving. The inquiry was fast becoming, with him—not how shall I be paid, but how shall I get away. Longer and longer does he continue his struggle against royal faithlessness, until at last, informed indirectly that the reason of his not being paid is that his name has been struck secretly off the pension-list, he thus vents his spleen in a private letter:—

“Take care never to address me again as councillor or queen’s physician. I detest this title. I condemn all hope it ever raised in me. I renounce all fealty I ever swore to her. She never more shall be mistress of mine, but I have resolved to think of her as some atrocious and perfidious Jezebel, if she thus heeds rather dishonest words than honest deeds.”

His sole concern, in the middle of 1527, was to get well rid of all connexion with France, and try his fortune once more in Germany. But it was as hard for him to get leave to go, as he found it impossible to secure remuneration if he stayed. At last, after a whole year of weary waiting, and living half of that time without his family at an inn in Paris, at a rate of expenditure which completely beggared the unfortunate husband and father—at last he contrived to get away to Antwerp, where his wife and following joined him in November, 1528. Those four years of bootless experimenting in France were worse than lost, and this was his most serious mishap hitherto. It was his worst, but not his last. His SIXTH BREAK-DOWN was to be followed by another, “the last scene in this strange eventful history.”

Antwerp was selected as his abode on the invitation of a friendly Augustine; and it was further recommended as being in the dominions of that Margaret of Austria, whose favour he had failed to secure at Dôle. He found and made friends in that city, and in the neighbouring towns, by the practice of his profession; was introduced favourably to the princess, and was honoured with the appointment of keeper of the archives and historiographer to the emperor, who was Charles V. His work in praise of women was now, for the first time, published, and dedicated, as intended years before, to the princess. But in the midst of the fairest promise of prosperity, his wife was taken from him by the plague in its most virulent form.

Poor soul ! the last gleam of happiness and temporal prosperity went out with the extinction of that "light of his eyes." The composition of official histories, and the superintendence of the publication of his works, both of them expensive and troublesome operations, became now (1530) his main care. Doomed to nothing but disappointment, while depending on the great, his salary remains unpaid in his new connexion as well as in the old. His treatise on the "Vanity of Sciences," a kind of slur on all knowledge and professions, a recantation of his own whole life, and a misanthropic satire on men and their manners, made its appearance at this period. It clenched his ruin. Indiscriminate in its reprobation of pretension, folly, and wrong, it made enemies in all professions and quarters. With the courts of princes, the colleges of professors, the cloisters of cenobites, he made especially free, and this, coupled with the progress of the Reformation in Germany at large, sealed his doom. His princess-patron was also just dead, whose decease he bemoaned in a graceful and learned eulogy, so that he had no one to interpose between himself and imperial neglect or sacerdotal vengeance. His book of occult sciences, "*De Philosophiâ Occultâ*," circulated widely in MS., now first saw the light : the composition, in its crude form, of a youth, the accumulation of all the intervening years, and in any case rather a summary of the opinions held upon the subject than a profession of his own belief. Of this hear his own words :—

"I confess that there are very many vain things and curious prodigies taught for the sake of ostentation in books of magic ; cast them aside as emptiness, but do not refuse to know their causes. Where I err, or have too freely spoken, pardon my youth, for I was less than a youth when I composed this work, so that I might excuse myself, and say, 'When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I had knowledge as a child ; but now that I am a man, I have put away from me childish things ;' and a great part truly of what is in this book, I have retracted in my book upon the 'Vanity and Uncertainty of Sciences.'"

Why print this, then ? Simply because others would print spurious copies of the work, to the great injury of his reputation and finances, if he did not anticipate their peculation ; to which we may add, a paternal affection, perhaps, for the first-born of his thoughts. But though he thus studiously claimed for his publication the character of a curious compilation, in which he indulged only that half-belief which is the mongrel offspring of scepticism and science, the work afforded a handle for malignity to compass his detraction, and a ground, however false, for denouncing him as a wizard, conjuror, and whatever is most

sed to *sana fides et mores sani*. The soft and feminine side of his character, his love for dogs, was enlisted in the cause of detractors, and his canine pets, of which he cherished at a kennel—Monsieur, Mademoiselle, Tarot, Franza, Musa, one, Balassa—were represented as so many familiars of the devil. One was especially the agent of the devil, a black cat which used to lie on his table, and crouching among his papers. Now if this simple fact were sufficient to condemn our devoted knight, we reviewers can scarcely hope to escape like oblation, for it is both our wont and delight to write at a table, whereon our little Fritz pretendeth himself at full length, pouring the inspiration of his love and wonder into our pens as our pen travels along the paper, out of his most expressive brown eyes. To revert to Agrippa; give a dog a bad name, and you may hang him. While the best, the most educated, independent, and generous souls were on his side, the charlatans, the sneaks, the snobs, and the snakes—a large class, both his loudly and sting fatally—were against him. He was poor—he can possess no merit, said the courtiers; he does not believe in the infallibility of the church, the impeccability of the priests, the impecuniosity of monks—he is the devil, said the theists. And these two large classes carried the greater part of the world with them; and the struggling scholar, the softened householder, the ingenious interrogator and interpreter of nature, the gentle soldier, who filled with love every creature whom his shadow fell, down to the very brutes who revered him in the image of God, sunk beneath universal prejudice. At a household misery capped his sorrow. Blissful beyond what most men had been his two adventures in matrimony, woefully otherwise his third. Himself without a partner, to an affectionate nature an intolerable privation, and his swarm of little ones without a mother, what could he do but marry again? and he took to his bosom a wretch, chosen not by the act of his own good heart, but presented to him by some fatality. Faithless, infamous, she drew on him the scorn of those who were glad to scoff at his fortunes where they could allege misconduct; and he, this high-minded and virtuous man struggling with adversity, the admiration of the good, descended to become the jest of the profane buffoon, a *lais* (*Pant.* iii. 25). Agrippa is silent upon his shame, but was divorced from his adulterous wife three years after their fortunate union. Thus the clouds gather round his head. An ungrateful court fed him with empty air, and in vain he sought payment of his earnings. Promises had been made to him which had never been kept: at last he wished to have his indentment cancelled, on the payment of his services thus far.

But, just as before in France, he neither had liberty to leave, nor encouragement to stay. Appeal after appeal to the emperor came to be regarded, as he himself says, no more than the cry of a thirsty frog. At length he was arrested, and conveyed ignominiously through the open streets of Brussels to a gaol. Here, before his judges, by his loud reclamations against imperial malversation, he did not improve his position :—

“ Certes, if you had at heart the credit of the emperor, you would advise him otherwise, and would not let your eyes blink as they do at his avarice, as if it were not base in him to let his pensioners go ragged for lack of their pay, his nobles without salaries do suit to others for their meat, to suffer me, his historiographer, to be dragged into suits before you, and vexed with the terrors of a gaol, while I have Cæsar for my debtor; and he being passed over, you order me to beg among my friends the means of paying for what I owe. What equity is this of yours—what justice ?”

Bold but utterly unpalatable speech—scarce to be pardoned of any—well nigh incurring the penalty of death. Good is it for the name of the ruthless bigot, and avaricious glutton, Charles, that he overlooked the intemperance of Agrippa’s speech, nor added the death of his ill-used servant to the abuses of his reign. A little thing would have brought to the stake one, who could write to Melancthon in this strain in 1532: “ Eternal war has arisen between me and the Louvain theologians, into which war I have been led by the boldness of truth. . . . Salute for me that unconquered heretic Martin Luther, who, as St. Paul says in the Acts, ‘ After the way which they call heresy, worships the God of his fathers.’ ”

For his published opinions in his book on the “ Vanity of the Sciences”—on matters affecting the church—to which he pertinaciously clung in life and death, he was arraigned before the imperial parliament in Mechlin. He refused to plead guilty, or retract his assertions, at the imperial mandate; but he published an “ Apology,” which repeated and deepened his offence. At the same time the monks of Cologne fastened on his other work on the “ Occult Philosophy;” but the archbishop was his friend, and rescued him out of their clutches. Meanwhile, driven by debt and danger, he flies from the Netherlands to Bonn with his family, to be near his powerful friend the archbishop, escape the importunity of his creditors, and to feel at greater freedom for literary occupation, and the superintendence of printers. It will be scarcely be believed, that that constrained residence in Bonn was afterwards alleged as justification of the refusal to pay him his long withheld stipend, on the plea that he was distant from the scene of his proper duties. Truly

the hangers-on of a court are, as our Scottish friends say, a *kittle cattle* to have to do with. Agrippa's long intercourse with them was a long repentance:—

“I have lived honestly, having no reason to blush for my own deeds, and little to blame in fortune, except that I was born into the service of ungrateful kings. My folly and impiety have been, I own, mostly of condemnation, in that, against the warning of the Scriptures, I have put my trust in princes. I wished to live as a philosopher, in courts where art and literature are unhonoured, unrewarded. If I am not wise, surely it is herein that I am most foolish, that I have trusted my well-being into the power of another, and, anxious and uncertain of my future, rested hope on those whose deeds I find unequal to their promises. Truly, I am ashamed now of my lack of wisdom.”

The miserable comment on his defeated hopes and aspirations—the practical retraction of all he had ever learned, boasted of, or attempted, is conveyed in these bitterly sad words:—

“I think, therefore, that in these days there is no bliss greater than ignorance, nothing safer than to teach men nothing, when almost nothing can be written at which there shall not be some to take offence; but those who teach and know nothing, or nothing but the meanest and the basest things, are far removed from this fear, from these dangers; for of little things large ruin is impossible. He who grovels cannot tumble far, while, on the contrary, he who seeks to climb the heights courts his own downfall. As pleasant, and with more safety, is the marish to the frogs—the mire to the hogs—the gloom to the bats, as the house-top to the doves, or the clear sun to the eagle. Therefore, Pythagoras in Lucian, having wandered through all shapes in his own round of metamorphoses, confesses that he enjoyed life far more when he was a frog than when he was a king and a philosopher. Which persuasion seems to me so suited to the present time, that to know nothing, and to teach nothing, yea, to differ in no respect from a beast, seems to me now the happiest and safest course; at the same time it is that which makes a man the most acceptable to those courtiers and satraps, who commonly bestow their favours upon creatures having most resemblance to themselves.”

The plaint is not new: “What hath a man of all his labour, and of the vexations of his heart, wherein he hath laboured under the sun? For all his days are sorrows, and his travail grief; yea, his heart taketh not rest in the night. *This is also vanity.*”

The quiet our scholar sought in Bonn was disturbed by many a bruit diligently circulated of commerce with the devil, who certainly served his votary very scurvily, for he scarcely supplied him with bread. The year 1535 found him still in that Rhenish town, his home shattered to pieces by the last irrecoverable

shock, the divorce from a wife of scandal and disgrace. Bonn was no more a place of refuge, and he fled to neighbouring France, intending to make his way to Lyons, there to complete the publication of his works. But a sterner monarch than the emperor placed his veto on the march, for in that journey—exiled from Germany, unwelcomed in France—death arrested the course of the luckless scholar, and he perished at Grenoble, at the age of forty-nine, in the house of a stranger. The suspicion of heresy was really that which hunted him to death; the charge of sorcery furnished a popular accusation; and the black dog was the incontrovertible evidence that pronounced him a *cacodæmon*. What need of sulphur or subpoena—process of law or spirit from Pandemonium, when all the world could see the black dog? Ladies loving literature, and men of mind, be careful how you select your dumb associates, and above all things severally observe the Roman door-notice—CAVE CANEM.

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## ART. II.—RECENT ASSYRIAN DISCOVERIES.

*Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana; with an Account of Excavations at Warka, the "Erech" of Nimrod, and Shûsh, "Shushan the Palace" of Esther, in 1849—52, under the orders of Major-General Sir W. F. Williams of Kars; and also of the Assyrian Excavation Fund in 1853—4. By William Kennet Loftus, F.G.S. London: Nisbet & Co. 1857.*

THE interest and importance attaching to monumental discoveries cannot be measured by their extent or number. In truth, they have opened to us an entirely new phase of history. The documents to which they give access can neither be spurious nor interpolated; the records which they make known are authenticated by the character of those to whom they owe their origin, and the period from which they date; the insight which they afford into the state of ancient society, manners, arts and sciences, is necessarily casual, indeed, but perhaps all the more valuable. For once we stand, as it were, face to face with those great monarchies which imposed their laws, and, in great part, their civilization, upon the ancient world. Without the intervention of any medium, we can hold direct converse with them. We enter their palaces and their temples—we read the inscriptions—we see the monuments of their achievements and of their culture—we discover their state-papers—we find abundant illustrations of their manners and their superstitions—we can trace the sources both of their strength and of



their weakness. Let it also be borne in mind, that important as the results already attained by these discoveries are, we can scarcely be said to have made much more than a beginning. First Egypt, then Assyria and Chaldæa, have yielded their buried historical treasures to the intelligence, zeal, and enterprise of modern explorers. But a very superficial knowledge of what has been done, and of what yet remains to be done, will convince every one that a wide field is still left open for future explorers. Nor do we despair of seeing discoveries similar in their character, and perhaps even greater in their importance, in other lands. Reasoning from what has been done to what may yet be accomplished, we confess that our anticipations of discoveries of inscriptions, or of monuments illustrating the history and manners of ancient nations, are sanguine. Hitherto these investigations have especially thrown light on Scriptural records and events. It seems as if these long-buried witnesses were to have been the first raised. They had slept under the dust of centuries—preserved by their very desolation—till the general culture of Christendom, and especially the state of philological and historical inquiry, rendered their testimony intelligible. The two great monarchies hostile to Israel, both as a commonwealth and as a witness for God, have been called from the dead to confirm the historical reality of those writings which it was one of Israel's great purposes to preserve and to hand down. It is well known how thoroughly their independent testimony bears out the records of the Bible. We shall not wonder if "the stones" in the land of Israel shall next "cry out;" and from the ruin of many generations, from these long desolations, evidences the most clear and convincing shall be brought forth. Step by step, as inquiry and science have hitherto progressed, they have thrown only light on, and brought confirmation to, the Bible. We anticipate yet fresh accessions; and we cherish the hope that the investigations so successfully carried on in Assyria, may in due time yield similar results in Judæa, in Samaria, and in Galilee.

Among the successful explorers in Assyria, Mr. Loftus deservedly ranks high both for zeal and perseverance. True, his merit consists chiefly in mere discovery; the interpretation, the historical estimate of his discoveries, he generally leaves to others. But even this is invaluable, and requires considerable qualities of mind, as well as firmness and prudence. To penetrate where no European had formerly been,—to carry on lengthened excavations amid a bigoted and hostile population, and with only the help of those whose prejudices or cupidity form a continual obstacle and difficulty,—to bring such investigations to a successful issue, and to enrich his country and Europe with

their fruits, are not mean achievements, and for these we gladly assign to him the meed of due praise.

The investigations, of which this volume communicates to us the results, were commenced by Mr. Loftus when attached as geologist to the British Expedition under Colonel, now General, Sir William Williams, dispatched to settle, in 1849-52, in conjunction with Russian, Turkish, and Persian commissioners, the disputed line of frontier between Turkey and Persia. The Assyrian Excavation Fund next furnished the means for these explorations. Starting under advantageous circumstances, and but little interrupted in his labours, Mr. Loftus was able to add much to our store of Assyrian and Chaldean knowledge. Most of his discoveries have in some shape or other been previously made known to the public; but they are now set before us in detail, and in chronological order. At the same time the account of his observations and travels in regions into which he was the first European traveller to penetrate, with all the adventures and incidents of such an undertaking, lend the book all the charm of a personal narrative. Many of our readers are probably acquainted, more or less, both with the *locale* and the history of Assyrian discoveries. Still, and at the risk of reiterating what may be known to them from other sources, we will follow Mr. Loftus in the account of his adventures and undertakings.

Starting from the shores of the Bosphorus early in March, our traveller joined the British Commission at Mosul on the 5th of April. Thence the whole party leisurely sailed down the Tigris to Bághdád, visiting by the way the various points of interest. Beautifully situated amid groves of date and pomegranate trees, the ancient city of the khalifs has, like most Eastern cities, lost its former splendour under the rule of incompetent and rapacious pashas. On their arrival our commissioners found that the summer must intervene before they could repair to their destination. Instead of wasting their time in Bághdád, they very wisely resolved to employ the interval in visiting "the ruins of Babylon and the celebrated Persian shrines." Between Bághdád and their first point of exploration stretches for about fifty miles a barren desert tract, the monotony of which is occasionally interrupted by large kháns for the accommodation of travellers. The time was when these plains, intersected by canals and water-courses, presented all the luxuriance of a "well-watered garden," and sustained a teeming population. One of the four main arteries which supplied Babylonia with the waters of the Euphrates, still traceable by a slight depression, passed here. The desolation of Babylon itself presents not a greater contrast with its former grandeur than does the

barrenness of these plains with their former fruitfulness. The ruins of the city have been frequently described. We only note that, after having examined them on four different occasions, Mr. Loftus expresses his conviction that it is utterly impossible to identify any one of the gorgeous palaces described by early historians.

While examining the ruins, the military governor of the neighbouring Hillah furnished the party with a guard, and in honour of the august visitors, treated them to an extraordinary compound of European and Asiatic amusements in the shape of military music (pieces from Donizetti, Strauss, &c.), and the performances of a celebrated dancer. The only thing remarkable about Hillah is its large number of Jewish inhabitants, whom Mr. Loftus describes as "the degraded and persecuted remnant of the ten thousand," carried away by Nebuchadnezzar—a somewhat hypothetical assertion. Six miles from Hillah is the Bîrs Nimrûd, the summit of which is crowned by the celebrated vitrified brick edifice which has so long been supposed to be the great tower of Babylon and the temple of Belus described by Herodotus. The excavations of Sir Henry Rawlinson have shown that it was the *sanctum* of a great temple rising upon six terraces, each twenty feet high and forty-two feet less horizontally than the one below it. Each story was differently coloured, according to the colour attributed by the Sabæan astrologers to the six planets. The structure dates originally from the time of Tiglath Pileser I., about 1100 B.C., and was restored by Nebuchadnezzar 504 years after the period of its foundation. From the summit of Bîrs Nimrûd an extensive view of the utter desolation around is gained. The most noticeable object in view is the vast marsh, which spreads north and west, caused by the rise of the Euphrates. Along its margin are some places of interest. Due south is the reputed tomb of Ezekiel; fifty miles beyond it glitter the golden domes of Meshed 'Alî; nearer at hand we descry Kerbella. All these places were successively visited. There is nothing peculiarly remarkable either about the town of Keffil or the reputed tomb of Ezekiel, except their dilapidation and neglect; and these can scarcely be said to be remarkable, as they are of such frequent occurrence. Meshed 'Alî, or Nedjef—the former is the name of the celebrated mosque, the latter of the town—occupies the place of the ancient Hira, so celebrated in Arab history as the birth-place of a race of Arab kings. It was also the first Christian city beyond the confines of Arabia, occupied by the Moslem host. At present it is chiefly remarkable for its gorgeous mosque, of which Mr. Loftus says that "it is all but impossible to convey to the mind of another the impression

produced" by it, and as one of the sacred cities and burying-places of the Persians. Stealing a march upon the fanaticism of the people of Nedjef, the party was enabled to penetrate, under the protection of the Turkish governor, at least into the court of this great sanctuary. Its walls are adorned from top to base with encaustic tiles, bearing most intricate and elegant patterns. Notwithstanding their brightness, the colours are so blended and softened as to make the whole appear like a rich mosaic set in silver. Each wall is divided by two tiers of blind arches. Magnificent gateways lead into this court. At three corners are minarets, of which two are in front, covered with gilt tiles, each valued at £1. The dome of the mausoleum is of the same material. The interior is said to be paved with slabs of the purest gold, and to contain innumerable utensils of unknown value. To Nedjef flock annually no less than 80,000 pilgrims, while from 5,000 to 8,000 corpses are conveyed thither from Persia and elsewhere, to be buried within its sacred precincts. The burial fee varies according to the locality, from £5 to £100, and while the bargain is making, piles of coffins are left outside the city in the burning sun to spread disease and death. Our travellers were not so successful in penetrating into the mosque of the martyred Husséyn in Kerbella. The temple is inferior in splendour to that of Meshed 'Ali, but the town is even more in repute as a burying-place than Nedjef. From Kerbella the commissioners returned to Bághdád. We leave Colonel Williams and the others to pursue their course down the river to the frontier, and follow our adventurous travellers, Messrs. Loftus and Churchill, across the Jezíreh—the tract between the Euphrates and Tigris—to Warka, and the sites of other buried cities.

To explore a new country, scarce ever visited by Europeans,—to scamper at the head of a few Bashí-Bázúks and servants across deserts,—to visit strange tribes,—to find hospitality in Bedouin tents, and withal to explore the remains of a civilisation buried for centuries, was a sufficiently attractive enterprise. Dangers, which often, however, existed only in Arab imagination, had to be braved, and difficulties not a few to be overcome, but the goal was such as to reward for all trouble and danger. The inundations of the river, which convert a large part of that district into marshes, render travelling possible only in winter, and even then not without great inconvenience. Nor did friendly voices fail to represent other dangers to which the bold adventurers were exposing themselves. It had almost seemed as if their visit to the first Bedouin encampment of the Mádán Arabs was to have proved the propriety of these warnings. However, a judicious display of firmness and self-

respect, soon brought about a better state of feeling. Thence the course lay to the camp of the Affej Arabs, who occupy the great marshes which extend almost uninterruptedly to the Persian Gulf. It is impossible to state their area, but they support about 3,000 families, inhabiting villages of reed-huts, covered with thick matting. The people are very hospitable and industrious. They subsist chiefly on the rice produced in great abundance along the edges of the marsh. Communication is kept up by long and pointed boats, called *terrúdas*, twelve or fourteen feet long, and one yard wide. From this encampment our travellers visited the ruins of Niffar, which was explored in 1851 by Mr. Layard, but without any remarkable success. Sir Henry Rawlinson considers it the ancient Calneh, the true city of Belus, and the site of the tower of Babylon. He states that it bore the name of Tel Anu, from the god Anu, whom he identifies with the scriptural Noah. On these points there is manifestly a good deal of mere speculation, nor would we hold ourselves at all committed to some of the opinions, which occasionally, indeed, appear to us quite unsupported. On the road from Niffar to Warka, the party paid their *devoirs* to the Turkish pasha. His great favourite and companion was a eunuch, who had formerly been a slave, but now filled the post of councillor and buffoon to his highness. Here is a description of that personage:—

“It was impossible to guess his age, but as he sat doubled up on a carpet, covered with a huge furred cloth tunic and an enormous dark green turban, he was one of the most repulsive creatures which the eye could well encounter. His face more resembled that of the monkey tribe than anything else I can conceive. His mouth stretched nearly from ear to ear, and the latter appendages stood out from each side like those of an ass. Teeth he had none, so that his tongue, as if too large for his mouth, frequently lolled out, giving him the appearance of an idiot. His face, thin in the extreme, was puckered into a thousand wrinkles, the bones projecting, and the skin of the colour and consistency of hard leather. The whole of his features were condensed into an expression of low cunning, cupidity, cruelty, and lust, which no one could behold without shuddering. His character did not belie his appearance. He was at one time made chief over certain Khuzeyl tribes, but his conduct was such that it was found necessary to remove him. Money was his chief object, and he extorted it without scruple. When he failed by the usual means, he tried torture, and took as much delight in the sufferings of his unfortunate victims as either Nero or Caligula. His favourite punishment was to bury an offender alive, with his hands tied, leaving only his shaven head above ground, but this was smeared over with honey to attract reptiles and insects. The wretch took his pleasure in frequently going to grin and make faces at the

poor victim, who, however, without food, and under an almost vertical sun, was soon relieved by death from the tortures and atrocities he suffered."

By the way the ruins of Hammán, Tel Ede, and Múgeyer were visited and cursorily explored. The first of these places, consisting "of a series of low undulations around a great central tower, whose remarkable form cannot fail to attract attention," is as yet unexplored, but deserves the attention of future excavators. Múgeyer is in many respects one of the most interesting of the recently disinterred cities. To the labours of Mr. Taylor in that locality, historical and Biblical students are deeply indebted. The principal feature about these ruins is a large two-storied temple—the only one not wholly covered by rubbish—which is in good preservation. Here, after a good deal of disappointment, not only commemorative cylinders were discovered, but the important fact that such "were always deposited at the corners of Babylonian edifices," was ascertained. Múgeyer is regarded as Ur of the Chaldees by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who read the name Húr upon the cylinders. We cannot, however, view the proposed derivation of Hebrew from *Ibra*, a suburb of Húr, whence it is supposed Abraham had started on his journey, as otherwise than entirely imaginary. The records discovered contain memorials of a series of kings from Uruk, 2230 B.C., to Nabonides, 540 B.C., and comprising, among others, the name of Kudur-mapula, or Chedorlaomer. These invaluable discoveries at Múgeyer enable us also to dispose of an objection against the historical accuracy of the book of Daniel. The Belshazzar of Daniel is now ascertained to have been the son and fellow-regent of Nabonidus, at the time when the united armies of the Medes and Persians under Cyrus put an end to the Chaldæan monarchy.

But the discoveries of Mr. Loftus were made chiefly in Warka and Susa, and to these we must briefly call the attention of our readers. About 120 miles south-east of Babylon are enormous piles of mounds which mark the site of one of the great cities of Chaldæa. In the absence of better data, it were useless to speculate on the former name of Warka. If Múgeyer is the Ur of Abraham, it is of course impossible to maintain Sir Henry Rawlinson's former theory, that Warka represents the place whence the patriarch started on his pilgrimage, unless on the supposition that Ur was the name of a *district* which included both cities. Again, the derivation of the name *Warka*, and the attempt to identify it with the Erech of Genesis x. 10, is, to say the least, hypothetical. But whatever doubt may hang on this point, none can be entertained of its antiquity and importance. The latter, as we shall see, attaches chiefly to the fact that



Warka presents the most perfect specimens of ancient Babylonian architecture, and that, like Meshed 'Alí and Kerbella at present, it had been one of the sacred burial-cities of Chaldæa. The desolation which prevails around this forsaken abode of the dead, deserted for probably eighteen centuries, is described as greater than that of any other of the Babylonian cities. Isaiah xiii. 20, seems there literally fulfilled. The principal and most ancient of the structures at Warka, the Buwáriyya, is a tower 200 feet square, and built entirely of sun-dried bricks. The impressions on the bricks show that the edifice had originally been dedicated to the *Moon* by King Uruk, about 2230 B.C., and again repaired by Sin-shada about 1500 B.C. But a ruin much more interesting and important is that called *Wuswas*, from a negro who in search of buried gold explored the principal portion of the edifice. Part of the wall, as laid bare by Mr. Loftus, "afforded the first glimpses of Babylonian architecture." Here is a description of it:—

"At the base of the ruin a narrow terrace, 3½ feet wide, coated with a thin layer of white plaster, runs the entire length of the façade [174 feet long, and sometimes 23 feet high]. From this, in one unbroken perpendicular line, without a single moulding, rises the main wall, which is subdivided by slight recesses 12½ feet long. Nothing can be more plain, more rude, or, in fact, more unsightly than the decoration employed upon this front; but it is this very aspect, this very ugliness, which vouches for the originality of the style. It has long been a question whether the column was employed by the Babylonians as an architectural embellishment. The *Wuswas* façade settles this point beyond dispute. Upon the lower portion of the building are groups of seven half-columns repeated seven times, the rudest, perhaps, which were ever reared, but built of moulded semicircular bricks, and securely bonded to the wall."

The excavations of M. Place at Khorsábád, and those of Sir Henry Rawlinson at Birs Nimrud, have fully established "that groups of columns and double recesses were the prevailing type of Assyrian and Babylonian external architecture." Under the reign of the Seleucids this gave place to Greek art, but reappeared under the Sassanians. Mr. Loftus ascribes the *Wuswas* temple to the times of Sargon or Nebuchadnezzar, about the seventh or eighth century, B.C. Two other remarkable ruins claim our attention. The one consists of a wall thirty feet long, wholly ornamented by terra-cotta cones, dipped in red or black colour, and arranged in various ornamental patterns, such as diamonds, triangles, zigzags, and stripes. The other structure was similarly ornamented with rows of vases.

"Above the foundation were a few layers of mud-bricks, superimposed on which were three rows of these vases, arranged horizon-

tally, mouths outward, and immediately above each other. This order of brick and pot work was repeated thrice, and was succeeded upwards by a mass of unbaked bricks. The vases vary in size from ten to fifteen inches in length, with a general diameter at the mouth of four inches."

We have already stated that Warka derives special interest from the fact that it was one of the sacred burial-cities of Chaldæa. For a period of probably 2,500 years were the dead carried thither, until the funeral remains reached, layer upon layer, to a depth of sixty feet. They were not *buried* in the proper sense of the word, but the coffin was laid down and left till covered up by the drifting sand. The coffins vary in form from the large vase (the Babylonian urn) to what are called "dish-cover" and "slipper-shaped" coffins. The former—more common at Múgeyer than at Warka—is very peculiar:—

"On removing the cover, the skeleton is seen reclining generally on the left side, but trussed like a fowl, the legs being drawn up and bent at the knees to fit the size of the cover. Sometimes the skull rests on the bones of the left hand, while those of the right, holding cylinders of agate or meteoric stone, and small personal ornaments, have fallen into a copper bowl in front."

The slipper-shaped coffins were of yellow clay mixed with straw, and half-baked. The bodies were admitted into them by an oval aperture, afterwards covered with a lid, which was cemented with lime mortar. The upper surface of each coffin was generally ornamented with figures, and covered with a thick glazing of rich green enamel. After considerable trouble, Mr. Loftus at last succeeded in removing one of these coffins, which is now placed in the British Museum.

Sinkara was another of the sacred burial-cities of Chaldæa, whose edifices date from various kings, such as Purna-Puriyas, Khammurabi (about 1500 B.C.), Nebuchadnezzar, and Nebonit. Here several cylinders were also recovered. But, however anxious to inform our readers of the details of these interesting discoveries, we must reserve what space is still left us for the researches of Mr. Loftus among the ruins of Susa.

The difficulties with which our explorers had to contend in Persia were much greater than those which they had encountered in Chaldæa. There, it had only been want of provisions and similar outward hindrances; here, it was the determined hostility, fanaticism, and persecution of priests and people which they had to endure. To those who are always ready to speak of the wise government and the civilization of Eastern nations, especially to those who would increase their acquaintance with Persian affairs, we would recommend attentively to

read the description here furnished, both of the cities and the people of an important province of Persia. Large commercial cities, and the remains of former grandeur, are utterly dilapidated and ruined; the higher classes in continual internecine feud with each other, the lower of the most degraded and fanatical caste. Such is the impression left on the mind of the unprejudiced explorer. Mr. Loftus and his companions had to wage a continual defensive warfare against the passions of the fanatical multitude, but thanks to British firmness, perseverance, and a firman from the Shah, they succeeded. The supposed tomb of the prophet Daniel does not claim or deserve our special attention. It is otherwise with Shushan, where Mr. Loftus had the honour of being the first to explore its ruins. Our historical records of Susa commence with King Ashur-banipal (about 650 B.C.), who conquered that province and city, and whose sculptures—the *chef d'œuvres* of Assyrian art—were discovered by Messrs. Loftus and Hormuzd Rassam, the latter one of the most meritorious, although least known, of Assyrian explorers. From the time of Cyrus, Susa became the winter-palace of the Persian kings. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, adorned it with marble structures. Xerxes—the Biblical Ahasuerus, as is generally supposed—undertook thence his expedition to Greece, and returned to it laden with the plunder of Delphi and Athens. Some idea of its magnificence and wealth may be conceived from this, that Alexander the Great found in its treasury, besides immense sums of money, £7,500,000 in ore and ingots, and purple to the value of £12,500,000! The Biblical importance of Susa is well known. There Daniel lived, and there the scenes described in the book of Esther took place. Susa continued an important place under the Parthian rule, but gradually declined and entirely disappeared soon after A.D. 709. In the days of its splendour it was chiefly as the winter, or rather spring, residence of the monarchs, that it was celebrated. During the summer months the heat renders it almost intolerable. Here is a description of its former appearance:—

“It is difficult to conceive a more imposing site than Susa, as it stood in the days of its Kayanian splendour; its great citadel and columnar edifices raising their stately heads above groves of date, konar, and lemon trees; surrounded by rich pastures and golden seas of corn, and backed by the distant snow-clad mountains. Neither Babylon nor Persepolis could compare with Susa in position, watered by her noble rivers, producing crops without irrigation, clothed with grass in spring, and within a moderate journey of a delightful summer clime. Susa vied with Babylon in the riches which the Euphrates conveyed to her stores, while Persepolis must have been inferior, both in point of commercial position and pic-

turesque appearance. Under the lee of a great mountain range, the columns of Persepolis rise like the masts of ships taking shelter from a storm, and their otherwise majestic appearance is lost in the magnitude of the huge, bare, rocky mass towering above them. Susa, on the contrary, stood on the open plain, with nothing in immediate proximity to detract from her imposing and attractive tableau."

The researches there made—for a time under the personal superintendence of General Williams—led to the discovery of a palace almost identical with that of Persepolis, but rivalling it in beauty and grandeur.

"The Great Hall of Susa consisted of several magnificent groups of columns, together having a frontage of 313 feet 9 inches, and a depth of 244 feet. These groups were arranged into a central phalanx of thirty-six columns (six rows of six each), flanked on the west, north, and east by an equal number disposed in double rows of six each, and distant from them 64 feet 2 inches."

Mr. Loftus rightly holds that the habitable portion of the palace "stood on the south, and immediately behind the columnar hall." The great colonnade he supposes to have been the reception-room of the king, surrounded by fountains and gardens, where Ahasuerus gave the feast which cost Vashti her crown. However startling it may appear to find oneself face to face with these events, and to hear the report of one who had actually excavated this palace, it is none the less real or important to the Biblical student. In Susa, a large number of interesting objects, especially a collection of statuettes of the Assyrian Venus, were also discovered. Among these interesting relics, the first place belongs to a number of Egyptian vases, which had evidently been carried to Susa during the time of the Persian domination, and which bear the name of Xerxes. Nor must we omit to mention the meritorious and able attempts made by Mr. Loftus with the view of "solving the problem with reference to the determination of the Susian rivers."

We have said enough to interest our readers in this volume. Believing in the historical accuracy of the Biblical records, we rejoice, although we do not wonder, that Assyrian discoveries confirm them even in minute particulars;—sharing with all intelligent persons the interest attaching to such investigations, we are glad that one who has proved himself so enterprising, able, and successful, and at the same time so kindly and judicious in his dealings with the natives, should have been employed in them;—recognising the importance of a *Christian* tone in works of this—indeed of every—kind, we feel gratified in meeting it throughout the volume before us. Any slight

stylistic imperfections will readily be removed, mere hypotheses will by-and-bye vanish with the progress of discovery, but solid contributions such as those by Mr. Loftus are a lasting gain. We can only wish to find him soon again engaged in the work of which this volume gives so interesting a description.

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### ART. III.—TWO YEARS AGO.

*Two Years Ago.* By the Rev. C. Kingsley, F.S.A., F.L.S., &c. Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1857.

- . At the pleasant town of Whitbury, in Berkshire, which once boasted forty coaches a day, and now has to be satisfied with the dreary and prosaic substitute of a single railway, once lived Mark Armsworth and Edward Thurnall; and, for anything we know, they live there still. Mark Armsworth was an important man in Whitbury. What the Duke of Wellington did, to the astonishment of all the world, in a national crisis, was done by our vigorous friend, Mark, through many a long year, without exciting any astonishment at all; for he held all the great offices of state which the little town had to bestow, being not only banker, solicitor, railway director, and land agent, but churchwarden, guardian of the poor, justice of the peace, and we know not what besides. He was a sportsman, too; and after doing all his business, and doing it well, found time to follow the hounds, to carry a gun over the neighbouring preserves of Lord Minchampstead, and to wander for hours with elastic rod and deceitful fly on the banks of the broad and silver Whit. He had a strong, rough hand, a loud tongue, and a hot, hasty temper, but as warm and generous a heart as ever beat in the breast of an Englishman. His friend, Doctor Thurnall, was the ablest of physicians, and the gentlest of men; refined, scholarly, and devoted not only to the noble science which he had chosen as his profession, but to other scientific pursuits of a kindred nature. We believe that the physicians of our provincial towns are, as a class, the most highly cultivated men, and the most perfect gentlemen, in the country; and Dr. Thurnall was no unworthy representative of his order.

Mark has a daughter who has now grown up to be a plain, but most sensible and kind-hearted, woman, but who, when we first knew anything about her, was a little weakly child, unable to walk, though already about eight years old. The doctor at that time, had two or three sons, one of them whose name was Tom,

just ten years older than Mary, a man of "the bull-terrier type so common in England," sturdy, compact, sinewy, self-reliant, and, as old Mark, with whom he was a great favourite, used to say, "standing on his legs like a game-cock." Besides his sons, the good physician had, under his care, a *protégé*, who rejoiced in the very euphonious name of John Briggs, a tall, awkward, bilious-looking lad, with handsome features, long, black curling locks, and "a highly developed Byronic turn-down collar," which seemed to those who knew him, part of his personality. It will be at once inferred that John Briggs was a genius, and that he was likely to be plagued and tormented all day long by the doctor's son, Tom. All who wish to know these friends of ours as well as we do, must buy, beg, borrow, or steal Mr. Kingsley's "Two Years Ago," in which, after his own brilliant, rapid manner, he has told the world their history. Meanwhile, we intend to sketch the outline of the story, and also to say something about Mr. Kingsley's way of telling it.

John Briggs and Tom Thurnall were both assistants to Mr. Bolus, a general practitioner in the town of Whitbury. Tom, with all his wildness and fun, did his work carefully and thoroughly, while Briggs was repeatedly guilty of making the most unfortunate blunders. At last, after sending Mark Armsworth a bottle of medicine, of the black draught genus and potency, intended for some ancient maiden lady, and sending her the cough mixture intended for Mark, poor Briggs could endure his daily drudgery and vexation no longer; he resolved to escape from the counter and the surgery, and to live the life of a genius in London. To London, therefore, he went; and after struggling for a time with the proverbial hardships of literary adventurers, succeeded in winning not only bread, but fame. He had real power, as well as intolerable vanity, and though in after days he became miserably self-indulgent, when younger he was known to publishers and editors as "a reliable man," skilful and punctual in the hack-work by which the Gibeonites of literature earn their living, as well as successful in the higher styles of writing by which the priesthood of letters earn their glory. Having renounced his old cognomen, he assumed the far pleasanter title of Elsley Vavasour; and by the reputation of his genius and the romantic charm which young ladies found in his new name, after first winning her heart, he succeeded in persuading to a run-away match Lucia St. Just, a pretty, passionate girl of eighteen, who had the honour of being sister of an Irish Viscount, and the misfortune of having an income of less than two hundred a year. For a few months they had to endure the troubles which were the just penalty of this indiscretion, and then Lucia and her husband were made happy for



a time, by the kindness of the viscount, who offered them as a residence, Penalva Court, near the little town of Aberalva, in "the good West Country;" and there for the present we must leave them.

After Briggs had vanished from Whitbury, Tom Thurnall went to Paris, and then to St. Mumpsimus's Hospital, in London, winning prizes from the examiners, and golden opinions from the students; being the hardest reader, as well as the best pistol-shot, billiard player, and boxer, of his set. Resolved to make money and to know something of the world, he went out as anatomical professor to a new college, in some South American republic; but "when he got there, he found that the annual revolution had just taken place, and that the party who had founded the college had been all shot the week before. Whereat he whistled, and started off again, no man knew whither." Letters came from him to his good old father at Whitbury, from all parts of the world, often containing valuable scientific notes and specimens, and always indicating that Tom had a merry heart and was prospering. After two years, however, there was a dreary silence; months passed by, and brought no tidings; when one fine morning, about four years after he had started for South America, he walked into his father's house, with his carpet bag on his shoulder, and hung his hat up in the hall, as if he had just returned from a couple of days' visit to the county town. Strange adventures had he gone through, which we have no time to relate, but we must find room for the following extract from a conversation which Tom and his "daddy," Mark and Mary, had together, over the fire, a few days after he had come home:—

" 'Now you are going to stay at home?' asked the doctor.

" 'Well, if you'll take me in, daddy, I'll send for my traps from London, and stay a month or so.'

" 'A month?' cried the forlorn father.

" 'Well, daddy, you see, there is a chance of more fighting in Mexico, and I shall see such practice there, besides meeting old friends who were with me in Texas. And—and I've got a little commission, too, down in Georgia, that I should like to go and do.'

" 'What is that?'

" 'Well,—it's a long story, and a sad one; but there was a poor Yankee surgeon with the army in Circassia—a Southerner, and a very good fellow; and he had taken a fancy to some coloured girl at home—poor fellow, he used to go half mad about her sometimes, when he was talking to me, for fear she should have been sold—sent to the New Orleans market, or some other devilry; and what could I say to comfort him? Well, he got his mittimus by one of Schamyl's bullets, and when he was dying, he made me promise (I hadn't the heart to refuse) to take all his savings, which he had been hoarding

for years for no other purpose, and see if I couldn't buy the girl, and get her away to Canada. I was a fool for promising. It was no concern of mine; but the poor fellow wouldn't die in peace else. So what must be, must.'

"'Oh, go! go!' said Mary. 'You will let him go, Dr. Thurnall, and see the poor girl free? Think how dreadful it must be to be a slave.'

"'I will, my little Miss Mary; and for more reasons than you think of. Little do you know how dreadful it is to be a slave.'

"'Hum!' said Mark Armsworth. 'That's a queer story, Tom; have you got the poor fellow's money? Didn't lose it when you were taken by those Tartars?'

"'Not I. I wasn't so green as to carry it with me. It ought to have been in England six months ago. My only fear is, it's not enough.'

"'Hum!' said Mark. 'How much do you think you'll want?'

"'Heaven knows. There is a thousand dollars; but if she be half as beautiful as poor Wyse used to swear she was, I may want more than double that.'

"'If you do, pay it, and I'll pay you again. No, by George!' said Mark, 'no one shall say that while Mark Armsworth had a balance at his banker's, he let a poor girl—' and recollecting Mary's presence, he finished his sentence by sundry stamps and thumps on the table."—P. 24.

After a month at home, Tom started for America, executed his commission, and then came letters from New York, from California, and at last from Australia, where he was working with thousands more at the gold diggings of Ballarat. Tidings reached him there, under which his strong nature for a time gave way; his brother Willy was dead, his father was blind. We believe that many a hard, stoical, irreligious man has sometimes felt what came upon poor Tom in the forest, after reading the letter which informed him of these troubles.

"He looked up. The sun was setting. Beneath the dark roof of evergreens the eucalyptus boles stood out, like basalt pillars, black against a back-ground of burning flame. The flying foxes shot from tree to tree, and moths as big as sparrows whirled about the trunks, one moment black against the glare beyond, and vanishing the next, like imps of darkness, into their native gloom. There was no sound of living thing around, save the ghastly rattle of the dead bark-tassels which swung from every tree, and, far away, the faint clicking of the diggers at their work, like the rustle of a gigantic ant-hill. Was there one among them all who cared for him? Who would not forget him in a week, with—'Well, he was pleasant company, poor fellow!'—and go on digging without a sigh? What if it were his fate to die, as he had seen many a stronger man, there in that lonely wilderness, and sleep for ever, unhonoured and unknown, beneath

that awful forest-roof, while his father looked for bread to others' hands?

"No man was less sentimental, no man less superstitious, than Thomas Thurnall; but crushed and softened—all but terrified (as who would not have been?)—by that day's news, he could not struggle against the weight of loneliness which fell upon him. For the first and last time, perhaps, in his life, he felt fear—a vague, awful dread of unseen and inevitable possibilities. Why should not calamity fall on him, wave after wave? Was it not falling on him already? Why should he not grow sick to-morrow—break his leg—his neck—why not? What guarantee had he in earth or heaven that he might not be 'snuffed out silently,' as he had seen hundreds already, and die and leave no sign? And there sprung up in him at once the intensest yearning after his father and the haunts of his boyhood, and the wildest dread that he should never see them. Might not his father be dead ere he could return?—if ever he did return. That twelve thousand miles of sea looked to him a gulf impassable. Oh, that he were safe at home! that he could start that moment! And for one minute a helplessness, as of a lost child, came over him.

"Perhaps it had been well for him had he given that feeling vent, and, confessing himself a lost child, cried out of the darkness to a Father; but the next minute he had dashed it proudly away."—P. 37.

A few months after this, the south-west coast of England was visited by a terrible storm. A fine Australian vessel, full of emigrants returning to the land of their fathers, is driving up the channel before a furious gale, the captain fancying they had plenty of sea-room, and expecting "to see Brest harbour to-morrow." Suddenly, at the dead of night, in a tremendous tempest of rain and wind, the good ship is on the rocks, about three hundred yards from shore. All Aberalva is immediately on the beach: the coast-guard lieutenant, old Captain Willis, and a score of rough, strong, daring seamen; Frank Headley, the new curate, Grace Harvey, the schoolmistress, and Vavasour the poet, who has come down to make capital of the wreck. And very sad were the hearts of the brave people when, after they have done their best, life is rescued and the ship herself disappears under the roaring, restless waste of waters.

"'It arn't the men I care for,' says gentleman Jan, one of the noblest of the hardy fellows, 'they're gone to heaven like all brave sailors do as dies by wrack and battle; but the poor dear ship, d'ye see, Captain Willis; she han't no heaven to go to, and that's why I feels for her so.'"

As soon as the vessel broke up, Vavasour went off home to dash down his fancies while the fury of the scene was still upon him; the rest sat still on the shore in the rain and the wind, too sad and anxious to think of sleep. As they sit there, Grace

Harvey suddenly springs to her feet, screaming: "A man! a man! save him!" and a wretched, helpless-looking fellow is driven within thirty yards of their feet by a huge wave; and as the waters drain back he is left clinging with outspread arms to a slippery rock; but between him and them there stretches a long, yawning chasm, ten feet wide, near to which not the most courageous dared to venture when the sea was rushing so furiously over it. In a moment another wave has come.

"Up the slope it swept, one half of it burying the wretched mariner, and fell over into the chasm. The other half rushed up the chasm itself and spouted forth again to the moonlight in columns of snow, in time to meet the wave from which it had just parted, as it fell from above; and then the two boiled up, and round, and over, and swirled along the smooth rock to their very feet.

"The schoolmistress took one long look, and, as the wave retired, rushed after it to the very brink of the chasm, and flung herself on her knees.

" 'She's 'mazed!'

" 'No, she's not!' almost screamed old Willis, in mingled pride and terror, as he rushed after her. 'The wave has carried him across the crack, and she's got him!' And he sprang upon her and caught her round the waist.

" 'Now, if you be men!' shouted he, as the rest hurried down.

" 'Now, if you be men, before the next wave comes!' shouted big Jan. 'Hands together and make a line!' And he took a grip with one hand of the old man's waistband, and held out the other hand for who would to seize.

"Who took it? Frank Headly the curate, who had been watching all sadly apart, longing to do something which no one could mistake.

" 'Be you man enough?' asked big Jan, doubtfully.

" 'Try,' said Frank.

" 'Really you ben't, sir,' said Jan, civilly enough. 'Means no offence, sir; your heart's stout enough, I see; but you don't know what it'll be.' And he caught the hand of a huge fellow next him, while Frank shrank sadly back into the darkness.

"Strong hand after hand was clasped, and strong knee after knee dropped almost to the rock, to meet the coming rush of water; and all who knew their business took a long breath—they might have need of one. It came, and surged over the man and the girl, and up to old Willis's throat, and round the knees of Jan and his neighbour; and then followed the returning out-draught, and every limb quivered with the strain; but when the cataract had disappeared, the chain was still unbroken.

" 'Saved!' and a cheer broke from all lips, save those of the girl herself: she was as senseless as he whom she had saved. They hurried her and him up the rock ere another wave could come; but they had much ado to open her hands, so firmly clenched together were they round his waist.

"Gently they lifted each, and laid them on the rock, while old Willis, having recovered his breath, set to work, crying like a child, to restore breath to 'his maiden.'"—P. 88.

Poor Tom, for it is he who has been washed on shore in this wonderful way and saved by a more wonderful heroism, is carried up to Dr. Heale's, and next morning he is almost himself again, his great trouble being that a certain belt in which he had packed away his Australian earnings, amounting to fifteen hundred pounds, has disappeared. He had it round him when the ship struck; how could it have been lost? He resolved to stay at Aberalva till he learned something about it. Accordingly, he let old Dr. Heale know that he intended to become his assistant; the old man was obliged to consent, and by his medical skill, and universal tact and cleverness, Tom became, before long, the most popular man in the village.

He soon found out that the most unpopular man there was the curate; and many a dissenting minister, as well as high-church clergyman, may find wisdom in poor Frank Headley's early failure in his spiritual work and ultimate success. He had come down to Aberalva with boundless faith in his church system, honestly devoted to the glorious ideal of an ecclesiastical constitution, founded by inspired apostles, and governed by a long succession of bishops, illustrious many of them for their learning, many for their holiness, many for their courageous vindication of the rights of the church against the ambitious tyranny of wicked princes, many for their crown of martyrdom, and all for their uninterrupted inheritance of lofty and mysterious spiritual powers, in virtue of which they were the acknowledged representatives of heaven on earth, and the efficient mediators between earth and heaven;—a constitution which had been loved and venerated by the most saintly of mankind, and had been the rest and the home of thousands of troubled and wearied souls who had sought in vain for peace elsewhere;—not the mean device of some obscure sect, but national by virtue of its essential principles, and endowed with ancient and immortal glory;—not the scheme of some petty modern school of ignorant and self-confident divines, but venerable for its antiquity, awful in its prerogatives, catholic in its breadth, and resistless in its might.

Never dream that the history of Puseyism and of high-church principles can be explained by anybody who has witnessed the popish mummeries celebrated by some effeminate-looking curate in a suburban church; such creatures as he did little enough towards filling Europe with the strange intelligence that England was beginning to worship the beast again, and was willing

to receive his mark in her forehead. Frank was a man of another sort. He believed with all his soul and strength in his splendid fancy of an episcopal church founded by the apostles, and inheriting tremendous and inalienable responsibilities, prerogatives, and powers. The long procession of bishops, martyrs, and saints, by whom in dark and adverse days the cause of the true church had been maintained, floated continually before the vision of his enthusiastic soul; and he determined to be their humble follower. A year or two before our story introduces him to us, he had gone down to Aberalva with the resolute purpose of constraining the simple people to share his own fervour, and he had utterly failed. The reason is not far to seek. He had put the means before the end; had cared more about the way in which people served God than about the service itself; more, in short, about what he thought the divine form of the religious life than about what even he believed to be the diviner substance underneath. Grace Harvey was school-mistress, and exercised a most beneficial influence over all the village; but her mother was a prominent dissenter, and Grace herself often went to the conventicle; so he resolved to dismiss her, and to teach the children himself, not being able to afford out of his wretched salary to pay a regularly qualified teacher. Some hint of this had got out, and completed his unpopularity. His courage on the night of the wreck, however, opened the hearts of the people to him for the first time; Tom Thurnall's common sense enlightened him a little about his mistakes; and then came a terrible visitation of cholera, in which his nobleness and daring gathered to him the love and admiration of the whole population. He learned that a priest must be a man as well as a priest, or men will not feel the power of his teaching; that the forms of religion are worthless compared with religion itself, and that whoever does not believe this, and practically act on the belief, will repel men from the church instead of conciliating them.

Tom's advice to Frank had more sense in it, we venture to say, than many an "ordination charge." We give it for the special benefit of our ministerial readers. Tom wanted Headley to talk to Vavasour about his ill-temper towards his wife, and the curate felt unwilling to attempt so unpleasant a duty; in the course of their conversation the medical doctor says to the doctor of souls:—

“ ‘ The fault of your cloth seems to me to be that they apply their medicines without deigning, most of them, to take the least diagnosis of the case. How could I cure a man without first examining what was the matter with him? . . . You wouldn't say that what was the



matter with old Heale (who was fond of the brandy bottle), was the matter also with Vavasour?’

“‘I believe from my heart it is.’

“‘Humph! then you know the symptoms of his complaint?’

“‘I know that he never comes to church.’

“‘Nothing more? I am really speaking in confidence. You surely have heard of disagreements between him and Mrs. Vavasour?’

“‘Never, I assure you; you shock me.’

“‘I am exceedingly sorry, then, that I said a word about it; but the whole parish talks of it,’ answered Tom, who was surprised at this fresh proof of the little confidence which Aberalva put in their parson.

“‘Ah!’ said Frank, sadly, ‘I am the last person in the parish to hear any news; but this is very distressing.’

“‘Very to me. My honour, to tell you the truth, as a medical man, is concerned in the matter; for she is growing quite ill from unhappiness, and I cannot cure her; so I come to you, as soul-doctor, to do what I, the body-doctor, cannot.’

“Frank sat pondering for a minute, and then—

“‘You set me on a task for which I am as little fit as any man, by your own showing. What do I know of disagreements between man and wife? And one has a delicacy about offering her comfort. She must bestow her confidence on me before I can use it; while he —’

“‘While he, as the cause of the disease, is what you ought to treat; and not her unhappiness, which is only a symptom of it.’

“‘Spoken like a wise doctor; but, to tell you the truth, Thurnall, I have no influence over Mr. Vavasour, and see no means of getting any. If he recognised my authority, as his parish-priest, then I should see my way. Let him be as bad as he might, I should have a fixed point from which to work; but with his free-thinking notions, I know well—one can judge it too easily from his poems—he would look on me as a pedant, assuming a spiritual tyranny to which I have no claim.’

“Tom sat awile nursing his knee, and then—

“‘If you saw a man fallen into the water, what do you think would be the shortest way to prove to him that you had authority from heaven to pull him out? Do you give it up? Pulling him out, would it not be, without more ado?’

“‘I should be happy enough to pull poor Vavasour out, if he would let me. But till he believes that I can do it, how can I even begin?’

“‘How can you expect him to believe, if he has no proof?’

“‘There are proofs enough in the Bible and elsewhere, if he will but accept them. If he refuses to examine into the credentials, the fault is his, not mine. I really do not wish to be hard; but would not you do the same, if any one refused to employ you, because he chose to deny that you were a legally qualified practitioner?’

“‘Not so badly put; but what should I do in that case? Go on quietly curing his neighbours, till he began to alter his mind as to my qualifications, and came in to be cured himself. But here’s this difference between you and me; I am not bound to attend any-

one who don't send for me ; while you think that you are, and carry the notion a little too far, for I expect you to kill yourself by it some day.'

" ' Well,' said Frank, with something of that lazy, Oxford tone, which is intended to save the speaker the trouble of giving his arguments when he has already made up his mind, or thinks that he has so done.

" ' Well, if I thought myself bound to doctor the man willy-nilly, as you do, I would certainly go to him, and show him, at least, that I understood his complaint. That would be the first step towards his letting me cure him. How else on earth do you fancy that Paul cured those Corinthians about whom I have been reading lately ? '

" ' Are you, too, going to quote Scripture against me ? I am glad to find that your studies extend to St. Paul.'

" ' To tell you the truth, your sermon last Sunday puzzled me. I could not comprehend (on your showing) how Paul got that wonderful influence over those pagans which he evidently had ; and, as how to get influence is a very favourite study of mine, I borrowed the book when I went home, and read for myself ; and the matter at last seemed clear enough, on Paul's own showing.'

" ' I don't doubt that ; but I suspect your interpretation of the fact and mine would not agree.'

" ' Mine is simple enough ; he says, what proved him to be an apostle was his power. He is continually appealing to his power ; and what can he mean by that, but that he could do, and had done, what he professed to do ? He promised to make those poor heathen rascals of Greeks better, and wiser, and happier men ; and, I suppose he made them so ; and then there was no doubt of his commission, or his authority, or anything else. He says, himself, he did not require any credentials, for they were his credentials read and known of everyone ; he had made good men of them out of bad ones, and that was proof enough whose apostle he was.'

" ' Well,' said Frank, half sadly, ' I might say a great deal, of course, on the other side of the question, but I prefer hearing what you laymen think about it all.'

" ' Will you be angry if I tell you honestly ? '

" ' Did you ever find me angry at anything you said ? '

" ' No ; I will do you the justice to say that. Well, what we laymen say is this. If the parsons have the authority of which they boast, why don't they use it ? If they have commission to make bad people good, they must have power too ; for He whose commission they claim, is not likely, I should suppose, to set a man to do what he cannot do.'

" ' And we can do it, if people would but submit to us. It all comes round again to the same point.'

" ' So it does. How to get them to listen. I tried to find out how Paul achieved the first step ; and when I looked he told me plainly enough. By becoming all things to all men ; by showing these people that he understood them, and knew what was the matter with them. Now do you go and do likewise by Vavasour, and then

exercise your authority like a practical man. If you have power to bind and loose, as you told us last Sunday, bind that fellow's ungovernable temper, and loose him from the real slavery which he is in, to his miserable conceit and self-indulgence; and then if he does not believe in your sacerdotal power, he is even a greater fool than I take him for.'

"'Honestly, I will try; God help me!' added Frank, in a lower voice; 'but as for quarrels between man and wife, as I told you, no one understands them less than I.'

"'Then marry a wife yourself, and quarrel a little with her for experiment, and then you'll know all about it.'

"Frank laughed in spite of himself.

"'Thank you. No man is less likely to try that experiment than I.'

"'Hum!'

"'I have quite enough cares as a bachelor to distract me from my work, without adding to them those of a wife and family, and those little home-lessons in the frailty of human nature, in which you advise me to copy Mr. Vavasour.'

"'And so,' said Tom, 'having to doctor human beings, nineteen-twentieths of whom are married; and being aware that three parts of the miseries of human life come either from wanting to be married, or from married cares and troubles, you think that you will improve your chance of doctoring your flock rightly by avoiding carefully the least practical acquaintance with the chief cause of their disease.'

"Philosophical and logical, truly!"—P. 289.

We mentioned, just now, Frank Headley's intention to eject Grace Harvey, the schismatic schoolmistress; the alarm he felt on account of her formidable influence, and the heroism she exhibited on the night of the wreck, may have excited, perhaps, some wish to know more about her; and as she fills a very prominent position in Mr. Kingsley's book, and had very much to do in determining the character and history of some of the most prominent of his heroes, we must find room for a rough chalk-sketch of her in our gallery of portraits, whether we have already awakened any interest in her or not.

And could we, indeed, let our readers look upon the roughest outline of her lovely face, we think that the beautiful vision would often return to them as it did to Tom Thurnall. But she had more than physical beauty. She was one of those thoughtful, refined women to be met with occasionally among the poorer people, whose devoutness, purity, and intelligence, strength of character, depth of feeling, gentleness and vigour, would have given them power over the hearts of all who knew them, in whatever rank they had been born; but whose innate nobleness is more readily appreciated and more loyally honoured by the poor than it would have been by the rich. The courtesies and

culture of the higher ranks do much to reduce the most various degrees of power and virtue to one level in ordinary social intercourse. It is not so among the poor. Among them men pass more commonly for what they are worth. No elaborate workmanship makes the worthless alloy look almost as precious as the virgin gold. The principle holds true of mere personal beauty; there is a marked and manifest distinction between a beautiful and a plain girl who are at work together in a cotton mill, or gleaning in a harvest field; but at a fashionable ball, costliness and tastefulness of dress, and the grace of movement which most may acquire more or less perfectly from constant association with refined and cultivated people, while they add something to the face and figure of the woman who would be beautiful without them, add very much more to her who possesses no natural attractions. The mutual dependence of the poor, too, multiplies the opportunities for the strong manifestation of interior worth; what hired servants do for the wealthy is done for the poor by unselfish neighbours and generous friends. Hence, there is a more accurate adjustment of position and influence, according to personal excellence and power, among the working people than among their betters; and Grace came to be the uncrowned queen of Aberalva. Her religion was a main element of her strength. It was remarkable, not only for its practical vigour, but for its imaginativeness and enthusiasm, too. She belonged to a sect which attaches peculiar value to the excitement of the religious affections, and while she did not share their pernicious follies, her nature had too much wildness of its own not to catch something of their fervour. On one subject her excitement became almost insanity; she had lost a younger brother and a playmate by drowning, and the sorrow of the loss, combined with anxiety about their eternal happiness, had driven her nearly mad. Mr. Kingsley, we think, would have his readers suppose, that the doctrine of future punishment is not believed at all by those who profess to hold it, or, that if it is, the moral effects must be most disastrous. We think that an honest study of the New Testament would have led him to see, that whatever other doctrine our inclination may dispose us to prefer, Christ and his apostles place before the world a choice between absolute blessedness on the one hand, and absolute woe on the other; and further, that a deep acquaintance with human nature justifies the presentation of this terrible alternative, by its unique and peculiar moral power over the heart and conscience of the great mass of mankind. Mr. Kingsley seizes several opportunities to introduce his opinions on this point: we must be content with a passing protest.

Tom's rescue from shipwreck brought a new sorrow to Grace.

She was the only person to whose hands he could trace his belt; and he did not scruple to let her know the suspicions which circumstances compelled him to entertain. She loved him with all the energy of her passionate nature, though she never dreamt of a gentleman like Tom making her his wife; and it was anguish to be suspected of having robbed him. Tom loved her, too, and thought of marrying her; but he very naturally felt it would be a satisfaction to be sure first that she was no thief. He was incessantly looking for his belt, under the cover of polypus hunting; she began to suspect her mother, (the class-leader!) and found it more dreadful to suspect her than to be suspected herself. The cholera came; and Tom, Frank, and Grace worked together like demi-gods, till Frank gave proofs of mortal weakness by sinking under the terrible disease. When the attack was over he had to be carried off by the master of Penalva Court, Lord Scoutbush, to Wales, where Vavasour and all his family were already settled. Tom began to get restless when he had seen the last of the cholera, thought he should make a fool of himself with the schoolmistress if he stayed near her much longer (poor fellow! he had done it already); and was thrown into ecstasies by an offer which came to him through Lord Minchampstead, of government employment in the East, requiring great daring, adroitness, and self-reliance. To the East he went—his belt still unfound.

But we have anticipated the progress of the story by some months. At Beddgelert, where a large party of our friends have been staying during the cholera, sad mischief has been brewing. Poor Vavasour, conscious of his ill-temper to his wife, and conscious, too, of how he had given her occasion to be jealous of his attentions to her brilliant sister, Valencia, who is afterwards married to the curate, was morbidly watchful of any acts of courtesy performed to her by others, and became a mad-man if she appeared to be gratified by them. We shall not weary our readers with the story of his blind rage; let it be enough to say, that his poor little wife had an old friend, Major Campbell, who had loved her long before she knew Elsley, and had loved her far more deeply than Elsley could have loved her, or any other woman, but towards whom she cherished an affection like that which she might have felt for an elder brother or kindly guardian; and that this friend by some slight attentions, such as any gallant gentleman would show to a lady, excited the wretched husband's suspicions. Wild with jealousy, he deserted his wife and children; spent an awful night among the mountains; was found at last in London, in miserable lodgings which he had occupied in earlier days, and died soon after at Whitbury with his wife, whose love for him had never failed,

weeping by his bed. Sad indeed was the life of poor John Briggs, and not without most precious teaching for men who will more readily listen to Mr. Kingsley than to graver and sterner preachers.

Tom's ambition received a check, but his life exhibits a pleasant contrast to the dreary history of his early companion.

Last Christmas-eve, Mr. Kingsley tells us, some friends were gathered at Whitbury, in the house of the good physician, under whose roof Grace had been living since her return from the hospitals in the East, about her visit to which we have been able to say nothing, when suddenly walked in "thin, sallow, bearded to the eyes, dressed in ragged sailor's clothes," Tom Thurnall, of whom nothing had been heard for many months. He had been shut up in prison, by a villanous khan, almost as soon as the war begun, so that his talents had been lost, and all his bright schemes had been frustrated. Of course there was nothing for him to do but to marry Grace at once, who had found the belt, and settle down quietly at Whitbury; and when we go that way we hope to see Tom and Grace living happily together, Tom a devouter man than he used to be, and Grace with the advantages of culture added to the original nobleness of her nature. How happy must the old man be with his son safe at home, never to wander any more; and with such a daughter as Grace to tend him with her gentle and loving service!

And now, before we say anything about this pleasant book, we must ask our readers to appreciate our critical integrity in resolving to pass judgment upon it at all. If they knew the sorrows of reviewers; the hardships which we, the adventurous pioneers of literature, have to undergo, for the benefit of a sometimes ungrateful public;—if they knew into what barren wildernesses we have to venture, what steep and chilly mountains we have to climb, and into what terrible bogs we sometimes sink, while investigating, in their service, the *terra incognita* presented by every new book that issues from the too prolific press, they would marvel how we could have the heart coolly to criticize such a readable book as Mr. Kingsley's "Two Years Ago," instead of simply enjoying it. And, to tell the truth, recent wanderings over continents of literary dulness have made us

"To his virtues very kind,  
And to his faults a little blind."

But we have some things to say against the book, as well as some in its favour, and both must be said.

We have a strong conviction that very many of the chapters have been written hastily, and have not had very careful revision.



Reviewers' English is proverbially slipshod; we must write as we run; but a clergyman, with a good living, who is not writing for his bread, and whose flanks are spared the spurs of an impatient editor, may take his own time, and ought to write his best. Mr. Kingsley, we are sure, has too much good sense to despise accuracy; and, when he pleases, his English is as correct as it is brilliant. If he wrote less, he would write much better.

We are astonished, too, that he should have made his introductory chapter so incomprehensible. It ought to have stood last instead of first. He intended that it should awaken a desire to know everything about the people who are brought into it; but the allusions they make to facts, of which the reader must be ignorant till he has read nearly all the book, fail to stimulate curiosity; they are simply unintelligible.

Against Mr. Kingsley's references to the doctrine of future punishment, we have already protested. Will he permit us further to suggest, that in any future stories he may write, it would be well for him to dispense with dissenting characters, unless, in the meantime, he gets to know something more about the moral principles, and the modes of thinking, which really belong to Evangelical Nonconformists. We think we know as much about dissenters as the Rector of Eversley, and we emphatically protest against the honesty of his method of treating them. Charles Kingsley ought to be superior to the prejudices of his cloth.

The social questions, incidentally raised in the course of the narrative, are very various and important. We can refer only to one, about which we have had many anxious thoughts of our own. We must be satisfied with simply giving the following extract, without any comment; it deserves to be very carefully pondered:—

"Who will help those young girls of the middle class, who, like Miss Heale, are often really less educated than the children of their parents' workmen; sedentary, luxurious, full of petty vanity, gossip, and intrigue, without work, without purpose, except that of getting married to any one who will ask them—bewildering brain and heart with novels, which, after all, one hardly grudges them; for what other means have they of learning that there is any fairer, nobler life possible, at least on earth, than that of the sordid money-getting, often the sordid puffery and adulteration, which is the atmosphere of their home?

"Exceptions there are, in thousands, doubtless; and the families of the great City tradesmen stand, of course, on far higher ground, and are often far better educated, and more high-minded, than the fine ladies, their parents' customers. But, till some better plan of education than the boarding-school is devised for them; till our towns shall see something like in kind to, though sounder and soberer in

quality than, the high schools of America; till in country villages the ladies, who interest themselves about the poor, will recollect that the farmers' and tradesmen's daughters are just as much in want of their influence as the charity children, and will yield a far richer return for their labour, though the one need not interfere with the other: so long will England be full of Miss Heales's; fated, when they marry, to bring up sons and daughters as sordid and unwholesome as their mothers."—P. 204.

The great moral of the book, however, is to be found in the weakness and miseries of Elsley Vavasour; and the moral is enforced by the history of Stangrave, an episode which is worked very skilfully into the texture of the main plot. Stangrave is an educated American, rich, luxurious, and without any purpose in life except his own pleasure and culture. He is an admirable type of a large class of men among us; highly cultivated, refined, fastidious men, without vice, with a keen sense of personal honour; but incapable of an heroic passion, or of living for any great, practical end. Visions of moral beauty fill their imagination, but no moral strength nerves their arm, no good work gives dignity and public value to their life. Our modern worship of Art has had much to do with creating these intellectual epicureans; and until our cultivated young men see that pictures, and statues, and poems, are not the noblest things in the world, nor the worthiest objects of human study, the best work will continue to be done by the hands of men who, with less refinement, have more strength, and who, with less admiration for the beauty of virtue, have more loyalty for her authority. It is the grief of nearly all who are strenuously endeavouring to do the highest spiritual work, that they find little practical sympathy among the best cultivated people of their acquaintance, and that the few who do give help are far less reliable than men of inferior qualifications. General public business, social amelioration, political reform, are as unable to secure the hearty co-operation of these men as enterprises purely religious. It was not always thus. Even in practical England, scholarship and genius have proved themselves infinitely more capable of doing all kinds of work than self-sufficient dulness, or than mere official experience, however honest and laborious. We trust it may be so again. We trust that our younger men will get weary of polishing their armour and decorating their sword-hilts, and that they will prove that the gentlemen of England—we mean the thoroughly educated men in the country—have not lost the sinew and nerve of their fathers. We thank Mr. Kingsley for the admirable manner in which he has vindicated the claims of honest work against mere selfish culture.

Stangrave is rescued from his luxurious intellectualism by his

love for the beautiful slave for whom Tom Thurnall went to Georgia; Elsley Vavasour dies a victim of his false estimate of the relative worth of genius and righteousness; even his genius failed to accomplish all that it was capable of, through the self-indulgence and feebleness of his moral nature. Poor fellow! we fear there are many like him, who forget that a man of genius is one of God's creatures, like the rest of us, under the authority of God's laws, and liable to all the penalties of transgression that come upon common people; who forget that He who made them cares far more for self-denial, integrity, truthfulness, than for all the pleasant fancies with which their brains are teeming; and that the constitution of their entire nature has been determined by this preference. The man who aspires to be enthroned over the hearts of mankind, must first rule himself, and serve God. Genius itself cannot lessen the obligations of virtue; wherever they are violated, the punishment, though sometimes slow, is always certain; and he whose natural powers made him capable of the highest excellence, instead of being able to evade the consequences of his folly and sin, will only suffer the more shamefully. We wish that all our free-living literary men would lay to heart the history of poor John Briggs *alias* Elsley Vavasour.

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#### ART. IV.—CHRISTIANITY AND HINDUISM.

1. *A Dialogue on the Knowledge of a Supreme Lord; in which are compared the Claims of Christianity and Hinduism.* By Rowland Williams. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co. 1856.
2. *The Bhilsa Topes.* By Major Cunningham. London. 1854.
3. *Christ and other Masters.* Part II. *Religions of India.* By Charles Hardwicke, M.A., Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1857.
4. *Proceedings of a General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries held at Calcutta, September, 1855.* Calcutta. 1855.

Nor long ago we heard one of Beethoven's wildest and most wonderful creations given with exciting earnestness by a skilful and well-disciplined orchestra, and the strange, unearthly music has been haunting us ever since. When once heard, the enchantment cannot be forgotten; the wailings, the broken-hearted sadness, the fury, the mystery, the triumphant raptures of that marvellous composition must leave their echoes resounding

for a long while afterwards through the open halls and secret passages of the soul. Several times we have tried to translate the mysterious spirit and meaning of the music into another language than that which, after all, has the richest and most varied resources for expressing them; and, at last, we have fancied that, if a magician like Turner were with us still, the colours and forms, the lights and shadows of the painter's art might be made to interpret something of the passion and purpose of the great musician. Such an artist might represent on canvas a heaven stretching away into wildernesses of space, lying far beyond the blue canopy which bounds the vision of the eye of sense, and half revealing the dim and silent habitations of disembodied souls; storm-clouds piled from horizon to zenith, confused, cumbrous, threatening, and throwing huge shadows on the earth beneath; the earth itself burdened with formless mountains, matted with forests of ancient growth, peopled with terrible and spectral shapes, bearing, nevertheless, bright traces of celestial beauty: the whole looking like the sudden and marvellous creation of some mighty but insane divinity.

Through such a region, and surrounded by such scenery, the mind which has been disciplined by Western culture seems to be travelling while carrying on its researches among the strange and gigantic mythologies of the East. No firm outline, no substantial reality, can be found among them all. We seem to be in dream-land rather than in a world of organized thought. Only in the proportion in which these vast and shadowy theories have felt the influences of the European intellect have they been compelled to assume something like the appearance of consistent and credible systems; as we recede from the healthy and bracing atmosphere of the West, and penetrate farther into Asia, they become increasingly wild, irregular, and unreal. The Gnosticism which invaded the ancient church, becomes the soberest sense, and the most unromantic prose, when compared with the monstrous fancies of Hindustan.

It is not our intention to burden these pages with the legends of the Védas, or with tedious extracts from the heroic poems or the Puránás of the later Hinduism; but simply to present such an outline of the various developments of religious thought and life exhibited in the present condition and the past history of our fellow-subjects in the East, as shall excite some interest—where interest has not been felt before—in what is by no means an unimportant chapter in the history of humanity. We have also some hope of making the pathway through the wilderness of Hindu thought a little plainer and easier to others than it has been to ourselves; and, finally, we are anxious to do something for the cause of Christianity in India by assisting our readers to

understand the nature and magnitude of the antagonistic forces against which it has to contend.

We referred just now to the Védas: everybody knows that these are the holy scriptures of the Hindu, and that with the exception of the earlier books of the Old Testament, they are the most ancient writings which the world contains. It is impossible to refer them with confidence to any exact date, but their great antiquity is too firmly demonstrated to admit of serious question. There seems to be good reason for believing that the earlier Védas were written at least two hundred years before the time of Samuel, and some eminent Oriental critics affirm that they ought to be placed not later than the date of the Jewish Exodus. Competent scholars assure us that the language in which they are written differs as much from the Sanskrit of the classic ages as the Latin of the age of Numa from the Latin of the age of Cicero. A still more important line of evidence arises from the contrast between the theology of the Védas, and that of a subsequent era, which itself lies some centuries before the coming of Christ, a contrast so broad and emphatic, and involving such vital and essential elements of religious faith and practice, that it is very hard to imagine how the founders of the more modern Hinduism could have regarded the ancient books as sacred and divine. The laws of Manu, in which some of the most important elements of the existing system begin to appear, must be placed as high as the fifth century before Christ, and ought, perhaps, to be assigned to a much earlier date. But such a revolution of religious thought and organization as is implied in the contrast between the Védas and the system of Manu, must have extended over many hundred years; and hence, even in the age of Manu, a hoary antiquity already belonged to the books which he regarded with religious reverence, though he presumed not only to develope, but to supplement and modify, their teaching.

It is important also to remember that the authority of the Védas is recognised by the heretics of India as well as by the orthodox, although some of these heretics have a history which reaches back to the era of the Babylonian exile. Commentaries on the Védas, known to be ancient, prove that the text is more ancient still. There is yet, however, very much to be done before Indian chronology can become very definite and trustworthy.

Manu speaks only of three Védas, but a fourth book which, though it was in existence when he wrote, could not then have had its present honourable position, has since been classed with them. The first three are called respectively, the "Rig-Véda," which consists of prayers in metre, and derives its name from

its laudatory character ; the “ Yajur-Véda,” which consists of prayers in prose, chiefly expressive of adoration ; the “ Sâma-Véda,” so called from its efficacy in destroying sin, and consisting of prayers to be chanted. The fourth, which may perhaps be almost as ancient as either of the others, but did not so soon secure general recognition on account of the private and personal nature of the prayers that are found in it, is called the “ Atharva-Véda.”

It is impossible to extract from these books anything approaching to a coherent and self-consistent theory of the universe ; contradictory explanations of the most fundamental facts being given on succeeding pages, under the sanction of the same authority, and without the slightest attempt at reconciliation. But these difficulties inflict no trouble on the devout Brahman, as the sense of a *mantra*, or prayer, is held by him to be of far less importance than a knowledge of its author, subject, metre, and purpose. Hence the Védas are read in the oddest and absurdest manner imaginable, sometimes backwards, sometimes forwards, sometimes only the alternate words are read, and then presently those which have just before been omitted ; and very possibly they are as edifying and intelligible when read one way as another. Copies of the sacred books may be purchased in which this dislocating and inverting process has been attended to by the scribe.

But although no complete system can be discovered in the Vaidic scriptures, and though it is scarcely possible to assert any doctrine on the authority of one passage which may not be contradicted on the authority of another, the rude outlines of a few great principles may be recognised in the midst of an unorganized chaos of conflicting legends and hostile absurdities. It cannot be denied that in these ancient books the old tradition of God’s unity still survives. The following passage from the “ Isa-Upanishad,”\* a pendant to the second Véda, is given by Hardwicke as a fair specimen of the whole.

“ One sovereign ruler pervades this world of worlds. Nurture thyself with that single thought, abandoning all others, and covet not

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\* Every Véda consists of three parts : the Véda proper, containing *mantras*, or prayers ; the Brahmanâs, which are commentaries partly liturgical and partly theological, and the Upanishads, exhibiting a fuller development of theological truth, and forming a supplement to the other sacred books. The true Vaidic system should be sought in the Védas proper ; the other two parts contain the more fully developed Hinduism. This should be remembered in estimating the worth of the extract given above from the “ Isa-Upanishad :” we have discovered no passage in the Védas proper presenting so lofty an exhibition of the divine unity and perfections. Colebrooke, however, in the eighth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, shows very clearly that they do teach monotheism.



the joys of any creature. He who in this life performs his religious duties may desire to live a hundred years; but even to the end thou shouldst leave no other occupation. It is to regions left a prey for evil spirits, and covered with eternal darkness, that those men go after death, who have corrupted their own soul. This one single spirit, which nothing can disturb, is swifter than the thought of man. This primal ruler the *dévas* even cannot overtake. Unmoved itself, it infinitely transcends all others, however rapid be their course. It moves the universe at its pleasure; it is distant from us, and yet very near to all things; it pervades this entire universe, and yet is infinitely beyond it. The man who has learned to recognise all beings in this supreme spirit, and this supreme spirit in all beings, can henceforth look upon no creature with contempt. The man who understands that all beings only exist in this single being; the man who is made conscious of such profound identity, what trouble or what pain can touch him? He then arrives at Brahmá himself; he is luminous, apart from body, apart from evil, apart from matter, pure, and rescued from all taint; he knows—he foreknows—he rules every thing: he sees only by himself alone, and things appear to him such as they were from all eternity—always like themselves. . . . Let the wind—the breath immortal—carry off this body of mine, which is mere ashes; but, O Brahmá, remember my intentions—remember my efforts—remember my deeds. O Agni [spirit of fire], conduct us by sure pathways to eternal happiness. O God, who knowest all beings, purify us from every sin, and we shall be enabled to consecrate to thee our holiest adorations. My mouth is seeking truth only in this golden cup. It is I, O Brahmá! I who adore thee under the form of the resplendent sun. O Sun eternal, hearken to my prayer!”

A still more remarkable passage, in reference to the monotheism of the Vaidic system, is given by Elphinstone (vol. i. p. 73, 2nd edit.) on the authority of Sir William Jones, as exhibiting what a learned Brahman imagined to be the view of the divine character as presented in the Védas:—

“Perfect truth; perfect happiness; without equal; immortal; absolute unity, whom neither speech can describe nor mind comprehend; all-pervading; all transcending; delighted with his own boundless intelligence; not limited by space or time; without feet, moving swiftly; without hands, grasping all worlds; without eyes, all-surveying; without ears, all-hearing; without an intelligent guide, understanding all; without cause, the first of all causes; all-ruling; all-powerful; the creator, preserver, transformer of all things: such is the Great One.”

But this almighty and eternal being was felt to be too distant from human sorrows and cares, human triumphs and joys, to satisfy the necessities of man's religious nature. What

the Hebrew learnt from the first pages of his holy books, and what he had learnt from his fathers before these books were written,—that it was the Supreme God himself, and not any inferior agents commissioned by him, that built up the material world for man's dwelling-place, and enriched it with all the wealth and splendours of a palace for his delight,—that it was the Supreme God himself who formed man's body out of the dust of the earth, and breathed into him the breath of life, so that in every transient suffering by which human nature is afflicted, he must have the deepest interest;—what the Hebrew learnt from Jehovah's familiar converse with Adam and Eve, from the swift vengeance he executed upon Cain, from his grief, and repentance, and anger, when the wickedness of the world had become so great, that he had to destroy it with a flood,—from his kindly intercourse with Abraham at the door of his tent about the home-life of the patriarch, his children, and his friends;—what the Hebrew learnt from the general spirit and tendency of his Scriptures, as well as from a hundred separate narratives of God's providential government recorded in them, concerning the nearness of Jehovah to the obscurest of men, in the slightest and most insignificant circumstances of their earthly history, the Hindu could not realize. The infinite attributes of the Supreme seemed to separate him from a creature so mean and contemptible as man; the creation of the universe itself was an act involving too much condescension on the part of the "High and Lofty One," to be ascribed immediately to him; and, therefore, the True God was gradually forgotten, and the inferior ministers of his power gradually came to occupy all religious thought and to absorb all public and private devotion. While the Védas certainly teach that before all men, all gods, and all worlds, there existed an infinite, eternal, and independent being, a religious system can hardly be called monotheistic which permits this great truth to be powerless and almost forgotten, while the heart and life of the people are consecrated to impure divinities.

These divinities, however, though feared, wondered at, and worshipped, were not regarded as eternal and self-existent: they came into existence after the worlds they ruled; like their worshippers, they had issued out of the infinite sea of life, and were ultimately to return to it. It is obvious that they are nothing more than the deification of the grander elements of the material universe. They have none of the attributes that constitute moral rulership; they have no individuality of character; prerogatives and powers are perpetually shifted from one god to another. So transient and uncertain are their rights and sovereignties, so inconstant their several peculiarities,

that they are mere clouds in the theological firmament, having neither regular form nor secure position. The chief gods in the Vaidic system are Indra, the god of the sun, who is regarded as the ruler of heaven; and Agni, the god of fire. Varuna, the god of water, appears to have been the third in importance and dignity.

The Védas know nothing of the famous Hindu trinity, consisting of Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva; nothing of the system of caste or the doctrine of transmigration; nothing of image-worship; nothing of widow-burning. The incarnations of Vishnu, around which are clustered the popular legends which exert the strongest influence over the Hindu of our own days, were not known even to Manu, much less to the compiler of the Védas. In short, gods and goddesses that are invested in the Védas with the highest prerogatives, have now almost disappeared among the commonalty of heaven; and others, scarcely named in the ancient scriptures, have succeeded to all their honours.

With such deities it could not be expected that the worshipper would have any strong and deep consciousness of sin. When the gods of a nation are emphatically "the rulers of this world," the givers of mere secular blessings, the moral sense of a people must soon be enfeebled; from religion, at any rate, it derives no support. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that the prayers of the Védas are chiefly for good harvests, health, and prosperity; and that the sacrifices are chiefly eucharistic rather than expiatory. The slaughter of human victims in order to appease an angry divinity is a proof of a far deeper religious life than the Vaidic system was likely to originate; and even animal sacrifices were far from common.

Our chief business is with the contents of Hinduism rather than with thorny questions about its chronology; we shall not wait, therefore, to inquire how long a period intervened between the arrangement of the Védas and the promulgation of the laws of Manu. It is clear that great as were the modifications of the earlier faith established rather than introduced by this renowned lawgiver, he retained for the ancient books a profound religious reverence. One extract from the "Laws" will set this beyond question, and also illustrate the ceremonial character of his system. "A priest," writes Manu, "who should retain in his memory the whole Rig-Véda, would be absolved from all guilt, even if he had slain the inhabitants of the three worlds, and [climax of all enormities!] had eaten food from the vilest hands." What pleasant memories visit us as we read this, of Him concerning whom it was so often said, that he was the guest of publicans and sinners, and who lovingly suffered a guilty

sister to bring her alabaster box, and pour the ointment on his head, and to wash his feet with her tears.

It was one of the advantages of the Vaidic idolatry that Indra, Agni, and Varuna were too shadowy thoroughly to satisfy the moral wants of their worshippers. Shelley tells us that Queen Mab was so unsubstantial, that—

“The broad and yellow moon  
Shone dimly through her form,  
That form of faultless symmetry ;”

the gods of the sunshine and air were equally transparent ; they had not enough of solid reality in them wholly to hide from their simple votaries the primitive tradition of the divine unity. In the “Institutes,” though this fundamental fact is recognised, the inferior divinities have more personality of character, and are invested with more definite attributes and more vigorous passions ; and are more capable, therefore, of detaining and satisfying the religious impulses of man’s heart. Mr. Hardwicke, whose book is on the whole so just and admirable that we are not inclined to say anything about the few passages that we had marked for animadversion, truly says that while :—

“In the worship of the elements, the veil between the seen and the unseen had remained comparatively slender, in the worship of anthropomorphic gods, in whom all human excellences found their utmost limit, the new object was more satisfying because it was more human, but on that account was far less calculated to suggest a higher class of truths.”

There was a second element in the “Laws” which prepared the way for the gross polytheism of the Puránas. In the Védas the distinction between the Infinite God and the worlds he had created, though not very distinctly drawn, was nevertheless preserved ; the occasional expressions which might be interpreted as teaching that he is the substance as well as the origin of the universe, probably mean nothing more than that in the highest sense he created all things, and was not the mere organizer of a pre-existent and eternal *व्यं*. In the “Institutes,” the elements of that Pantheistic theory which is the deepest and most irremediable curse of Modern India, are far more distinctly enunciated. To the interests of monotheism, therefore, the revolution signalized and consolidated by the publication of the “Laws” of Manu was most injurious.

Another result of this revolution, not less important, perhaps, than the disturbance of the ancient dynasties of heaven, and the modification of the character of the gods, was the establishment of the system of caste, though in a form different from that in

which it is now exhibited in Calcutta and Madras. In order to understand this marvellous and terrible development of Hindu religion and civilization, it may be necessary to remind some of our readers that, although some distinguished Orientalists have urged grave objections to the theory, it is generally believed that when, in the earliest and pre-historic ages the ancestors of the race that Clive found ruling in India—a race which had been there for at least three thousand years—crossed the Himalayas, to which the legends about their gods and their golden age still cling, they found the vast peninsula at their feet already partially occupied by a people inferior to themselves in spirit, courage, and general vigour of nature. The new comers, whose very name (A'ryans) indicates their proud consciousness of noble superiority, subjugated the earlier settlers, and gradually laid the foundation of an extensive and magnificent empire. In the Védas, we find indications that the conquerors were still living a pastoral life, wandering about from one valley and plain to another, like Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; simple in their habits and life, but yet by no means savages; preserving still some traditions of the primeval civilization of mankind. As their numbers multiplied, and their wanderings ceased, the form of their polity became more complex and definite. The conquered barbarians were held in stern subjection; they were branded with every symbol of ignominy and degradation. In the "Laws" of Manu it is provided that a Brahman may not read the Védas, even to himself, in the presence of one of the abject race; to teach him the law or to instruct him in the mode of expiating sin, sinks a Brahman into the hell called Aramunta. The proper names of the conquered people are to be expressive of contempt; and the religious penance for killing one of them is the same as for killing a cat, a frog, a dog, a lizard, and various other animals.\*

The degradation of the lowest or Sudra caste is compensated for by the extravagant honours conceded to the Brahman. "A Brahman is the chief of all created beings; the world and all in it are his: through him, indeed, other mortals enjoy life; by his imprecations he could destroy a king, with his troops, elephants, horses, and cars; could frame other worlds and regents of worlds, and could give being to new gods and new mortals. A Brahman is to be treated with more respect than a king. His life and person are protected by the severest laws in this world, and the most tremendous denunciations for the

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\* A most admirable account of the system of caste, and of the "Laws" of Manu generally, is given by Elphinstone in his "History of India," to which we are indebted for many of the particulars given above.

next. He is exempt from capital punishment, even for the most enormous crimes. His offences against other classes are treated with remarkable lenity, while all offences against him are punished with ten-fold severity." Every one who has been in the habit of reading Indian missionary intelligence, or who has listened to the speeches of missionaries who have laboured in India, must be familiar with many illustrations of the social influence of the Brahmanical dignity; the humiliation and the prostrate submission which the inferior castes are compelled to exhibit towards those that sprang from the head of Brahmá.

In the "Institutes," the interval between the Brahman and the Sudra is filled up by the Cshatriyas and the Veisyas; the first constituting the military and political class of the community, and the second the commercial and agricultural. All the first three classes are invested at a certain age with the sacred cord, which indicates that they are "twice-born men; but that of the Brahman is of cotton, that of the Cshatriya of lint, and that of the Veisya of wool. Originally, too, all who wore the "janua," were permitted to read the Védas; but this privilege has gradually come to belong to the Brahmans alone. Though the names of the second and third castes still exist, and those who belong to them earnestly insist on their dignities and prerogatives, the Cshatriyas and Veisyas have lost very much of their ancient precedence; and in some parts of India, the Sudras have been able to win considerable respectability. It must be remembered, however, that though the people of India may be roughly divided into these four classes, every caste has multifarious subdivisions, maintained, of course, with almost more stubbornness than the greater distinctions with which we are most familiar, and utterly baffling by their complexity and minuteness the comprehension of all Europeans who have not been resident in the country.

The *principle* of this system of caste is certainly as old as Manu; the subsequent modifications of it, as we have intimated, have been considerable; how much more ancient it is, and how it arose, we are not yet in a position confidently to determine. While we are disposed to agree with those scholars who think that the Sudras are the ancient settlers who yielded to the A'ryan conquerors and became a part of their social organization, and that the Pahárias are probably the degraded descendants of those who refused to accept the yoke of the invaders, and were gradually driven towards the south, where they exist in the greatest numbers, and present aspects of most miserable degradation, we cannot accept the theory which explains the distinctions between the three castes of the A'ryan race, by assigning to each a national origin fundamentally dis-



tinct from that of the others. How is it possible to believe that a foreign race of priestly scholars like the Brahmans so completely subjugated a courageous and noble people as to compel them to accept such insulting inferiority as that to which the kings and merchants, as well as the servile people, of India have had to yield? Surely, the differences now existing between the Brahmans and the rest of the community may be accounted for without resorting to our favourite doctrine of race. If when Hindu society was being consolidated, there existed a class of men conspicuous for the sanctity of their lives and for their learning, having the same blood in their veins as the prince and the trader, and distinguished only by greater devoutness and thoughtfulness, and completer consecration to the service of the gods, it is not difficult to imagine that the authority of learning, and the reverence which belongs to holiness might secure for the priestly class, first a profound respect, and then a superstitious awe. We confidently believe that if the climate of Europe had been warmer, and her soil less stubborn,—if her inhabitants had been permitted to sink into that luxurious repose into which the hardy A'ryan sunk when he had crossed the Himalayas, and found himself lord of all the splendid continent beneath,—if the wildernesses and forests of the North had never poured forth their rough and vigorous tribes to disturb the slumbers of the nations that fringed the Mediterranean Sea, and to give fresh muscle and sinew to those whom wealth, and luxury, and art had made effeminate, the Roman Catholic priesthood might gradually have won for themselves, and, in the absence of the law of celibacy, for their descendants, a pre-eminence in Europe not inferior to that which the Brahmans possess in India. And when one class of the community has monopolized through hundreds of years all learning and all religious reverence, they will infallibly be distinguished by their intellectual and physical superiority. But we have dwelt longer than we intended on the system of caste, and before we leave it can only observe, that it is quite consistent with the doctrine that all souls have a common origin. From the same fountain may originally have sprung the foulest and the purest water.

Closely connected with the system of caste is the Hindu belief in the transmigration of souls. It was probably suggested in the East, as it has been suggested in other regions, by the difficulty of reconciling the inequalities of human life and destiny with the even-handed justice of God. Why is this man born blind, and another deaf, and a third with the dim and vacant eye of idiocy, and a fourth under the tyranny of bestial passions which seem to have had their foul and loathsome dens

in his soul from his very birth? These must be the penalties of by-gone transgressions. "I was born in sin, and in iniquity did my mother conceive me," was never intended to be a scientific statement of doctrine; but it expresses a fact which burdens all thoughtful hearts. From God, the sin could not have come; there are difficulties in imagining how it could have come from our parents: surely, the infant soul has sinned by its free-will in some antecedent stage of its history, and is now suffering the natural consequences of its crimes. And when death was near, many a man would feel that he was too impure to return to Brahmá, and enjoy the blessedness of the righteous; and not unnaturally would he cling to the hope that, perhaps instead of being driven across the "fiery flood, girding the realms of Padalon around," he might be suffered to atone for his guilt by being degraded to inhabit some inferior form of animal life, while if he had done well, but belonged to an inferior caste, he might hope to be re-born as a member of an order nearer to the gods. There must be deep roots in human life and nature for a doctrine which has appeared in such different lands and ages, and which in the East has maintained its influence through so many changes of religious faith and political order.

It is evident that, owing partly to the gradual rise of a priestly caste, partly to a more settled and orderly constitution of society, which by multiplying the mutual relations of men and increasing their mutual dependence, multiplies their social duties, renders necessary a more severe and inexorable system of public law, and thus gives new definiteness and authority to the decisions of the moral judgment, the sense of sin in the Hindu mind had become profounder in the period represented by Manu than in the old Vaidic times. Nothing can be more natural or more true to all that the deepest philosophy of human life would lead us to anticipate than the evidently defective moral convictions of the Hebrew patriarchs in reference to those duties which in our modern society are authoritative, not only with religious, but with the most godless men; it is impossible for men living such a life as Abraham to feel as deeply as those involved in a complicated social system the tremendous importance of truth-speaking and integrity. The kindly, generous virtues, are cherished among a nomadic people; the firmly defined, exact duties of integrity, truthfulness, justice, are the after-growth of a more highly organized state of society. But the sense of wrong-doing can never be very profound until the sterner virtues have secured their rightful homage. Hence, among the Hindus, it had become possible in the time of Manu to sustain a more cumbrous ritual and more frequent expiatory

tinct from that of the others. How is it possible to believe that a foreign race of priestly scholars like the Brahmans so completely subjugated a courageous and noble people as to compel them to accept such insulting inferiority as that to which the kings and merchants, as well as the servile people, of India have had to yield? Surely, the differences now existing between the Brahmans and the rest of the community may be accounted for without resorting to our favourite doctrine of race. If when Hindu society was being consolidated, there existed a class of men conspicuous for the sanctity of their lives and for their learning, having the same blood in their veins as the prince and the trader, and distinguished only by greater devoutness and thoughtfulness, and completer consecration to the service of the gods, it is not difficult to imagine that the authority of learning, and the reverence which belongs to holiness might secure for the priestly class, first a profound respect, and then a superstitious awe. We confidently believe that if the climate of Europe had been warmer, and her soil less stubborn,—if her inhabitants had been permitted to sink into that luxurious repose into which the hardy A'ryan sunk when he had crossed the Himalayas, and found himself lord of all the splendid continent beneath,—if the wildernesses and forests of the North had never poured forth their rough and vigorous tribes to disturb the slumbers of the nations that fringed the Mediterranean Sea, and to give fresh muscle and sinew to those whom wealth, and luxury, and art had made effeminate, the Roman Catholic priesthood might gradually have won for themselves, and, in the absence of the law of celibacy, for their descendants, a pre-eminence in Europe not inferior to that which the Brahmans possess in India. And when one class of the community has monopolized through hundreds of years all learning and all religious reverence, they will infallibly be distinguished by their intellectual and physical superiority. But we have dwelt longer than we intended on the system of caste, and before we leave it can only observe, that it is quite consistent with the doctrine that all souls have a common origin. From the same fountain may originally have sprung the foulest and the purest water.

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might be a natural development from primeval matter. He was confirmed in this hypothesis by observing how largely the intellect and the passions are subjected to a law imposed on them from without; they have no more of self-determining power than the running streams or the growing leaves; but, lying deep in the darkness of his interior life, there was the consciousness of an independent Ego, for which he felt he had not accounted. Understanding, affection, motive, could all be dealt with by his principle of development; but this more central element of his being was manifestly distinct from the outward world, and could in no sense be the development of it. He speaks, therefore, of a *soul* as allied with the separate and individual consciousness which is evolved from *buddhi*; but to this soul he appears to have assigned no other attributes and properties than such as are implied in passively watching the various aspects of the phenomenal universe. "Nature, like a dancer, exhibits all her wonderful evolutions for the entertainment of the soul."

The practical aim of the Sankhya philosophy was to disabuse the mind of the conviction that the sorrows and joys, the perceptions and sensations, the beliefs and reasonings of which it was conscious, were anything more than movements of the universal *buddhi*; to imagine them an individual possession was the error of the vulgar; to recognise in them the necessary growth of nature, the wisdom of the philosopher. By a knowledge of "the twenty-five principles," the Sankhyast was to arrive at the sublime conclusion, the goal of philosophy, the triumph of "rationalism,"—"Neither I am, nor is aught mine, nor is there any I!"

As the Sankhyasts divided ultimately into two sects, the distinction between them consisting in the recognition by the younger school of a supreme lord, it is probable that the atheistic tendencies of the original system had been more daringly exhibited by some of Kapila's disciples than by himself.\*

We pass over all notice of the "orthodox schools" of philosophy, in order to notice the remarkable work of Major Cunningham on the Bhilsa Topes, and to exhibit the leading features of Buddhism. The rise and fall of the system of Sakya-Muni reads like a romance rather than an actual history; so rapid were its early triumphs; so glorious the enthusiasm of its

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\* Kapila recognised the dignity of Hindu divinities, believing that they, like men, were "developments" of the original *prakṛiti*; but having mightier powers and a longer duration. All alike were ultimately to be re-absorbed into the vast and formless element whence they sprang.

early apostles; so sublime and stern the asceticism which brought on its fall. At first sight, too, there seems to be in Buddhism an analogy with the Christian faith much closer than can be found in any other system of Paganism. In the centre of Oriental heathendom, we suddenly find ourselves surrounded by teachers who speak of a trinity and an incarnation, and urge the obligation of meekness, humility, benevolence, and other emphatically Christian virtues; we hear of councils, monasteries, and missions. And though we soon find that our first impressions concerning the system itself were far too favourable, it is impossible not to be deeply impressed and interested with the energy and zeal of its apostles.

Between the Sankhya philosophy and the religion of Buddha, there are intimate and vital relations. We omitted to mention in our account of Kapila, that he pronounced all *souls* equal; but he admitted that the "sheaths," in which the soul is placed, are so various as to constitute very important natural differences among men: the founder of Buddhism was still more hostile in his attitude towards Brahmanism, throwing salvation open equally to the meanest outcast and the Brahman of purest blood and divinest pedigree. Kapila was the foe of superstition; the Buddhist missionaries, in like manner, deprecated ceremonialism, and exalted the excellence of bountifulness, righteousness, knowledge, activity, patience, and mercy; which they called the six highest perfections. Prayer they judged to be useless, except for its reflex influence; even the necessity of divine revelation, which had been admitted by Kapila, the Buddhist denied, acknowledging only two sources of knowledge, perception and reflection. The possibility, however, of any certain knowledge of the external universe was made doubtful; and there are some Buddhists, at any rate, who have come to profess a system of philosophical scepticism. The proper state of the supreme being, "Adi Buddha," is rest, and to attain this is the object of Buddhist meditation and virtue.

Sakya-Muni, the founder of this religious system, which, though it has disappeared from India, still numbers, according to Major Cunningham, 222 millions of votaries, was born B.C. 625, his father being the rajah of a small Indian territory. In consequence of deep impressions made upon his mind while still a youth, of the liability of man to decay and disease, and to inevitable death at last, he deserted the palace, became an ascetic, wandered about with the begging-pot of the Hindu mendicant, and depended upon the alms of the benevolent for the satisfaction of his hunger and of all his bodily wants. He sought wisdom from the learned and devout professors of Brahmanism, but in vain. At last he discovered, that by medi-

tation on the unreality of external things, by the subjugation of the animal instincts, and by the practice of virtue, the soul would secure release from the tyranny of sense, and be made one with the supreme intelligence. For a clear and accurate account of the Buddhist doctrines of the trinity and incarnation we have no space; let it be enough to say that they present no real analogy to the Christian doctrines which pass under the same names.

Excepting the diffusion of Christianity in primitive times, we know of no parallel to the early Buddhist missions. The record of them is preserved in some of the sacred books, and the trustworthiness of the narratives is sustained by the caskets and inscriptions found in the Topes, or sacred monuments, raised over the remains of many of the missionaries. Asoka, the Constantine of Buddhism, assembled a thousand of the holiest monks at Pataliputra, to distinguish the true faith from all heresies; and when the council was concluded, they scattered themselves through all the neighbouring kingdoms, recalling men from superstitious rites, and from the blasphemous distinctions of caste, to the practice of the ordinary virtues of human life, and to a common salvation; and, exaggerated as the numbers of their converts must be, it is certain that the enthusiasm of their labours, and the comparative excellence of their doctrines, brought the people by myriads away from the Brahmana. And, though now extinct in India, Buddhism still flourishes "in Nepál and Tibet, in Ava, Ceylon, and China, and amongst the Indo-Chinese nations of Assam, Siam, and Japan." Major Cunningham's most interesting work presents the results of the investigations carried on by himself among the Topes, or religious edifices, of Buddhism in Central India. The biography of Sakya, and the sketch of the early history of his followers, will be found deeply interesting. We had intended to extract the splendid paragraph in which he explains the causes that led to the decline of this remarkable religion; but our rapidly diminishing space warns us that we must hasten on to the rise of the appalling system of superstition which darkens and curses modern India.

In our summary of the "Laws" of Manu, we spoke of Pantheism as having already begun to strike its roots into the religious faith of the Hindu. In the more modern system, this deadly theory is exhibited in all its fearful consequences. The *Paráns*, of which there are eighteen, and which were written between the eighth and fourteenth or sixteenth centuries, by different authors, to support the doctrines of different sects, present an explanation of the world in which the Pantheistic germs found in the "Institutes" are fully developed.



They teach that the Eternal, who is denominated Brahm, becomes Brahmá\* by self-evolution; and Brahmá is the first member of the trinity, consisting of Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva, who are evidently personifications of the three great processes of Nature—generation, preservation, and destruction. Vach, the heavenly daughter of Brahmá, becoming in her earthly revelation, Mayá, or illusion, the visible world is the result; in other words, the phenomenal universe (and the universe is merely phenomenal according to this theory,) is the aspect presented to the human faculties of the divine conception of Brahmá. The soul mistakes the illusion for reality; and hence the learned Hindus speak of the world as partly the result of knowledge, and partly the result of ignorance. If we knew nothing, the universe would have no existence to us at all; if we knew everything, we should see that though the universe seems to be, Brahmá only is.

The soul itself, shut up in its body, its animal life, its passions, and its perceptive faculties, as in four successive “sheaths,” sprang from Brahmá. Brahmá is present in it still; and the wise man is he who has discovered that not only is the external world a delusive appearance, but that free-will is an unfounded fancy too, being simply the operation of the Deity. And just in proportion as this is practically believed, does human nature rise above accident and disturbance, and rest quietly in God.

It might be expected that Brahmá, the creator, would be the object of universal worship; but though the Brahmans do homage to him every day, he has never been a popular deity; and, it is said, there is only one temple erected to him in all India. Vishnu the Preserver, whom the Sankyhas worshiped, has always received far more general favour, and her incarnations in Rama and Krishna, which we are reluctantly compelled to pass over, have been among the mightiest influences in the formation of Hindu faith and character. But at present, Siva, the god of destruction, whose supremacy dates from about the ninth century after Christ, and Dévi, his consort, are the most popular and powerful divinities. Siva is represented in the Puránás as “wandering about, surrounded by ghosts and goblins, inebriated, naked, and with dishevelled hair, covered with ashes of a funeral pile, ornamented with human skulls and bones, sometimes laughing and sometimes crying.” The countenance of his consort, which streams with blood, is encircled with snakes, and hung round with skulls and human heads. The most bloody and licentious rites are celebrated

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\* Brahm and Brahmá are respectively the neuter and masculine forms of the same word.

in honour of these dreadful divinities; but into the details of these gross abominations it is no part of our purpose to enter, our principal object being to give such a sketch of Hindu religion as shall tempt some of our readers to seek a more thorough knowledge of it, and to exhibit a kind of index-map that shall make it much easier for them to master its details.

It may be asked, what interest or importance can attach to the study of such wild and fruitless fancies as these pages have been intended roughly to sketch? We are at a loss—not for replies—but to choose those which are most likely to remove the objection.

In the first place, then, we believe that the very centre of the controversy which has been raging in Europe for the last fifty years, between Christianity and her Protean assailants, is neither more nor less than this: Whether the religion of Christ is a natural, though remarkable, development of human nature, or what it professes to be, a divine revelation. All discussions of particular doctrines are secondary to this deeper question: there may be agreement about details among those who are in irreconcilable antagonism on the main subject of the controversy. To prove the non-supernatural character of Christianity, it is attempted to be shown, that all her alleged peculiarities may be found in various forms of Pagan faith and philosophy; and we think we see indications that the materials for this infidel polemic are likely to be sought with increasing diligence among the numerous and cumbrous systems of Hinduism. If so, there is good reason why “the Knights-Templar” of literature, those who have consecrated their learning, and their genius, and their toil to the defence of the faith, should be familiar with the region over which we have been travelling.

Secondly, we believe that a more thorough acquaintance, not merely with the abominations, but with the underlying thought and creed of heathen nations, will give new impulse to missionary earnestness and bring to the missionary enterprise, the men it has a right to claim—the men who in intellect and culture, as well as in heart, are the flower, the pride, the glory of Christendom.

We earnestly recommend to our readers who take any interest in such matters all the books we have placed at the head of this article. Of Major Cunningham’s, we have already spoken. Mr. Hardwicke’s is intended to investigate the relations between Christianity and Hinduism; it has the great merits of clearness, vivacity, and compactness: there is very much, too, of just and unpretentious philosophy in it. Mr. Williams’s “*Dialogues*” is one of the most remarkable books we have read for a long time. The singular subtlety of its thought, the familiarity

it manifests with subjects rather remote from the duties of the Hebrew and Divinity Professorship at Lampeter, have exceedingly struck us. Some of our contemporaries, we see, have expressed surprise at the publication of an elaborate refutation of Hinduism in London; but we imagine Mr. Williams was thinking as much about establishing what has earned for itself the name of the "Lampeter Theology," as of confuting Vyása, Kapila, or Sakya-Muni. We cannot discuss with Mr. Williams his own theology at the end of a review which has been occupied with the religions and philosophies he has so skilfully expounded; but we cannot refrain from expressing our strong conviction that even philosophic Paganism is not to be destroyed by a merely philosophic Christianity. It is well to have men in India who shall be able when they choose to ruin the mazy sophistries of the Brahmans by sheer logical keenness and force; but, with the profoundest deference to the judgment of those who have larger practical acquaintance with missionary work than ourselves, we are inclined to think that men who unite with speculative power an indisposition frequently to employ it—who have our Anglo-Saxon directness, contempt for unrealities, and general vigour,—dogmatic, ardent, impetuous men—will be the most efficient missionaries even among the scheming, refining, and subtle people of India.

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ART. V.—"OLD HUMPHREY."

*George Mogridge: his Life, Character, and Writings.* By the Rev. Charles Williams. London: Ward & Lock. 1856.

"LET me write the *ballads* of a nation," said Fletcher of Saltoun, "and who will may write its *laws*." Nobody can tell us who wrote the "Nut-brown Maid," or the "Blind Beggar's Daughter of Bethnal Green," or "Chevy Chase," or the "Song of the Niebelungen," and yet the literature of this class is the marrow of nations. But more influential than any secular compositions are the religious songs of the masses. They may be hymns such as those of Watts, Kelly, Montgomery, and scores more of the sweet singers of the Christian Israel, or sacred ballads like "Thomas Brown," and many others of which George Mogridge was the author. Many of our readers will hardly recognise the subject of Mr. Williams's biography under this, his true name. Just so; he was a power working amongst us during a whole

generation, and the Christian church at large was, during his lifetime, ignorant of his name. Well did his modesty preserve his secret, which was never known beyond the circle of a few intimate friends till his death unsealed their lips. To the rest of his million readers he was known only as "Old Humphrey," "Ephraim Holding," and a dozen other *aliases*. Yet it may safely be affirmed, that since the old Saxon bishop of Sherborne, who, twelve centuries ago, used to station himself at the town bridge, and endeavoured to win his countrymen for Christ by the attractions of popular verse, few Englishmen have done more for the moral improvement and evangelization of the peasantry and labouring classes, both in this country and America, than the Tyrtæus of the Tract Society, George Mogridge.

Such a man richly deserved a biography; and shortly after his decease the society just mentioned, whose right arm he had so long been, issued a small volume, entitled a "Memoir of Old Humphrey, with Gleanings from his Portfolio, in Prose and Verse." With this performance Mr. Williams at least, who had enjoyed the closest intimacy with Mr. Mogridge for many years, having been the society's editor during a great portion of his friend's literary career, is manifestly far from satisfied. He says in his preface:—

"No sooner were thousands bereft of one whom, though personally unknown, they had long esteemed and loved, than the writer determined on attempting a Memorial of his friend. After earnest and continued labour to realize his purpose, he heard that a volume having the same object was about to appear. He, therefore, paused, and only resumed his work when he found merely a slight sketch of the departed had been issued, and that no other was to be expected. Seeking now all the aid that was accessible, he has striven to trace Mr. Mogridge's course from the cradle to the grave; to exhibit his character in the principal facts of his life; and to glance at the origin, extent, and influence of his writings with strict fidelity, and without any intrusion of his personal feelings."

We have looked over the Tract Society's Memoir, and are bound to say that the above estimate of it does it no injustice. There was ample room for Mr. Williams's attempt to make amends for its shortcomings. We really think that the memory of one who did far more for that excellent society than ever it did for him, was entitled to a more handsome recognition than the official biography accorded him. It is meagre and unsatisfactory; and since it is impossible to avoid a comparative judgment in such a case, we cannot refrain from saying that Mr. Williams's production contrasts with it most

favourably in almost every respect. It is a well written, and thoroughly readable account of the strangely chequered career of a very remarkable man. Of Mr. Mogridge's early life in particular, which in the Tract Society's volume is dispatched in some half-dozen pages, plenty of interesting details are given from papers placed by the family at the biographer's disposal. Indeed, the whole work is full of characteristic incident and illustrative adventure, whilst numerous unpublished letters and poems furnish autobiographical materials of great value, and give freshness and life to the narrative.

Everybody knows the "Old Humphrey" of the *Weekly Visitor*. Would our readers like to see "Young Humphrey," spectator or actor of the Theatre Royal at Boarcote School, where most of his boyish days were spent under the ferule of a most eccentric, fox-hunting pedagogue, who seems to have thought that the being a good shot himself was no disqualification for his "teaching the young idea how to shoot?" Let the curtain rise then:—

"What an assemblage was there of Lears, Othellos, and Macbeths! No one could be satisfied without representing some first-rate character. Such powers, it was resolved, ought not to be quiet: a night was fixed for their *début*, and an audience formed (in the absence of the schoolmaster) of his wife, the usher, some strangers expressly invited, and those of the boys who were not to fret their hour upon the stage.

"The early scenes drew down peals of applause; but now was to come the great attraction of the evening—Hamlet and the Ghost. As to the getting up of Higgins for the shade of the poor king, there had been much difference of opinion. Some paper-like armour had been provided; but then it was said he would look too much like Hamlet; he was, therefore, arrayed in kingly guise, so far as this could be represented by some pasteboard for a crown, a brazen toasting-fork for a sceptre, and a red cloak for a robe. It was now decided, that however much Higgins resembled Claudius, he was not at all like a ghost, so his sovereign habiliments were discarded, and he stood ready for his entrance wrapped up in a white sheet and bepowdered with flour; the manager sagely remarking that, seen from a little distance, he would prove a capital ghost.

"As Hamlet entered there was perfect silence; and it continued when the Ghost appeared; but when all were listening for the reply to Hamlet's question, what he would have him do?—oh! horror—the Ghost replied, in a whining tone, as if he were about to blubber, 'You must blow some of the flour off my face, for it has got into my eyes, and I can't see!' "—Pp. 47, 48.

Mr. Mogridge's *home* education under his excellent and pious mother, and his strong-minded and no less pious father, doubtless contributed far more to the moulding of his moral man than his

school associations. The latter was evidently a philosophical humorist, as the following lesson which he taught his son, and which was never effaced from his mind, shows:—

"George was busy in making a boat out of a piece of wood with his penknife, when his father came suddenly into the room, took away the knife and the wood, and, placing a small snail on the middle of a large round table, said, 'Now it is just three o'clock, and I want you to do nothing until the snail has crawled to the edge of the table; so do not stir from your seat until he has finished his travels. With this charge he locked the door, and left George well pleased that he had only to watch the progress of the snail.

"For a time he was gratified, as with his elbows on the table, and his cheeks resting on his hands, he sat looking at the little traveller. At length, however, he became tired of watching, and heartily wished the snail would quicken his movements. But this it would not do; on the contrary, it made longer stops than before, and he thought he had never seen so lazy a creature. He now fumbled in his pockets, but neither top, whipcord, nor marble was there to soothe his disquietude. Then he whistled a tune, snapped his fingers, looked at the cracks in the ceiling, and counted the flowers on the paper border that ran round the room. He listened to the sound of a broad-wheeled waggon, and watched a crow flying at a distance; but dull and heavy was their progress, when, once more looking at the snail, it was actually within an inch of the edge of the table. Afraid that it should make another stop, he blew gently on it, when the provoking creature drew in its horns for such a long time that he thought it would not put them out again. He was now absolutely ill-tempered, and thought he was being very ill-used.

"Once more the snail was near the table-edge, and George was in a shiver lest he should go back again, when, as it dragged the last part of its tail from the top of the table, his father entered with his watch in his hand, saying it was just four o'clock, and that he would give him a model, made by a sailor who was waiting in the kitchen, of a man-of-war, valued at seven shillings, if he would dig over the piece of ground he would mark out, in another hour. And now the hour-glass was turned, that there might be no error as to time.

"In another minute George's coat was off, and his spade in his hand. He was almost frightened at first by the extent of the ground; but what a long time he had found an hour to be, and how much better it was to dig than to keep looking at that tormenting snail! Then he thought of the vessel beautifully painted, with its masts, and sails, and rigging, and he fancied he saw it already floating gallantly across the pond.

"Digging as fast as he could, George thought all around him was in a bustle. A rattle placed in a tree to frighten the birds, went round unusually fast—the clouds were blown by the winds swiftly along the skies—the swallows darted over his head—a post-chaise dashed along the road as though the horses were in full gallop, and



the man who came to the gate with his fiddle annoyingly played in double-quick time.

"But now, alas! the sailor was going, for Mr. Mogridge declined to purchase his ship. George thought he had not yet worked half an hour; his father took him to the sun-dial, and it was five o'clock. As if this could be in error, he ran to the hour-glass, but the last grain of sand had run out, and when he looked at the clock at the head of the stairs it was striking the time with all its might. Long afterwards he said, 'If I live these hundred years, I shall not forget my astonishment and disappointment. The lesson impressed on my mind was impressed there for ever, nor have I since required anything to remind me that, however slowly time may move with those who have nothing to do, it runs rapidly enough with all who are fully employed.'"—Pp. 33—35.

It was Mr. Mogridge's failure in business, "despite of high integrity," as his biographer shows, "from inaptitude for its transactions, and the excess of his benevolence," which led to his embracing a literary career, and his ultimate connexion with the Religious Tract Society. Thus was the great disaster of his life overruled for the greatest good to multitudes. He became the author of nearly two hundred and fifty religious productions, from the farthing tract to the three-and-sixpenny volume. Tracts, however, both in prose and verse, were his *forte*. Of one of these alone, "Honest Jack the Sailor," half-a-million copies have been circulated, whilst the aggregate issues of six others of his works, including "Old Humphrey's Addresses" and "Observations," amounted in 1851 to 739,564. This is exclusive of the American editions, which have been very large. It might be supposed that the remuneration received for such numerous and paying productions ought to have enabled him to wipe out the stain of bankruptcy by an honourable discharge of his old debts, for which, although the law had declared him free, he always held himself morally responsible. But it was not so. Although he worked with indefatigable industry till he could work no more, he was poor to the last. Inexpensive as he was in his habits, this most successful of religious writers, whose pre-eminently useful publications are now scattered broadcast over two continents to the extent of *twenty or thirty millions of impressions*, was never during his lifetime without anxiety for bread; and when he died at Hastings, on November 2nd, 1854, left not wherewithal to purchase a stone to mark the resting-place of his ashes. A tablet was, indeed, erected on the spot, at the expense of the Tract Society. It records "their high estimate of his character and works," but it does *not* record the fact, mentioned in the inscription which Mr. Williams would have

substituted for theirs, that he died "bequeathing nothing to his family except the remembrance of his virtues, and of his incessant and successful labours for the good of mankind!"

Mr. Mogridge's connexion with the Tract Society seems to have commenced in 1828, and continued till his death. In a letter to his wife, dated Jan. 16th in that year, he thus describes his introduction to its service:—

"I told you how my long illness has tried me in a pecuniary way—I was, indeed, very awkwardly situated in my lodgings on other accounts, when I sent two tracts to the Tract Society, that I thought might suit, and two that I thought would not. I requested them to address their reply to X. Y. Z. They replied, that their tracts were almost exclusively gratuitous; but that for superior tracts, or those peculiarly adapted to their circulation, they objected not to remunerate. I think I told you that Mr. P. returned my tracts that were intended for Nisbet, after having them in his possession twice, a month and more each time, without opening them in the first instance or showing them to Nisbet in the second, until I applied for them; he then went to Nisbet, and returned them to me immediately, as Nisbet declined publishing tracts. So much for the assistance of friends. The Tract Society is thus managed: the manuscript is first read by a Mr. Lloyd; if he approve, he hands it to two of the committee, who give it a second reading to decide if it be worthy to be laid before the committee. If approved by the two, it is then brought forward for a third reading before a committee of twelve, less or more, as it may occur, when all state their opinions, and point out emendations if necessary, so that perhaps the average of tracts that are adopted is not more, I think, than one in twenty. The two that I thought would suit were generally approved. I asked five pounds for the two, thinking as it was an institution of benevolence that I should write low in order to have more. Mr. Lloyd much valued the tracts, 'The Two Widows' and 'Honest Jack,' and said he could not offer me five pounds for them, but that he should give me six guineas, which he did. This enabled me to pay my debts, and made me pretty comfortable. Then comes my dear Mary's letter, wherein she names Ann's wages. Now, my dear Mary, I wrote my last letter in the full confidence of sending something in this, if it were only a pound note, but I am obliged to defer it till my next, which you will please to apply for at the post-office, G. E. M., on Feb. 3; I would willingly say before, but am afraid if I did I should disappoint. They behaved very respectfully to me at the Tract Society—gave me lots of tracts, and a number of books evidently with the view that I might continue to write for them. They pointed out the 'Lollards,' and the 'Martyrs during the Reformation,' as a fit subject to poetize. I undertook it, and intended to complete it in three numbers, for which I hoped to receive nine guineas; but unfortunately they were not explicit enough with me, and I did not know that the whole must of necessity be in the limit of one number. This I found out when I had completed one number,

and almost another, and laid the plan for the third. I had then to cut down what I had written to less than one half, abridge the remaining part, and shall receive, if approved, three guineas instead of nine. This is a great disappointment on many accounts, and one of them is my being unable to put a pound note in this letter, not possessing one. It was not the fault of the Society, nor indeed my own, but one of those circumstances that sometimes will occur. I had sent my black coat to the tailor's shop to be altered, and a thief stole it from the tailor's shop. He offered if I would let him make me a new one, to make me an allowance for the other; I told him I could not afford to pay him for one. He pressed me to have a suit, and to give him a pound at a time as it suited me. Though I could not have asked this, yet as he proposed and pressed it, as I was dreadfully in want of clothes, and as I hoped to receive nine pounds, I agreed to give him four pounds for a well-made good cloth coat and pantaloons. These I have, and I have also to pay for them. I name these things, my Mary, as I know you prefer to enter into all my difficulties, even though of a trivial kind."—Pp. 278, 279.

Two months afterwards he writes in the same poverty-stricken strain:—

"MY DEAREST MARY,

"Another empty letter! nor can integrity, affection, or ingenuity enable me even to enclose in it a single pound. I delayed writing, nothing doubting that I should be enabled to enclose something for poor Ann, and I really did not like to write until I could do so; but I fear you will think me ill, or that something has occurred worse than the truth. My 'Lollards,' I think I told you, I cut down to one part for the Society; but when I submitted it, I saw that it did not realize the *beau ideal* formed in Mr. Lloyd's mind. He had once the subject in hand himself, and not succeeding, no wonder that I should not carry out what perhaps he had not exactly made up his mind upon. At all events I knew it would never answer to allow the Tract Society to retain aught from my pen they did not fully approve. I therefore remarked that it would perhaps be better for me to finish it according to my original plan, and dispose of it elsewhere if he did not object. Well! I sent it to Mr. Houlston, who I thought would give me less for it than I expected to receive, but if he gave five or six pounds it would answer. He approved it, and offered only three pounds for it. I conferred with Mr. R——, and told him I was compelled to take it, low as it was, being in debt. He said I ought not to do so, that I should have two sovereigns from him until I sold it, but that it would do me good with Houlston not to take three pounds. As the poem had occasioned me much time and trouble, I acted on his advice and withdrew the poem, and am now looking for a customer."—Pp. 281, 282.

Even in his best days he seldom had a sovereign of which he was not in immediate want, and, as his biographer observes,

was no exception to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton's remark: "For the author there is nothing but his pen, till that and life are worn to the stump;" or as his own words—which are as touching as the "Song of the Shirt," and prove that distressed needle-women are not the only ill-remunerated workers in the world—put the matter:—

" 'Go on' is sounding in my ears—  
I sometimes heave a sigh,  
And ask for holiday—'Go on!  
Go on!' is the reply."

It seems the Aristarchuses of the *Depôt* did not appreciate so highly as the public the "Old Humphrey" papers. The Mr. Lloyd above referred to, often cut them down most unmercifully, which accounts for the ragged appearance of many of them. Even the "toppers," as his finest passages were styled by their aggrieved but all-enduring author (in allusion to one of these papers founded on the refusal of a street-fruitseller to sell him a reserved pottle of strawberries because he wanted them as "toppers" to set off the rest), even the finest hautboys in the basket, were ruthlessly excised. But this was not the worst:—

"It might be supposed," says Mr. Williams, "that as under this appellation Mr. Mogridge obtained no ordinary celebrity, it was equally sudden, if not as great. But the contrary is the fact. The first of the series now commenced in January, 1833, entitled 'Old Humphrey's Observations,' occupied only about half a page of the periodical; and only four other papers were published during the remainder of that year. In 1834, he appeared regularly once a month, and in the following year no fewer than twenty-six times; but now he bids his readers 'Farewell,' and retires altogether from public view. In 1836, he announces his return in two papers; and in 1837, thirteen of his papers have a place in *The Visitor*, which has now become a monthly magazine. These circumstances suggest that some persons were soon satiated with his lucubrations, and it was, therefore, proposed in 1838, that they should finally cease. It happened, however, at this crisis, that the present writer, who only knew Mr. Mogridge by the productions of his pen, had to determine whether this should be; and not only was his answer in the negative, but his opinion was added that if 'Old Humphrey' were duly encouraged, his papers would most probably become far more interesting, effective, and useful. Several years after Mr. Mogridge playfully wrote to his friend, in allusion to this fact:—

" 'I can quite realize and shudder at the merciless question: 'Shall we kill 'Old Humphrey?' ' (O what cruel Turks there are in the world!) And I can hear the music of the prompt reply, 'No! certainly not!' And I hereby promise that should I ever hear of a conspiracy against your life or liberty, hiding my gray hairs

in an iron casque, like a true knight to rush to the rescue.'"—Pp. 297—299.

His last contribution to the *Visitor* under this signature, was penned at the close of the year 1851. It was a "Parting Address," and it is a fine thing to see the Christian spirit which, under all his trials and privations, animated everything he wrote, culminating as his sun goes down. "'Old Humphrey's' last text," he says, in this paper, "Shall be 'Praise ye the Lord;' and his last word, Alleluia!" He had already met with the accident—a sprained ankle from setting his foot suddenly on a broken flagstone—from the effects of which he never ultimately rallied, and which terminated his highly useful career. Often before had his life been in imminent danger. In infancy, a careless servant thrust a warming-pan into the bed in which he was sleeping, and, paralyzed by fright on hearing his screams, left it there. When quite a child, he pitched head-foremost into the excavations made for the cellars of some unfinished houses, striking his forehead against the brickwork. On one occasion in after-life he imprudently tried to walk along the narrow ridge of the lofty wall of Kenilworth Castle, and, stumbling over a loose stone, all but lost his footing; and another time he very narrowly escaped a watery grave through shooting the wrong arch of old London Bridge. But his weary and scantily-waged day's work was now done, and he could sing in lines which we gladly quote as one of many pleasing specimens of his far from contemptible poetical powers to be found in the volume:—

"I have dreamed that I slept on the verge of a rock,  
Where the waters eternally roll;  
That I fell, and sank deep in the depths of the sea,  
And the billows passed over my soul.  
But that time is gone, and the vision is fled  
And the dreadful emotion is o'er,  
And the rock and its terrors have vanished away,  
And the waves have o'erwhelmed me no more.

"I have watched till the darkness of night has prevailed  
O'er a mortal resigning his breath;  
And have gazed with a pang till the features of life  
Have been lost in the shadows of death.  
But the darkness of midnight has gone far away,  
And once more the bright day has been given;  
And the shadows of death, and the gloom of the grave,  
Shall be chased by the glories of Heaven."

Here we might, and, perhaps, should close. But we cannot forbear citing a beautiful incident, showing, in a very touching

way, how the attachment of an old and faithful domestic for her master lingered over his mortal remains. Mr. Mogridge, as his writings everywhere evince, was a devout admirer of nature, and ample justice, we may say in passing, is done by his biographer to this trait in his character. Nobody needs to be told that "Old Humphrey" loved flowers, but the heath-flower was his favourite amongst them all, and he had written some fine stanzas on the subject, the last of which ran thus:—

"Be near my heart, thou little flower !  
 But live not in my mortal hour,  
 What time these eyes in slumber deep,  
 Shall sleep their everlasting sleep ;  
 For I may not mingle, when death is given  
 The dream of earth—with the hope of Heaven,  
 Nor sink to my eternal rest  
 A heath-flower withering on my breast."

When he was lying in his coffin, his servant Ann, knowing how fond he had been in life of this wild blossom, but ignorant as yet of his having thus written, had actually gone out, unknown to any one, and gathering one, had placed it on the breast of the corpse. A few days afterwards, the widow found her bathed in tears. She had seen the lines, and was inconsolable at the thought of having even unwittingly contravened the wish of one held so dear, nor could she be pacified till she learned that she had after all realized his desire according to the verse as first written:—

"Be near my heart, thou little flower,  
 And live there in my mortal hour,  
 What time these eyes, in slumber deep,  
 Shall sleep their everlasting sleep ;  
 For I would mingle when death is given,  
 The dream of earth—with the hope of Heaven ;  
 And sink to my eternal rest,  
 A heath-flower withering on my breast."

—P. 370.



## ART. VI.—EDINBURGH ESSAYS.

*Edinburgh Essays.* By Members of the University. 1856. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. 1857.

THE example set by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge has at length been followed in Scotland; and the present volume may be regarded as the first offering at the shrine of literature by the combined talent of some of the most distinguished members of the University of Edinburgh. The contents are varied and interesting. There are eight essays in all, treating of general literature, philosophy, medicine, and chemistry. Those on the last two subjects, although admirably reasoned, and exceedingly good in point of style, appear to us of too technical a description for a volume of popular essays; but, with these exceptions, the subjects are both well selected and successfully handled.

The first contribution is from the pen of Professor Blackie, who furnishes a very clever and readable article upon Plato. It is not a summary of the Platonic system, nor an exposition of any particular branch of it, nor a defence of its founder; but it treats the subject generally, popularly, and—we must say—superficially. Professor Blackie's crotchets with regard to Highland evictions, and the turning of large tracts of country into deer-forests, and his opinion of the evils and shams of modern British society, would seem to most men to have little connexion with the great Greek philosopher; but, notwithstanding, we find them dragged in and paraded on the pages of the essay before us. At its commencement, there is a fanciful comparison between Plato and Benmuicdhui, a mountain whose very name would have been an abomination to the sensitive and eloquent Greek, and would have grated on his ear like the sound of a bag-pipe. Afterwards, the following eloquent parallel is drawn between the Christian faith and the Platonic philosophy: "Nor does it require a very profound glance to see how Platonic philosophy and Christian faith, in their grand outlines, characteristic tendencies, and indwelling spirit, are identical; identical, at least, in so far as a thing of Hebrew and anything of Hellenic origin can be considered as presenting varieties of a common type. The prominence given to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul in all Plato's works, as contrasted with the position of the same doctrine in the systems of Aristotle and other Greek philosophers; the atmosphere of a pure and unworldly emotion, that, like airs from Paradise, floats through the blooming bowers of the Academy; the single-hearted dedication of the soul to truth, beauty, and holiness, as things essentially divine, for their own sake, to the utter contempt of all the inferior springs of action that lie in the words expediency, policy, utility, and worldly wisdom; these, with other characteristic features that lie on the very surface of the Platonic books, are things essentially Christian, and are felt by every person of well-cultivated moral

sensibility, to be much more closely allied to the Gospel of John than they are to Aristotle, or John Locke, or Dr. Paley. Why then, we ask again, has this door of entrance to the inner sanctuary of Platonic meditation been so little taken advantage of in these lands? Plainly, so far as we can see, from the strange peculiarities of the English mind already alluded to, which at once robbed our scholarship of all capacity to develop the best elements which it contained, and our theology of all desire to form any alliance with the highest forms of scholarship. Our universities were, and still are, very closely connected with our churches; and yet Plato, the element in purely academical learning most essentially Christian, was neglected; just because the tyrannical force of the strong English character, with its obstinate idiosyncrasy, impressed a stamp both upon our theology and our scholarship which made it impressible, in the least possible degree, by anything in the shape of Platonism." Professor Blackie, however, anticipates a happier destiny for the present and future generations, and concludes by predicting that: "Plato will be the favourite author of the men who read Greek in the very delicate and difficult transition epoch of the national speculation on which we seem to be entering; and the restored familiarity with such a thinker may not remain without some very sensible influence on our received formulas of expression in the highest regions of speculation and faith."

Mr. Skelton's essay, entitled "Early English Life in the Drama," is characterized by much learning and research, and by a picturesque and agreeable style. Much curious information will be found in this essay on the manners and customs of our forefathers, and the mediæval English stage. Some singular extracts are given from the accounts of the Whitsun miracle-plays formerly celebrated in the ancient city of Chester. The following may be taken as specimens: "'Payd to the players for rehearsal—imprimis, to God, 2s. 8d.; itm. to Pilate his wife, 2s.; itm. to the Devil and Judas, 1s. 6d.'" But it was on 'hell-mouthe,'" says Mr. Skelton, "that the stage artist lavished his resources, and that he depended for his principal points: 'Payd for mending of hell, ijd.; itm. for painting of hell-mouthe, iijd.; itm. for making of hell-mouthe new, is. ixd.; itm. for keeping fire at hell's-mouthe, iiijd.; itm. for setting the world of fyer, vd.," are entries which occur upon every page."

Dr. Gairdner's essay on "Homœopathy" is an excellent specimen of medical polemics, clear, convincing, and well argued throughout, but, as we before said, it seems a little out of place in the present volume. "Infanti Perduti," is the somewhat affected title of Mr. Andrew Wilson's essay upon unfortunate and erring men of genius; upon the nature and prerogatives of genius, and the frequent connexion between it and misery; upon the relation in which such men stand to the world, the treatment they have generally met with from it, and the treatment which it ought to accord them. Unfortunately, the author occasionally seems not to understand himself very clearly, and appears not to have sufficiently thought out the difficult and perplexed problems which he has undertaken to solve; and hence, a

certain vagueness of utterance which materially detracts from the effect of his, in many respects, able and thoughtful essay.

Mr. James Sime, in a well-composed article on the "Progress of Britain in the Mechanical Arts," furnishes many important details with regard to our vast advancement since the commencement of the present century in the various arts of construction, especially in the application of steam to the mines, navigation, and textile fabrics of the empire, and the uses of iron in ship-building, tubular bridges, and an immense variety of other purposes. Mr. Sime tells us that the inventors of distinguished mechanical improvements have formed no exception to the tardy recognition and ingratitude which seem to be the general lot of men of genius: "It is a singular and a mournful fact, that every one of the great improvements to which Britain owes her present prosperity, has fought its way in the world against clamour, knavery, and contempt. An increase in poor-rates, and a general distress among workpeople, were thought inevitable on the introduction of an important piece of machinery. Combinations not to use it, nor to buy what it produced, were sometimes formed among intelligent men; but as soon as the inventor began to make money, and employ more hands, an outcry was raised by less able rivals that the improvement was of national importance, and ought not to be protected by patent. Law pleas, poverty for a time at least, and sometimes for life, and petty annoyances of every kind, were too often the inheritance of inventors, whose genius has done as much for the nation as the most distinguished naval or military chief of whom it can boast."

Perhaps the most brilliant essay of the present series is that by Mr. Alexander Smith—himself no mean poet—upon "Scottish Ballads." It deserves and will well repay an attentive perusal. The author has introduced into it, naturally enough, some reflections upon the charges of want of originality and plagiarism which were recently brought against him in certain journals; but has certainly not improved his essay, though he may have relieved his feelings, by so doing. "The Scottish Ballads," he tells us, "grew up over the country like wild flowers. Their authors were most probably part minstrels, part gaberlunzies, who wandered about the kingdom, dwelling often 'under the canopy with the choughs and crows,' haunting fairs, markets, and all assemblies of people, and when fortunate enough to procure a supper and a couch of straw, paying their lawing with a song, and then forward on the morrow; and often, doubtless, we should find the minstrel equipped in the steel jacket of the moss-trooper, urging a drove of floundering and terrified cattle before him from Cumberland on a moonless night, with many a prick of lance, and a great superfluity of curses. Many of the Border ballads are so real and life-like, so full of character and humour, that we feel the singer had himself wielded a sword in the combat, or ridden into England to lift a prey." Afterwards we find a classification of the Scottish ballads—1st. Into "those poems founded on historical events, private tragedies, and the fairy mythology; and 2ndly. Those which more specially pertain to the Borders, and relate the sturt and

strife, the wild revenges, the exploits, skirmishes, and cattle-lifting expeditions of the marchmen. The first contains much of the finest poetry and the deepest pathos. Those of the second attend closely to the business in hand, are rude and bustling, and are frequently enlivened by flashes of savage humour. In every stanza you seem to hear the clatter of hoofs, and the rattle of steel jackets. Both are valuable as throwing light on a condition of man which can never recur in these islands; as exhibiting in a mighty mirror pictures of a strong, passionate, turbulent time. Nowhere is the reader more impressed, not even on the page of Shakspeare himself, with the reality of the scenes, and the men and women. Yet, with all this naturalness, it is difficult for the reader of to-day, with his complex environments and difference of training, to imagine himself so actuated, so subdued by fears, so stormed along by passion. In reading these compositions, we see what we have gained and lost in the course of a few centuries—what new elements have entered into human life—what more of awfulness or frivolity, of truth or falsehood; we discover the old sea-margins of right and wrong, and compare with them the point the tide reaches to-day. All that far-off, lawless, generous life is unroofed to us in these ballads; we wander among the relics of a past society as we would amongst the ruins of Pompeii. We see the domestic economy of the houses of our ancestors; everything is left there for our inspection. We can take up a household implement, and examine its material and shape. The first thing that strikes the reader of the ballads is their direct and impulsive life. There is nothing cloaked or concealed. You look through the iron corslet of the marauder, and see the fierce heart heave beneath. None of the heroes ever seems to feel that hesitancy and palsy of action which arises from the clash of complex and opposing motives. At once the mailed hand executes the impulse of the hot heart. There seem to have been no dissimulators in those days. If a man is a scoundrel, he speaks and acts as if he were perfectly aware of the fact, and aware, too, that the whole world knew it as well as himself. If a man is wronged by another, he runs him through the body with his sword, or cleaves him to the chin with his pole-axe, and then flees, pursued night and day, awake and asleep, in town and wilderness, by a bloody ghost. If two lovers meet in the greenwood, they forget church and holy priest, and in course of time the heron is startled from his solitary haunt, and shame and despair are at rest beneath the long weeds of the pool, and a ghost with dripping hair glides into the chamber, and with hand of ice awakes the horrified betrayer from his first sleep on his bridal night."

Mr. Baynes's Essay on Sir William Hamilton, the chief of Scottish metaphysicians, is clear, able, and interesting; and brings forward a number of facts, not generally known, with regard to the life and teaching of the late distinguished Professor of Logic. The essay opens with a brilliant sketch of Dr. Chalmers and Professor Wilson, who, as Mr. Baynes truly says, during more than a quarter of a century, along with Sir William Hamilton, were the foremost men in Scotland in theology, literature, and philosophy. Sir William's

articles on the "Problems of Pure Philosophy," originally published in the *Edinburgh Review*, for a long time excited but little attention in Britain. He had that mark of a true prophet,—no honour among his own countrymen. These articles were collected and translated abroad before they were generally known at home; his name was familiarly mentioned in foreign philosophical works before it was heard across the Tweed; the universities and literary societies of the Continent vied with each other in doing honour to his profound learning, when the reproach of ignorance was the only recognition he received from the banks of the Isis and the Cam; and while his cautious countrymen were doubtfully admitting his claim to a chair in a Scottish university, he was signalized by Brandis in Germany as the great master of the Peripatetic philosophy—by Cousin, in France, as the first metaphysician in Europe. The extent of Sir William's erudition was something almost fabulous and unparalleled. At his examination for honours at Oxford, he professed not only every classic author of mark, whether poet, orator, or historian, but also, under the head of science, the whole of Aristotle and Plato, the books of the Neo-Platonists, and, in short, all the works extant in the Greek and Roman philosophy. Such pretensions invited severity; and he was subjected to a most searching and thorough examination, lasting, in the department of philosophy, for two days, six hours each day; and, at its conclusion, besides gaining the honours of the college, he received the public acknowledgments of his questioners, that his examination had never been surpassed either in the minute or the comprehensive knowledge of the systems on which he had been examined.

In 1836, Sir William was elected by the small majority of two to the chair of logic and metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. This narrow majority was owing to the miserable system of election then and still subsisting—which there is a very general desire in Scotland to see abolished—by which the greater number of the chairs of the university are placed at the absolute disposal of the Town Council, most of whom are but half-educated men, and who generally bestow them in obedience to the dictates of sectarian animosity or political partisanship, rather than according to the interests of education and the honour of the university. It was owing to the prevalence of this wretched system, that Sir William Hamilton, admittedly the first metaphysician in Great Britain, and supported by the greatest philosophers of the Continent, such as Cousin and Brandis, was, notwithstanding, nearly defeated in his canvass for the Logic chair. An excellent account of Sir William's manner of teaching, and of the success of his efforts to excite the industry and develop the mental resources of his students, will be found in the essay before us, which also contains an animated and picturesque description of his appearance and style of lecturing, which our limits forbid us to give at length. We must, however, extract the following summary of what this great man did for the science of mental philosophy: "The whole procedure of philosophy hitherto, has been either an assumption of principles, a criticism of

principles, or at most, a capricious and immethodical appeal to facts. To Sir William Hamilton belongs the glory of having finally abolished this vicious system, by expounding with philosophical rigour and minuteness the nature and conditions of the one true method; fixing the point of departure for philosophy in the facts of inward experience, and converting the appeal to consciousness, hitherto at least so partial, fluctuating, and contradictory, into a scientific instrument of the utmost certainty and precision. The value of his "Dissertation on the Philosophy of Common Sense," in this relation, cannot be overrated. The true path being thus opened, it is reasonable to believe that the progress of the science in future will be sure and rapid,—presenting a striking contrast to the tardy rate of advancement in the past. Such a belief, the analogy of physical science abundantly justifies. As physical theories are earlier in the history of speculation than metaphysical, it was natural that physical science should first emerge from the labyrinth of subtle dialectics, in which both were originally, and for so long, involved. But even this is a comparatively recent event. Physical science is still in its first youth, no branch of it being yet two hundred years old; during the previous two thousand it remained under the dominion of systems, and was, like metaphysics, a mere logical romance. The most elaborate theories, starting from abstract principles instead of observed facts, could of course really explain nothing, could discover nothing; and instead of contributing to the progress of science, remained wholly barren—at best, like the Ptolemaic astronomy, curious monuments of great but perverse ingenuity. With the revival of letters came the dawn of a better method. Bacon, standing in that early light, clearly pointed out the errors which had hitherto prevented the progress of inquiry, as well as the road which all successful investigation in future must pursue; and modern science is the result of his method. Sir William Hamilton is the true Bacon of mental philosophy, and his method, fully accepted and diligently followed, will here also break up the despotism of systems, and inaugurate the era of science."

We have only left ourselves space to mention the eloquent, but somewhat too scientific and technical, essay by Dr. George Wilson on "Chemical Final Causes." The accomplished professor shows a perfect mastery of his subject, and has written with his usual ease and elegance, enlivening the abstruse details—the dry bones of his essay—with that profuse and appropriate variety of illustration which he has so perfectly at command.



## Quarterly Review of American Literature.

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THE literary and scientific associations of the United States have been formed, in a great measure, after similar institutions in Europe. Most of them are of recent origin, but their utility has been obvious in awakening a spirit of inquiry and investigation, and operating as a stimulus to exertion in the pursuits of literature and science. We propose, therefore, in the commencement of the present review, to give a brief account of the formation, object, labours, and results of some of these learned societies. They will be arranged in chronological order.

The first, of which we have found any record, was a literary and philosophical society established in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1730. The celebrated Dean Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, is thought to have suggested its formation. He arrived in Newport in 1729, and purchased an estate in the vicinity, where he resided about two years and a half. Here he wrote most of his "Alciphron, or Minute Philosopher," which was published in London in 1732, shortly after his return to England. To Bishop Berkeley the literary institutions of New England are much indebted. He made valuable donations of books to the libraries of Harvard University and Yale College; and, on his departure, sent, as a gift to Yale College, a deed of the estate he held in Rhode Island. He directed the rents to be appropriated to the three best classical scholars, who should reside at the college between their first and second degrees. When it is considered that Bishop Berkeley went to America for the express purpose of founding an episcopal college, his munificence to an institution, under the direction of a different denomination, is as rare as it is worthy of high praise. One of the objects of the Newport Literary Society was the collection of valuable books, and it obtained a charter in 1747 by the name of "The Company of the Redwood Library." The institution contains many rare and valuable books, but the literary society is now extinct.

*The American Philosophical Society* is the oldest now in existence in the United States. It was founded in 1769, and was incorporated by the legislature of Pennsylvania in 1780. Its centre of operations is the city of Philadelphia, and the meetings are semi-monthly. It has published ten quarto volumes of transactions, containing valuable articles on literature, the sciences, and the arts. Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were the earliest presidents of this society. It has a permanent fund, the interest of which is to be disposed of in premiums, to be adjudged to the authors of the most important discovery or most useful invention relating to navigation, astronomy, or natural philosophy. There is attached to the institution a large cabinet of minerals and fossils; and its library contains about twelve thousand volumes, many of them rare and costly, presented by foreign governments and learned societies.

*The American Academy of Arts and Sciences* is next in age and

importance to the preceding society. It is located at Boston, and was incorporated by the Massachusetts legislature in 1780. The object of the society is thus expressed in a clause of the charter: "That the end and design of the institution of said academy is to promote and encourage the knowledge of the antiquities of America, and of the natural history of the country, and to determine the uses to which the various natural productions of the country may be applied; to promote and encourage medical discoveries, mathematical disquisitions, philosophical inquiries and experiments, astronomical, metereological and geographical observations, and improvements in agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce; and, in fine, to cultivate every art and science which may tend to advance the interest, honour, dignity, and happiness of a free, independent, and virtuous people." The number of active members can never exceed two hundred, nor be less than forty. It has four stated meetings in a year. This institution has published six quarto volumes containing matters relative to the objects of the society. John Adams and John Quincy Adams, presidents of the United States, Nathaniel Bowditch, LL.D., and John Pickering, LL.D., have presided over this association. The late Count Rumford left to the academy a fund, the interest of which is to be expended in premiums of gold and silver medals to the authors of any important discoveries or useful improvements on light and heat.

*The Massachusetts Historical Society* has its location at Boston, and was formed in 1791, and incorporated in 1794. The society meets monthly. The number of its resident members cannot exceed thirty, and those chosen in other states and countries are limited to sixty. It has printed thirty volumes, called Collections, containing a vast amount of important historical matter. This is the oldest historical society in the United States, and it possesses the best library, and the largest number of charts, maps, plans, and manuscripts.

*The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* was formed at New Haven, and incorporated in 1799. It was established for the purpose of encouraging literary and philosophical researches. The academy has stated meetings, at which subjects are discussed and dissertations read, many of which have appeared in the *American Journal of Science and Arts*. President Dwight, of Yale College, was the first president, and remained in office until his death in 1817. His successor was President Day, who was annually re-elected until his death in 1836, when Professor Silliman was called to preside over the academy.

*The New York Historical Society* was formed in 1804. Governor Clinton, Chancellor Kent, and Governor Lewis have been presidents. Peter A. Jay, LL.D., is now the presiding officer. The society has issued seven volumes, and is preparing others for publication. This institution has a valuable library of about fifteen thousand volumes.

*The American Antiquarian Society* is located at Worcester, Massachusetts, and was incorporated in 1812. Among its publications is a volume of *Archæologia*, of 435 pages, in which the

principal article is from the pen of Caleb Atwater, containing an account of his examinations of the ancient mounds, works of defence, and other remains in the Western States, illustrated by maps, plans, and drawings; also a volume by the late Hon. Albert Gallatin, LL.D., containing a learned and elaborate synopsis and comparison of the various Indian tribes and their dialects, and which promises to do much towards disclosing their origin: and, recently, the society has issued another publication, consisting chiefly of the early records of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, with notes by the librarian, Samuel F. Haven. The library contains about twenty thousand volumes, many of which are highly valuable, besides a mass of pamphlets, maps, prints, and rare and curious manuscripts. The collection of newspapers, of an early date, is the most valuable in the United States. Besides its library, cabinet, and beautiful edifice, it has a fund of 25,000 dollars, being a legacy from its first president, Isaiah Thomas, LL.D. The Hon. Edward Everett, LL.D., is now the presiding officer. Such is a brief account of some of the oldest learned societies of the United States. In a subsequent number we may resume the subject.

We now proceed to notice some recent *theological* works. Among these a second American edition of "Dehon's Sermons, with additional Sermons never before published,"<sup>1</sup> has just been issued. The author was widely known as an eloquent preacher, a clear and forcible writer, and a conscientious prelate. The first American edition has long since been exhausted; and of three editions which have been printed in England, it is stated that not a copy remains unsold. These sermons were not written with a view to publication, but only for parochial use, and never had the benefit of the author's revision. The two volumes contain one hundred and ten sermons. These discourses are on: The Scriptures, The Sabbath, Repentance, The Danger of Neglecting the Gospel, Glorifying in the Lord, Hope, Stability in Religion, Truth making the Faithful Free, The Power of Conscience, Obligation of Living in God's Sight, and other themes of practical importance. Though we decidedly object to some of Bishop Dehon's views, yet we regard these volumes, on the whole, as "a devout and beautiful commentary on the teachings of the Holy Scriptures." The great principles of religion are inculcated with energy. The sermons unite taste and judgment, and present the thought with simplicity and clearness. The author affected none of that obscurity which sciolists or transcendentalists would pass off for depth and originality.

A volume of "Essays and Reviews,"<sup>2</sup> from the pen of Dr. Hodge, has just been collected and published. The learned author has been

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<sup>1</sup> Sermons on the Public Means of Grace, on the Fasts and Festivals of the Church, Scripture Characters, and various practical subjects. By the late Right Rev. Theodore Dehon, D.D. Second American Edition, with additional Sermons, never before published. Two vols. 8vo. New York. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co.

<sup>2</sup> Essays and Reviews. By Charles Hodge, D.D. Selected from the *Princeton Review*. New York. 8vo., pp. 635. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co.

for many years a professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, and is the corypheus of the "Old School Presbyterians." A large proportion of these essays and reviews are in vindication of the doctrines held by that section of the church, and in opposition to Barnes and others, called the "New School Presbyterians." The volume contains eighteen articles selected from the *Princeton Review*, comprising, among others, critiques on the following works: Cox on Regeneration, Stuart on the Romans, Beman on the Atonement, Finney's Lectures, Bushnell's Christian Nurture, and three articles on the Theology of the Intellect and Feelings. Besides these there are articles of a more general character, as: The Latest Form of Infidelity, Theories of the Church, Is the Church of Rome a part of the Visible Church, Slavery and Emancipation, &c. These essays and reviews are written with ability, and are interesting as furnishing a history of the theology of the present times.

Dr. Wayland's "Notes on the Principles and Practices of Baptist Churches,"<sup>3</sup> comprises a series of ably written papers, originally published in the *New York Examiner*, and the unpretending title under which the articles first appeared is retained. The author is favourably known to the British public by his interesting "Memoirs of Dr. Judson," and his excellent treatise on "The Elements of Moral Science," both of which have been reprinted in this country. The latter work is distinguished for its clear, condensed, and sound philosophical views, and is used as a text-book in almost every American college, excepting those in the slave states, where it is excluded on account of its anti-slavery character. A large portion of the volume of "Notes" is on the polity and practice of the Baptist churches, but many of the author's remarks and criticisms may be read with profit by members of every Christian church. The work is better adapted to the United States than to England. Many, however, of the respected author's own denomination, in both countries, will dissent from his views in reference to theological education and other topics, while they admit the Christian spirit which he manifests, and the ingenuity of his reasoning. The volume is written in a plain, direct, and energetic style, but does not possess the elaborate finish which generally marks Dr. Wayland's productions.

Kimball's "Heaven"<sup>4</sup> is a work unique in its character. The topics discussed in the volume are: Popular Notions of Heaven, Rational Inquiries about Heaven, Creation Objective and Subjective, The Bible, Heaven a State, Jesus Christ Objective and Subjective, Heaven as a Place, The Society of Heaven, The Joy of Heaven, Occupations of Heaven. It is as pleasing as it is rare to receive such a contribution to religious literature from the pen of a Christian gentleman whose time is engrossed in mercantile pursuits.

<sup>3</sup> Notes on the Principles and Practices of Baptist Churches. By Francis Wayland. Crown 8vo., pp. 336. New York. 1856. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co.

<sup>4</sup> Heaven. By William James Kimball. Boston. 1856. 12mo., pp. 281. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co.

There is much in the work that is original and suggestive, and calculated to elevate the mind and warm the heart of the Christian, and awaken a livelier relish for the joys of heaven.

Within the limits assigned to us, we can only notice the following works on *science* and *general literature* :—

"The Life of John Adams, Second President of the United States,"\* will be read by all, and especially by statesmen, with great interest. President Adams was one of the most remarkable men and patriots of the American Revolution, and we cannot better introduce the volume before us to our readers than by giving a sketch of the principal events of his life, and the important services it so ably commemorates. The entire works of President Adams have recently been published in ten vols. 8vo., and, in literary value and interest, are superior to the writings of Washington and Jefferson. His works deserve to be read and studied by statesmen. The first eighty-nine pages of the life are written by the brilliant and vigorous pen of his son, John Quincy Adams, who himself subsequently became President of the United States, and the remainder by the son of the latter, who has successfully accomplished his task. The ancestors of Mr. Adams left England for the wilds of America to enjoy their religious opinions unmolested, and were among the earliest settlers of Massachusetts. John Adams was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, Oct. 30, 1735. He graduated at Harvard University in 1755 and, while a member of that college, distinguished himself by strength of mind, intense application, and high moral character. He spent the three years next succeeding in the study of the law, and, at the same time, defrayed his expenses by instructing pupils in Latin and Greek. In 1758, Mr. Adams was admitted to practice as an attorney, and soon obtained a competent portion of lucrative business. In 1764, he married Abigail Smith, daughter of the Rev. William Smith, of Weymouth, a lady of great beauty and worth, whose character was eminently adapted to develope every good trait of her husband, and with whom his happy union continued for fifty-four years. Soon after his marriage, he removed to Boston, where he acquired an extensive legal practice. About a year afterwards, Mr. Adams published in the *Boston Gazette* several articles under the title of an "Essay on Canon and Feudal Law," which manifest great acuteness and legal erudition, and were reprinted in London. Mr. Adams took his seat in congress in 1774, and was among the foremost in recommending the adoption of an independent government. In the words of Jefferson: "The great pillar and support to the declaration of independence, and its ablest advocate and champion on the floor of the house, was John Adams." Speaking of his general character as an orator, the same illustrious man observed, "that he was the colossus of that congress: not graceful, not elegant, not always fluent

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\* The Life of John Adams, Second President of the United States; with Notes and Illustrations by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams. Boston. 1856. 8vo., pp. 684. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co.

in his public addresses, he yet came out with a power, both of thought and expression, which moved his hearers from their seats." In 1780, he was appointed ambassador to Holland, and in 1782, he went to Paris to engage in the negotiation for peace, having previously obtained the assurance that Great Britain would recognise the independence of the United States. The definitive treaty of peace was ratified in 1784, and the next year he was appointed the first minister to London. The following graphic sketch, given by Mr. Adams himself, of his first interview with George III., will be read with interest. He had at first, under the peculiarly delicate and embarrassing circumstances of his mission, intended to present his credentials silently and retire, but he found that a formal speech would be expected. Having been introduced to the King by the Marquis of Carmarthen, Adams addressed his Majesty in the following words: "Sir,—*The United States of America* have appointed me their Minister-Plenipotentiary to your Majesty, and have directed me to deliver to your Majesty this letter, which contains the evidence of it. It is in obedience to their express commands, that I have the honour to assure your Majesty of their unanimous disposition and desire to cultivate the most friendly and liberal intercourse between your Majesty's subjects and their citizens, and of their best wishes for your Majesty's health and happiness, and for that of your royal family. The appointment of a minister from the United States to your Majesty's court will form an epoch in the history of England and America. I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens, in having the distinguished honour to be the first to stand in your Majesty's royal presence in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your Majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence, and affection, or, in better words, 'the old good nature, and the good old humour,' between people who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion, a kindred blood. I beg your Majesty's permission to add that, although I have sometimes before been entrusted by my country, it was never in my whole life in a manner so agreeable to myself." The king, says Mr. Adams, "listened to every word I said, with dignity it is true, but with an apparent emotion. Whether it was the nature of the interview, or whether it was my visible agitation—for I felt more than I did or could express—that touched him, I cannot say; but he was much affected, and answered me with more tremor than I had manifested, and said: 'Sir,—The circumstances of this audience are so extraordinary, the language you have now held is so extremely proper, and the feelings you have discovered so justly adapted to the occasion, that I must say, that I not only receive with pleasure the assurance of the friendly disposition of the United States, but that I am very glad the choice has fallen upon you to be their minister. I wish you, sir, to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I found myself indis-



pensably bound to do by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be very frank with you. I was the last to conform to the separation; but the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power. The moment I see such sentiments and language as yours prevail, and a disposition to give this country the preference, that moment I shall say, let the circumstances of language, religion, and blood have their natural and full effect.'” After the formal addresses, the king indulged in some familiar remarks, expressing his pleasure at receiving a minister who had no prejudices in favour of France—the natural enemy of his crown. The reply of Mr. Adams evinced his patriotism and honesty of character: “May it please your Majesty,” said he, “I have no prejudices but for my own country.” The king replied, as quick as lightning, “An honest man will never have any other.” In 1787, whilst in London, Mr. Adams published his “Defence of the American Constitution,” and the same year, by his own request, he was allowed to return to the United States. Congress passed a resolution of thanks for his able and faithful discharge of the various important commissions with which he had been intrusted. Immediately after his return, he was elected the first Vice-President of the United States under the new constitution, and re-elected in 1793. He discharged the duties of his office until March 4, 1797, when he succeeded to the presidency, vacated by the resignation of Washington, whose confidence he possessed in an eminent degree. After President Adams’s retirement from public life, he occupied himself with literary and agricultural pursuits at his seat at Quincy; and, with the exception of a severe affliction—the loss of his wife—his days glided calmly away until the 4th of July, 1826. On that day he died, with the sentiment upon his lips which he had uttered fifty years before upon the floor of congress—“Independence for ever.” In the course of the day, he said, “It is a great and glorious day;” and just before he expired, exclaimed, “Jefferson survives!” but in this he was mistaken. On that very day, at one o’clock, the spirit of Jefferson had passed away from earth.

A second edition of “Watson’s Men and Times of the Revolution,”<sup>6</sup> has been published, in which the text has been revised, and new matter added. This work would be interesting if it were a fiction; as fact, it is more so, and combines in itself the instruction of biography and the charm of romance. It embraces a wonderful variety of scenes and characters, written in a simple manner, and graphically sketched. It contains much valuable information from the pen of one who was a prominent actor in the scenes which he describes, in a period of unexampled importance in the history of

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<sup>6</sup> Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, including Journals of Travels in Europe and America from 1777 to 1842, with his Correspondence with Public Men, and Reminiscences of the Revolution. Edited by his son, Winslow C. Watson. New York. 1856. 8vo., pp. 460. London: S. Low, Son, & Co.

the United States. The volume also includes Elkanah Watson's correspondence with John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Dr. Franklin, and other eminent American statesmen.

Tappan's "Elements of Logic,"<sup>7</sup> is rather a treatise on metaphysics or philosophy, than a compendium of logical science. The preliminary matter occupies a large portion of the book, and the remainder is devoted to a consideration of logic, including the inductive as well as deductive method, together with the doctrine of evidence. Dr. Tappan is an independent thinker and vigorous reasoner, and his work is written in a methodical manner, and in a style concise, but lucid. He has had much experience as a professor, and is now President of the University of Michigan.

Dr. Draper's "Human Physiology,"<sup>8</sup> is a profound and comprehensive treatise on man's physical life through all its changes. The author has been for many years a professor, and the work embodies his lectures delivered to successive classes in the university, and has been subjected to long and careful revision; it contains a vast amount of collateral matter tending to elucidate the intricacies of physiological science. The author bears a clear and decided testimony against those sceptical notions which are sometimes deduced from physiology, and has given to the public a work highly honourable to himself and his profession.

Bartlett's "Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, &c.,"<sup>9</sup> is a valuable work, which introduces us to scenes of a novel character. We have risen from the perusal of these volumes with more vivid conceptions of the grand and beautiful features of the region the author describes, and more enlarged views of its natural resources. Mr. Bartlett travelled from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific, embracing an extent of nearly five thousand miles. The region he explored will long continue to offer a wide field for the enterprising population of the American states, and a receptacle for the shoals of emigrants, good and bad, which annually cross the seas from Europe. The details of the narrative are full of interest, and the descriptions of the manners and state of society are, in general, spirited, while there is an air of good faith in the author's relation, which convinces us we may listen to him with confidence. Mr. Bartlett, as Commissioner of the United States, had an opportunity of exploring the country under the most favourable circumstances. The United States and Mexican Boundary Commission, as

<sup>7</sup> Elements of Logic; together with an Introductory View of Philosophy in General, and a Preliminary View of the Reason. By Henry P. Tappan. New York. 8vo., pp. 468.

<sup>8</sup> Human Physiology, Statical and Dynamical; or, the Course and Conditions of the Life of Man. By John William Draper, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Chemistry and Physiology in the University of New York. New York. 1856. 8vo., pp. 650.

<sup>9</sup> Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, Sonora, and Chihuahua, connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission during the years 1850, 1851, 1852, and 1853. By John Russell Bartlett, U.S. Commissioner during that period. With Map and Illustrations. New York. Two vols., 8vo., pp. 1170.

organized in Washington under his direction, was composed of seventy-eight officers and assistants in the surveying, astronomical, and topographical divisions. In the course of the explorations many curious and valuable collections were made by the officers in the departments of zoology, botany, and geology. The geological collection was made by Dr. Thomas H. Webb, Secretary of the Joint Commission, a gentleman well known for his scientific attainments and antiquarian researches. In ethnology, Mr. Bartlett made vocabularies, each embracing two hundred words, in upwards of twenty different languages, most of which had never been previously collected. The volumes are illustrated by characteristic portraits of many of the aborigines, and sketches exhibiting their manners, customs, arts, and husbandry.

Our limits will permit us to notice only a few works of the more imaginative class. Under the singular but descriptive title of "The Rifle, Axe, and Saddle-Bags," &c., by William H. Milburn (London: S. Low and Son), we have a volume of clever and sprightly lectures, especially remarkable, owing to the painful and peculiar circumstances of the author. Having lost almost entirely his sight at an early age, his history is an extraordinary and instructive example, like that of Kitto, of the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties. An English edition has appeared with an introduction from the able pen of the Rev. T. Binney.

Mrs. Child's "Autumnal Leaves,"<sup>10</sup> is a well-written and agreeable volume, consisting of tales interspersed with short poems. The authoress is a warm advocate of the slave, and one of the most touching stories in this work is the narrative of a Hindoo slave in Java. Mrs. Child succeeds well in fiction, as also in the other fields of literature. The most esteemed of her works is "Philoletia," a romance of Greece, in which she has happily depicted Athenian society in the age of Pericles. Her narratives are lively, and will be read with interest by those who devote their desultory moments to elegant literature. The moral tone is elevated, though we might desire evidences of more scriptural views.

A second edition of Ware's "Julian; or, Scenes in Judea,"<sup>11</sup> is from the pen of one of the most elegant American writers. The hero of the tale is a Roman, of Hebrew descent, who visits the land of his ancestors during the last days of the Saviour. The scenes portrayed, although fictitious, have an air of truth, and are in harmony with the prominent actors in Judæa, at that memorable period. Some of Mr. Ware's works are well known in this country, and have been translated into German and other continental languages. His "Palmyra" has passed through fifteen editions.

Campbell's "Heroine of Scutari, and other Poems,"<sup>12</sup> evinces a

<sup>10</sup> Autumnal Leaves: Tales and Sketches in Prose and Rhyme. By L. Maria Child. New York. 12mo. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co.

<sup>11</sup> Julian; or, Scenes in Judea. By William Ware, Author of "Zenobia," "Aurelian," &c. Two vols. in one. Second Edition. New York. 1856.

<sup>12</sup> The Heroine of Scutari, and other Poems. By Edward R. Campbell, Esq. New York. 1856. 12mo., pp. 334. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co.

spirit of elevated piety, as well as great purity of taste. The author has paid a just tribute to Miss Nightingale in the piece which gives a title to the volume, and the shorter productions of his muse cannot fail to prove acceptable to all whose souls are attuned to harmony. The versification is often vigorous, the expression happy, and the imagery rich and graceful.

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## Brief Notices.

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THE RIME OF THE ANCIENT MARINER. By Samuel Taylor Coleridge. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co.

THIS edition of the marvellous "Rime" is beautifully printed, profusely illustrated, and most elegantly bound. The illustrations are wood-cuts by Horace Harral and Edmund Evans, after Wehnert, Birket Foster, and Duncan. We suspect Mr. Wehnert's free pencil has not in every case had justice done it by the engraver, but some of his fancies are very poetical and ghastly; witness, for example, the "Dicing of Death and Life-in-Death for the Ship's Crew," and the souls of the "four times fifty living men" leaving their earthly tenements. The seascapes of Messrs. Birket Foster and Duncan are admirable in every respect. The ship setting out on her voyage is a picture full of life and freshness. A morning breeze crisps the sea, and the doomed vessel, with no shadow of her coming fate upon her, drops merrily—

"Below the kirk, below the hill,  
Below the lighthouse top."

Equally effective, in a very different way, is the dreadful calm, with the water-snakes "within the shadow of the ship." The genius of Coleridge is all-sufficing in itself, but one cannot help delighting to see it honoured with these tributary elegancies.

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SIR EDWIN GILDEROY. By Feltham Burghley. London: John Chapman.

A BALLAD occupying some eighty pages, with an introductory preface of a hundred and fifty, besides notes. There are honourable precedents for this disproportion between the principal dish and the *hors d'œuvres*, and we should not think of quarrelling with the host if that were all. But the introductory essay is, in truth, scarcely connected with the ballad, which is not at all an apology for it. And yet the essay is better than the ballad. Mr. Burghley's recipe for making a poem is not a bad one: "We can put out what we have put in, and that only, from any vessel, whether brain-pan or pudding-basin—but if we put in flour, water, currants, sugar, by good confection we may bring plum-pudding out." But the "confection" must be good, or the pudding will be nought. Mr. Burghley is not a Soyer, but rather that recorded French cook who, finding no mention of a pudding-bag in the recipe, boiled the ingredients loose

in the water, and served it up, consequently, in the form of a soup which turned the universal stomach. "Taste and try," says Mr. Burghley. We have obeyed, and beg to assure him that we feel exceedingly qualmish after the process. Prefixed to his poem is the following epigram:—

"Hic liber est mundus; homines sunt, candidi, versus;  
Invenies paucos hic, ut in orbe, bonos."—*Owen's Epigrams.*

"This book is like to the round world, reader, and men are its verses,  
Few you will find in it, as in the world, that are good."

A criticism from which there is no appeal. Mr. Burghley makes also another quotation, from Bayle, in excellent taste, and which we earnestly beg him to take personally to heart: "J'ajouterais que s'ils sentaient le retour de quelque accès poétique, ils devraient le prendre pour une tentation de quelque mauvais génie."

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ROUND THE FIRE. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

SIX stories for children, which are very pretty, very interesting, and some very touching. The only want is a few illustrations.

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A BOOK OF GERMAN SONGS. Translated and edited by H. W. Dulcken. London: Ward & Lock.

A PARTICULARLY pleasant volume. Germany is essentially a song-loving nation, and is fertile in song-writers. Her songs have all the characteristics which such compositions demand, and are not merely brief poems. They are direct to the purpose, whatever that may be; whether war, or love, or wine, or sorrow move the singer; and they carry with them their own music; that is to say, the reading them infallibly suggests a melody. Mr. Dulcken has made an excellent selection of them, and his translations have great merit; they are close to the originals, and preserve their spirit, manner, and cadence very successfully. He has, in most cases, wisely adhered to the metre, and altogether a racy nationality pervades the book, which is invigorating, and relishing of the soil. The volume is very tastefully got up, and is well interspersed with illustrations, good and characteristic.

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POEMS. By Edward Capern, Rural Postman of Bideford, Devon. London: Bogue.

A VERY agreeable volume, in a moral as well as a poetical sense. Men, according to Lord Byron,—

"Are cradled into poetry by wrong;  
They learn in suffering what they teach in song."

And to a large extent this is a painful truth; the "wrong" of course including the imaginary as well as the real. Poetry is passion, and sorrow and suffering are more urgent to expression than contentment. The poets, therefore, of whose works cheerfulness is the leading characteristics, are extremely few, and welcome in proportion to their scanty number. We are glad to add the "Rural Postman of Bideford" to the list. Edward Capern is a rural postman, distri-

buting the mail between Bideford and Buckland Brewer, a discursive walk of thirteen miles daily, including Sundays; his salary, when he wrote these poems, was ten shillings and sixpence per week, out of which he contrived to maintain a wife and two children. Yet there is scarcely an expression of discontent throughout his volume, while positive outbursts of enjoyment abound. Horace's "Qui fit Mæcenas" would find no echo in the breast of our Bideford postman. Here is his answer:—

"Oh, the postman's is a happy life  
As any one I trow;  
Wandering away where dragon-flies play  
And brooks sing soft and slow.  
And watching the lark as he soars on high  
To carol in yonder cloud,  
'He sings in his labour, and why not I?'  
The postman sings aloud!"

This happy and enviable spirit pervades the book. Not that the author is insensible to the discomforts of his vocation either, or refrains from an occasional "heigho" at the thought of "the muck and miry slough" through which he sometimes has to trudge, and the—

"Toiling away through a weary week;  
No *six-day* week, but *seven*."

But his consciousness of them never darkens any considerable portion of his day: it is generally but a cloud which passes with the sigh which it occasions. And if he is very contented and very cheerful under his own hard lot, he has a heart none the less sensitive to the sorrows and privations of others. His domestic affections are disclosed in the most touching and graceful manner. "Affection's Argument," which we do not need to be told ~~is~~ addressed to his wife, and is an endeavour to persuade her to relax somewhat of her maternal watchfulness for the sake of her own health, presents him in the glow of a true heart as well as of a true poet. In poems of this kind, and in descriptions of natural scenery, he chiefly delights. Sometimes in the latter he reminds us of poor Clare, though he never equals that remarkable poet. Occasionally he can sing a loftier strain with great success; "Our Devonshire Worthies," for example, and "The Lion-Flag of England," which have an echo of the spirit of Campbell in them. Edward Capern is, beyond a doubt, an estimable as well as a clever man. What Coleridge said of his poetical faculty, the "Bideford Postman" may repeat with equal truth. It has evidently been to him "its own exceeding great reward; it has soothed his afflictions; it has multiplied and refined his enjoyments; it has endeared solitude; and it has given him the habit of wishing to discover the Good and the Beautiful in all that meets and surrounds him." And "an exceeding great reward" it will continue to be to him as long as he keeps it to its present function as a grace and an ornament, and does not endeavour to convert it to a means of living. It has already afforded him, we are glad to learn, substantial help, and we trust it will yield him a good deal more; but let him still regard it as an



auxiliary, and not a main source of subsistence. His inspiration is from the fields and green lanes of Devon, and he should not, if he values his happiness, hope to find it in dingy towns, and at the "desk's dead wood." We rejoice to see that the first edition of his book has produced him £150, which has been wisely invested in an annuity for the joint lives of himself and Mrs. Capern. The Post Office, too, has increased his salary to twelve shillings a week, and relieved him from his Sunday duties. This is better than making a nine days' wonder of him, and relegating him, when the excitement was over, to his old difficulties with a spirit less calculated to encounter them. It is better, too, than taking him out of his accustomed sphere, and placing him in a position where he would find none of those associations which have hallowed his life hitherto, and gilded with their happy radiance his ungenial fortunes.

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**HEART-MUSIC FOR WORKING PEOPLE.** Selected and arranged by J. Erskine Clarke, M.A. London: Partridge & Co.; Derby: Bemrose.

THIS is a generally good collection of poems from various sources, which we wish Mr. Clarke had been more careful to indicate. The names of the authors seem to be given or withheld capriciously, for Mr. Clarke can hardly be ignorant that Campbell wrote "The Soldier's Dream," or that "The Sea" is Barry Cornwall's; and not to tell the working men of the Derby Association that they owe to Cowper "The Loss of the Royal George," is practically to teach them that there is no virtue in gratitude. Nor can we commend the selection of "Alexander the Great," instead of Southey's "Battle of Blenheim," of which it is a palpable and rather poor imitation.

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**HELPS TO TRUTH-SEEKERS; or, Christianity and Scepticism.** An Exposition and a Defence. By the Rev. Joseph Parker, Banbury. London: Judd & Glass.

THIS little work is intended to meet the wants of that large class of our young men who have not the means or the leisure for reading more elaborate works. The principal objections to Christianity, particularly those of the Secularist school, are boldly met and fairly answered. The style is luminous, terse, and energetic. Mr. Parker writes like a man who has tested his arguments by their application to actual life—to unbelievers, doubters, and truth-seekers with whom he has had personal intercourse; and, if we mistake not, his argumentation has thus acquired a vivaciousness and point not easily to be obtained by the secluded thinker. We should be glad to hear that this volume has been extensively circulated among the youth of our manufacturing towns; and give it our cordial recommendation, as equally excellent in manner and in matter.

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**THE PASTOR'S PRAYER FOR THE PEOPLE'S WEAL.** A Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Prayer for the Ephesians, Eph. iii. 14—21. By James Spence, D.D., Minister of the Poultry Chapel, London.

THOUGH this work is divided into sections like a regular treatise, it appears from the author's introduction that it was delivered (or the

substance of it) from the pulpit, and we do not doubt was listened to with interest and profit. The piety, good sense, and spiritual tone of the volume will recommend it to all who may honour its pages with a perusal, though we imagine it will be most prized by the congregation and immediate friends of the author.

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**PARTING COUNCILS:** an Exposition of the First Chapter of the Second Epistle of Peter; with Four Additional Discourses. By John Brown, D.D. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant & Sons; London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co.

DR. BROWN is well known to the religious public as the author of "Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter." The excellence of those discourses, the valuable contribution which by them the author has made to our exegetical theology, have rendered it very desirable that he should complete his design by executing with the same ability and care a commentary on the second epistle. It is to be regretted that Dr. Brown has confined himself in this second volume to the first chapter of the second epistle, thus leaving the work incomplete. While we are thankful for what he has done, we are sorry that he has not done more. We do not think that the difficulties to which he refers in his preface are insurmountable. The volume contains additional discourses on important subjects, such as these: How Christians may know that they are of the truth, and may assure their hearts before God; Assurance of Salvation, and how to obtain it; The Object of the Christian Economy, and the means of its accomplishment, &c. We direct the attention of the Biblical student to the author's interpretation of the very difficult passage, 2 Cor. iii. 18 (pp. 296, 297). Indeed, the whole of the discourse is worth the serious attention of every minister of the gospel.

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## Books Received.

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Adams's Cyclopædia of Female Biography. Parts 7, 8, 9. Groombridge & Sons.  
 Ancient Poems: Ballads and Poems of the Peasantry of England. 252 pp. (Bell's Annotated Edition of the English Poets.) John W. Parker & Son.  
 Anti-Slavery Advocate, for April. Wm. Tweedie.  
 British Quarterly Review. No. L. Jackson & Walford.  
 Church of England Quarterly Review. No. LXXXII. Partridge & Co.  
 Commentary Wholly Biblical. Part VI. Bagster & Sons.  
 Descriptive Notes of Works issued by Thos. Constable & Co. Edinburgh. No. II.  
 Educator; or, the Home, the School, and the Teacher. No. XIII. Ward & Co.  
 Evangelical Christendom, for April. Office: 7, Adam Street, Strand.  
 Fraser's Magazine, for April. John W. Parker & Son.  
 Gospel Tracts: "A Page for the Poor." 7 pp. W. H. Collingridge.  
 Hue's (M. Abbé) Christianity in China, Tartary, and Thibet. 2 vols., 422 & 405 pp. Longmans & Co.  
 Jewish Chronicle, for April. Office: 7, Bevis Marks.  
 Journal of Sacred Literature. No. IX. Alex. Heylin.  
 Leisure Hour, for April. Religious Tract Society.  
 Liberator, for April. Houlston & Stoneman.  
 London University Magazine, for April. Hall, Virtue, & Co.  
 Maxwell's (Hon. S.) Wherefore as a Christian Quiescent in the late Election Struggle. 16 pp. W. Yapp.  
 National Review. No. VIII. Chapman & Hall.  
 Occasional Paper of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society. No. XIV.  
 Paragraph Bible in Separate Books: Deuteronomy, Judges and Ruth, Hebrews. Maps. Bagsters.  
 Revue Chrétienne: Recueil Mensuel. No. IV. Paris: Ch. Meyrueis & Co.  
 Sunday at Home, for April. Religious Tract Society.  
 Voluntary and Religious Education: Minutes of a Conference at Homerton. 31 pp. Ward & Co.  
 Wm. Lewis's (Dr. Forbes) Journal of Psychological Medicine. No. VI. J. Churchill.

THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW.

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JUNE, 1857.

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ART. I.—THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES.

1. *Roumania, after the Treaty of Paris, of March 30, 1856.* By B. Boeresco; with an Introduction by Royer-Collard. Paris. 1856.
2. *The Abolition of Serfdom in the Danubian Principalities.* By A. G. Golesco. Paris. 1856.
3. *Letters on Hungary and Roumania.* Paris. 1851.
4. *Eastern Affairs: Re-organization of the Danubian Provinces.* Paris. 1856.
5. *The History of the Eighteenth Century.* By F. C. Schlosser. Heidelberg. 1843.

At the Vienna Conference of 1855, on the motion of the plenipotentiary of Louis Buonaparte, a project was worked out according to which Moldavia and Wallachia were to be endowed with an independence similar to that bestowed upon Servia. At the same time, the French envoy proposed effecting a union, administrative as well as political, of the two Principalities. The representatives of the other contracting powers lent willing ears; or, at least offered no show of resistance to these proposals. Russia, in so acting, probably thought she was assisting in a further humiliation of her traditional foe, the Turk. Prussia acquiesced from her sense of confidence in the profound wisdom of the Czar. Austria, at that time all-powerful in the Danubian Principalities, by reason of her military occupation there, did not care to dissent from the proposition, her own ambition leading her to entertain hopes of securing the new throne of united Moldo-Wallachia for one of her archdukes. Sardinia, in her consent, was actuated, no doubt, from a wish of creating a precedent for the cause of Italian nationality and

independence. England, lastly, neglected to object, either from apathy or from subserviency to her French ally. In fact, it was quietly, and well-nigh unanimously, arranged by their several excellencies, each for his own particular reason, that the Ottoman empire should be denuded of two of its most fertile dependencies.

The betrayed Turk alone, very naturally did not share this opinion. The government of the Porte protested against any diminution of its sovereignty, and firmly refused to consent to the severance of its Moldo-Wallachian fief from the rest of the empire.

At the Paris Congress, 1856, the question was treated nearly in the same spirit as in 1855, at Vienna. The Porte offered the same expostulation as the year before. Since then, however, the aspect of affairs has undergone a considerable change. Russia and France, it is true, still stand together, plotting to bring about the separation of the Danubian countries from Turkey,—a circumstance the less to be wondered at, as Count Paul Kisseleff, to whose efforts Russia owes her former extent of influence in the Principalities, is at this moment the Czar's ambassador at Paris. Prussian policy, also, so far as it exercises any European authority, still pursues the same aim, in common with the courts of St. Petersburg and the Tuileries. Sardinia, since the conclusion of the war, has lost much of the position it held during that time in the arena of European politics; but, within the sphere of its own immediate influence, the court of Turin continues to maintain its opinions of the Vienna Congress. It is confirmed in them by the flattering insinuations of the Russian diplomacy.

England and Austria, however, within the last few months have gradually more and more opposed the project of creating an "independent Roumania." In England, the public press has of late entered somewhat more deeply into the question. The more it has inquired into it, the wider has the conviction spread of the manifold dangers, and comparatively small and dubious advantages, that would accrue to Europe from the overthrow of the political relations which bind Moldavia and Wallachia to the government of Constantinople.

It will be apparent from the above, that at present there are three despotic powers—Russia, France, and Prussia, and one constitutional government—Sardinia, in favour of the scheme of union and independence. The opposite view is held by one constitutional power—England, and two despotic governments

Turkey and Austria. This chaotic division of alliances may, perhaps, appear to many sufficiently bewildering to exclude the possibility of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion on the merits

of the case. On the contrary, we rather incline to the opinion that this medley of interests allows of the question being treated with greater ease and absence of prejudice.

At a first glance, the formation of a Rouman state would seem to be a desirable event, even when considered with reference to its probable bearing on Russia. The population of Moldo-Wallachia is of a race distinct from that which constitutes the bulk of the Muscovite empire. Consequently, it might be advanced, not without a certain plausibility, that the establishment of a Rouman state would tend to check the progress of Russian Pan-Slavism. Let us, however, carefully dissect this theory, and discover what real strength it contains.

That Russia exercises a powerful influence by the vast extension of the Slavonian stock, is a fact universally acknowledged. Any ethnological map will show how the tribes of that origin not only spread over Muscovy Proper, but are also scattered over parts of European Turkey and Hungary. In Turkey, the Slavonian element predominates throughout Servia and Montenegro. There, therefore, the Russian propaganda is most active and successful. This large extension of a kindred race from the centre of Russia into the heart of the Ottoman dominions, is undoubtedly a danger to Europe; for, unfortunately, the majority of Slavonian tribes are so deeply immersed in superstition and barbarism, that they are easily converted into willing tools of a crafty despotism. The Slavonian movements of Jellachich, Hurban, and Stratimirovitch in 1848 and 1849 — movements which aided in making the grave of Hungarian liberty, and similar Pan-Slavist intrigues in Bohemia in 1848 — intrigues which proved the finishing blow to the struggles for freedom of the German provinces of Austria — are still too fresh in the memory of all those who have studied the history of 1848, to need any recapitulation.

With these experiences at hand, there can be no doubt that it is necessary to raise up bulwarks against the Pan-Slavist invasion, by means of nationalities different or opposed to that stock. The Magyar and the Turk *are* such nationalities. In them, Central Europe possesses allies against Russia and her avowed or secret agents. However, not only Magyars and Ottomans, but also the *Latin* race inhabiting the Danubian provinces, would appear to have a common interest with Central Europe in opposing Muscovite encroachments. Indeed, by a lucky geographical chance, the Moldo-Wallachians are wedged in, like a dividing wall, between the Slavonians of the north and the south, — between those under Russian rule and those subject to the Porte. To strengthen the independence of the Moldo-Wallachians would thus appear, on the first hurried

glance, a consummation both desirable and necessary. And no lack of arguments have, in fact, been advanced to this purpose, all of them calculated to make an impression on those who judge from hasty premises. It is said, for instance, that the Roumans of the Principalities are "the veritable descendants of the ancient Romans;" that "the language they speak is a Latin dialect;" that they "widely differ in character from the surrounding Slavonians;" and that, under a national administration, they would form no slight impediment to the advance of Northern Autocracy.

Fair and plausible as this line of argument may seem, we must still offer a few objections.

We will not here deeply inquire into the Moldo-Wallachian claim to a classic origin. Certainly, it would be easy enough to show, judging the question ethnologically, that the thinly sown Latin race of the ancient Dacians became, in the centuries immediately following the fall of the Roman empire, so swallowed up or modified by the invasions of Goths, Kumans, Petchenegs, and a flood of Tartar tribes, that any remnants of the original Roman element must have been completely re-moulded. The Principalities have always served as one of the great gateways through which the tide of migration flowed. Each roll of that human ocean left its impress behind. Thus, the "purity of their pedigree" is not the best claim for the Moldo-Wallachians to advance for national independence.

This, however, is not the chief point in question. It is not any antiquarian consideration of ethnological claims, but the urgent political wants of the epoch in which we live, that ought to furnish us with reasons for a sound judgment of the cause before us.

And here, first and foremost, it must be said that from a general European point of view, it appears scarcely wise to mortally offend Turkey—as yet the strongest anti-Russian element in the East—by inflicting on her a violent spoliation of her Danubian dependencies; *thus making the Porte disinclined to any further resistance against Russia*. It was the Turk who, in 1854, in spite of all dissuasion and menace from corrupted European diplomacy, drew the sword to defend Moldo-Wallachia. During a whole year, the Turks sustained this struggle at their own risk, and shrunk not from sacrificing in the cause the blood and treasure of their nation. It was only *after* the Russian army was beaten on the Danube, that the Western Powers entered the lists, and stood beside the Turk in a contest involving the interests of all Europe. The world knows that, when offering their succour to the Porte, the Western Powers promised in a solemn treaty, to keep faith with their ally. If Europe now would violently tear away from Turkey those very Princi-



palities, for the defence of which England and France announced that they appeared in arms in the East, such a flagrant proceeding is very inadequately described as a breach of confidence, and might well merit a much severer condemnation. From such monstrous treachery the government of Constantinople would, no doubt, take warning how it again stands in the breach, and bears the brunt of the battle with the Russian giant.

Viewed in this light, a humiliation and curtailment of the Ottoman power is more than an international crime: it is a political fault, being as much at variance with the dictates of sound policy as it is with good faith. The nations of Europe could hardly expect henceforward but that the betrayed Porte would decline to conclude alliances with them. All their offers of so-called friendship and military co-operation would be held at Constantinople as so many delusions, mockeries, and snares. The influence of Russia in the East would grow in the same ratio as Ottoman confidence in Frankish honour would diminish.

And, after all, this terrible risk would be incurred to promote a political experiment, the issue of which is more than doubtful. For, well weighing every chance, the project of a separate Rouman state, in whatever form it may be constituted, is fraught with more danger than advantage. It offers far greater certainty of failure than success. While we have before our eyes the evidence of the resolute and courageous attitude Turkey maintains against Russia, we have no guarantee whatever as to the part an independent Moldo-Wallachia would assume. The reason of this want of security is obvious enough. In spite of the difference between Slavonian and Latin nationality, Russia possesses even now in the Danubian provinces important centres of influence. Of the boyard aristocracy, the "upper ten thousand" are almost all sworn to the Russian interest. Among the peasants, there is no vestige of political or national feeling. They are easily made the dupes of intrigues through their priests. A middle class, properly so speaking, does not exist in Moldo-Wallachia. These are elements which certainly form no counterpoise against, but would seem rather to be favourable to, the encroachments of ambitious Autocrats.

The similarity of religion between the Russian and the Rouman—both being Greco-Catholic—is another circumstance not to be overlooked. The Turk, on the contrary, both by national descent and by religion, is the natural enemy of the Muscovite. It may be fairly argued from these premises that the Ottoman race offers, as yet, more guarantees to hold its ground against the Russian than the untried Rouman.

From a liberal point of view we may further remark that the establishment of an independent Roumania would rather tend

to delay for an indefinite period, than to facilitate, the advent of true progress in the Danubian countries. Let us suppose the case of a united Moldo-Wallachia, under a government of its own. Let us cast a glance at the probable consequences thereof. The newly constituted political body would naturally be regarded with aversion by Turkey—for it is difficult to suppose that Turkey would willingly acquiesce in a diminution of her power. The new-fangled state would be watched with a jealous eye by Austria—for Austria has a Rouman population both in the Bukovina and Transsylvania, and must consequently be apprehensive of a Rouman propaganda. Thus regarded in a hostile spirit by two sides, where would Moldo-Wallachia turn for countenance and aid? An alliance with a free Hungary is as yet impossible. Equally so with a free Poland. With no other resources, the weakly offspring of European diplomacy would throw itself into the arms of the Czar, trusting that the jealousy of the European powers would prove strong enough to protect it from the penalties of such a dangerous inclination!

In other words, Roumania would be a second Greece—a mere cat's-paw of Russia. Such a state of things as this could only lead to the ruin of both Moldo-Wallachia and Turkey in general. The latter, edged in by pretender states and rebellious vassals—such as Greece! Montenegro! Servia! the Danubian provinces! Egypt! Kurdistan!—would be in imminent danger of a catastrophe of which the policy of the Winter Palace could not fail to reap every advantage. What benefit, therefore, can the most sanguine anticipate to the liberal cause from this new territorial arrangement?

Let us, however, assume, on the other hand, that the new government of Bucharest or Jassy would keep aloof from Russia,—that it would tread on the road of social and political reform,—that it would adopt as its first principles the suppression of feudalism, the emancipation of the peasantry, the substitution of a free proprietorship for the glebe slavery that now prevails among the people? What even then would be the consequence?

Why, with the existing ignorance of the peasantry, with the predominating influence of the Greco-Catholic priests, and the want of a free-minded middle class, the nobles would in a very short time be again triumphant. Furious at the intended curtailment of their feudal rights, they would once more sell the country to the Cossack. The good intentions of a few well-meaning men would be swept away before the storm of aristocratic reaction,—a reaction which would of course be openly aided and abetted by Russia.

At present, with Turkey firmly exercising its supremacy over the Danubian countries, the Muscovite leanings of the great

boyard families are still kept down to some extent: for the Porte has a certain efficient mode of dealing with traitors. Let, however, Ottoman supremacy be weakened, and the door will be opened wide to every description of Muscovite intrigue.

The danger which the establishment of an independent Roumania would offer to the territorial integrity even of Hungary, is not the least of the objections we entertain. In subsequent paragraphs this point, which is of interest to all advocates of Continental freedom, will be dilated on more fully. We confine our remarks here to asserting that every disarrangement of the map of Turkey appears to us premature so long as Central Europe is still enslaved by despotic dynasties, which are unwilling or unable to counteract Russian policy. With a free Germany, a free Poland, and a free Hungary, there would be no danger in re-organizing the Danubian and Balkan countries. But with Germany, Hungary, and Poland at the mercy of the Czar and the Czar's minions, it would be far sounder policy to leave the map of Turkey as it is.

After this introduction, we proceed to the treatment of the historical and diplomatic aspect of the question.

One of the most powerful arguments the advocates of the union and independence of Moldo-Wallachia bring forward is taken from the treaties of 1393, 1460, 1513, and 1529, which the Porte concluded with the then ruling princes of the Danubian countries. The adherents of the Rouman idea of the day declare these treaties to be still legally in force, and draw from them most important points against the right of Turkey to interfere in Moldo-Wallachian matters, and against Turkish supremacy in general.

Before entering more fully into these "treaties," we must make here a remark as to the date of their conclusion. That of 1393, drawn up at Nicopoli, between Bayazid I. Ilderim, and Mircea I. of Moldavia, was, as an historical reference will show, signed not less than *sixty years before Constantinople even had become an Ottoman city!* Those of 1460 and 1513 were drawn up at a time when Bosnia, Epirus, and several other countries which form now the most integral parts of Turkey, had yet to be conquered by Turkish arms! This simple statement will go far to show the value of the "treaties" in its true light.

The Ottoman empire, it cannot be forgotten, is a political creation comparatively of recent date in the history of Europe. If the early transactions by which it was gradually founded, were to be taken as the basis of its *present* constitution, the natural consequence must be, that the Ottoman dominions are to be broken up, or at least so far crippled as to be unworthy any longer of the name of an empire. It would be as well to

declare at once that the Byzantine laws are the only ones recognised by European diplomatists, and that the Turkish rule is an invasion which must be repelled at all risks and hazards. This would be a more straightforward and honest procedure than to attempt to undermine the integrity of the Ottoman empire by reviving defunct clauses in mediæval documents, and other pettifogging quibbles.

Still, we will dispassionately inquire into the contents even of these alleged treaties. Let us see whether, after all, they really do bear out the assertion that the sovereignty and independence of the two Danubian provinces has been guaranteed by them.

The first question to solve is—Does any “treaty” at all exist in the sense we attach to that word?

The answer is, emphatically,—NO!

The treaties between the Sultans and the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia were not treaties between equal powers. They were not treaties even in the sense of those conventions concluded between the haughty Romans of old and their allies, or, more correctly speaking, *protégés*. They were merely *capitulations*, by which a weak power, on the brink of annihilation, sought to obtain some concessions and favours from the irresistible invader. Indeed, “capitulations,” and not “treaties,” is the proper word by which they were originally designated. An unbiassed perusal of these documents will, moreover, make perfectly apparent the spirit in which they were conceived.

“Through our great clemency”—the document of 1393, for instance, commences—“we (the Sultan) *deign to consent* that the Principality of Wallachia, *which has been subjected to our invincible force*, shall govern itself after its own laws, and that the Prince of Wallachia shall be *permitted* the right of making peace and war, and of deciding questions of the life and death of his subjects.” Can this, we ask, be construed into the language of a treaty between two powers? Is it not more the tone assumed by a conqueror, who, from some political motive, thinks prudent to abstain from further pressing on a country that already lies at his feet?

In Articles 2 and 3 of this same document, some important privileges are granted to Wallachia. It is stipulated that all Christians, who, after having embraced the religion of Mohammed, should return to Wallachia, and then again become Christians, are not to be persecuted for so doing. In the same way, all Wallachians who should pass from their country into the possessions directly subjected to the Turkish sceptre, are to be held exempt from the *haratch*, and other contributions. Art. 4 lastly stipulated that the Christian princes of Wallachia were to be elected by the metropolitan, the boyards, and the “nation.”

But in Art. 5, the Sultan plainly declares again that he has granted all these privileges from his sovereign mercy and forbearance, and he significantly continues—"As we have inscribed the Prince of Wallachia *on the muster-roll of our other* SUBJECTS, he, too, must pay annually to our Imperial treasury, three thousand red piastres of the country, or five hundred silver piastres of our coin." Now, considering that this charter—for, a treaty, we repeat, it is neither in spirit nor letter—was granted full sixty years before the capture of Constantinople, it must be owned that the position of the Prince of Wallachia does not appear in that document to have been a very influential or prosperous one, taking his place as he did with the other "subjects" of the Sultan on the muster-roll of the conqueror. What traces have we here of the "sovereignty" of Wallachia, which the advocates of the Unionist scheme would have us believe had been secured by the capitulations?

The document of 1460, drawn up at Adrianople by Mohammed II., for the benefit of Vlad V., Prince of Wallachia, exhibits the country in a hardly less dependent position. It is true some further stipulations are more explicitly stipulated in favour of the Principality. The local administration of Wallachia is guaranteed the free exercise of its functions, and a promise is given that no Mussulman mosque shall ever be erected on Wallachian territory. But, on the other hand, the Sultan takes the country under his and his successors' permanent "supremacy;" and instead of the former payment of three thousand piastres annually, he now levies "*a tribute of ten thousand.*"

The privileges granted to Bogdan, Prince of Moldavia, by Selim I., in the document of 1513, are similar to those conferred upon Wallachia. Moldavia having submitted without an armed struggle, it was spared the humiliation of being styled a conquered country by the Turkish rulers; whilst in speaking of Wallachia in the capitulations, no such consideration is shown. However, in Art. 9, it is said that, "*as a sign of submission,*" Moldavia must engage to send every year to the Porte, "by two Moldavian boyards," the sum of four thousand Turkish ducats, that is, eleven thousand piastres, as well as forty falcons, and forty mares in foal. Art. 10, moreover, stipulates that, in case of preparations for war on the part of Turkey, the Prince of Moldavia is bound "to furnish the Imperial army whatever contingent may be demanded of him." This stipulation, in point of fact, allowed the Porte to draw an unlimited number of fighting men from the Principalities. The document of 1529, granted by Sultan Soliman II., to Peter Rares, Prince of Moldavia, is scarcely more than a repetition of that of 1513.

The only remarkable passage in it is that of Art. 9, which styles Moldavia an independent country, whilst Art. 1, of the same document, speaks of its "submission to the Ottoman empire."

The extracts we have given are sufficient to show that, even so early as before the time of the Turkish conquest of Constantinople, the Prince of Wallachia—that is, the ruler of the most important of the two Principalities—had been inscribed on the list of the *subjects* of the Sultan. How the Rouman publicists of our day can draw from all this the inference that there had been treaties of alliance with Turkey, is to us a mystery.

It is true the rights reserved to the Danubian princes were important,—at least, in words. But it must be borne in mind that it was Turkish policy, at the epoch of the establishment of the Empire, not to press too heavily on the frontier provinces, in order the better to secure their fidelity to Ottoman rule. It ought also to be remembered that the right of making peace and war, although nominally conferred by the Sultan on the Moldo-Wallachian princes, was in reality but a shadow of a right. The power of declaring war against the Porte was, of course, legally out of the question, and a matter of rebellion. To enter into a war injurious to Ottoman interest, was, we need scarcely say, equally prohibited, and viewed in the light of an indirect revolt. What, then, remained to the Principalities? The doubtful privilege of being permitted to embark, on their own account, in wars which were either indirectly favourable to Turkey, or wholly unconnected with the interests of the Porte. It was evidently no very extensive exercise of sovereignty to be allowed entering on wars of such a prescribed character.

Be that as it may, we think it idle to endeavour defining by some precise phrase, taken from the international code of Western Europe, a state of things which offers such a confused aspect as the early relations between the Turkish invaders and the countries they gradually subjected. The Rouman publicists of our days have taken no little pains to unravel the problem, to what category of the international code the relations between Moldo-Wallachia and Turkey belong. Have the capitulations of 1393, &c. established the Sultan as a "sovereign," or as a "suzerain," or as a "protector" in the old Roman sense? Have the Principalities, by submitting to the Osmanlis, lost their sovereignty, or preserved it? Have they become subjects, or remained free men? Have they only concluded treaties of "unequal alliance?" or have they divested themselves of the most important functions of their autonomy? Are Moldavia and Wallachia in the position of those German states which,



through their character as members of the Confederation, lose a portion of their independence? Or how, and in what category, are the relations of the Principalities to be classified?

The endeavour is indeed a vain one to apply the technicalities of our Western laws to these Eastern matters. Is it possible to forget that the foundation of the Ottoman empire presents features altogether different from a legal state of things? Can we shut our eyes to the fact that the capitulations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were signed at a time when the very basis of the Turkish realm had yet to be settled? All the erudition so prodigally lavished by those who exhumed these antiquated documents, becomes worse than useless when opposed to the political necessities, nay, the very existence, of the present Turkish empire. We repeat, if the doctrine is right of those who take the early conventions as a proper basis for the actual organization of the East, there is no reason why the Byzantine empire, as existing before the invasion of the Osmanlis, should not be taken as a point of departure. It is yet to be seen whether Europe, with the Muscovite arch-enemy lying in wait at her gates, will lend her hand to such a dangerous overthrow of Turkish rule.

In the foregoing we have dissected the capitulations on which, under the name of "treaties," so much stress is laid by Moldo-Wallachian writers. We now proceed to develop the causes, that in later centuries have so fundamentally altered the relations between the Principalities and the Porte.

Even at so early a date as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we already see an Ottoman "supremacy" over the Danubian countries stipulated for and recognised. The course of events, however, converted this protectorate into a more substantial suzerainty, which gradually approached the idea of sovereignty. The procedures were these. The Turks having left, at the time of their first inroad, very considerable privileges to Moldavia and Wallachia, the princes of these countries, in subsequent epochs, strove to make use of their privileges to re-acquire a position of full independence, and, consequently, revolted against Turkey. Whether, even at that time, Muscovite policy had anything to do with these insurrections, we will not inquire. Certain it is that, as early as the fifteenth century, the Czar of Moscow cast a wistful glance on the Danubian provinces, and worked hard to injure, by underhand means, Turkish influence in that quarter. Ivan III.—the same that married the niece of the last Byzantine emperor—is known to have entertained very strong notions respecting a claim on his own part to the inheritance of "Eastern Rome." He, in furtherance no doubt of that idea, allied his house and his political interests

with Moldavia. The successors of Ivan equally kept their attention fixed on the Danube.

Be that, however, as it may, the Porte could not but see with apprehension the rising spirit of hostility so rampant at the courts of Moldavia and Wallachia. It is at the Danube that Constantinople must be protected. At the Danube, therefore, the Turks could not allow any enemy to establish himself. No wonder then, when Turkey observed her policy of conciliation had no effect in Moldo-Wallachia, that she resolved to draw tighter the reins of centralization, and to subject the Principalities to a more efficient *régime*. A battle gained by the Turks over the insurgent Prince Michel, in 1595, gave the desired occasion. The revolted Wallachians having met with a signal defeat, *the province was declared a Turkish pashalik*. Subsequent rebellions of the Danubian princes served even further to induce the Porte to take the administration of the Principalities more directly in her own hand. The Hospodars, in many instances, from that time, were formally appointed by the Porte at Stamboul, instead of being elected by the boyards and the clergy, as had been the usage heretofore.

However, we must state here that even the advocates of Roumanian independence declare that, from the period of 1393 to 1716, the liberties of Moldo-Wallachia were comparatively safe. The "real and permanent usurpation" on the part of Turkey, they contend, dates only from the eighteenth century. What, then, we may ask, could have been the reason that induced the Porte, about the year 1716, to encroach even further on Moldo-Wallachia?

The reason is soon told. It is, unfortunately, one which justifies the Turkish procedures:—the Moldo-Wallachian Hospodars had degenerated into *the willing tools of Russia*.

This fact is so well ascertained that not even the boldest writers in the Roumanian interest—and their temerity in handling historical facts is of a somewhat startling character—have dared to pass it over in silence. "Before the Russian intervention," says, for instance, one of these writers, "Turkey was always careful to respect the right of treaty reserved to the Roumans. Thus, at the end of the seventeenth century, when the envoys of Poland claimed, at Carlowitz, a portion of Moldavian territory, the Porte replied to them: 'The Principalities have not been subjected by force of arms; they have made their submission of free-will in virtue of capitulations which engage the Porte to respect their territories as well as their liberties.'"

Such moderate language on the part of a despotic government like Turkey is worthy of remark, more especially when remembering the manifold conflicts that had taken place between the

Ottoman suzerain and the rebellious Danubian princes. But it must be acknowledged Turkish patience was too sorely tried when the Hospodars sought to destroy the very integrity of the Ottoman empire, through dangerous alliances with that scheming deviser of universal dominion, Peter I. !

It was during the war begun in 1710 that Peter I. made overtures to the Hospodars to secure them as allies against Turkey. To Dmitri Cantemir he offered to render the princely dignity hereditary in his family, and to place his successors for ever under Russian protection. Dmitri Cantemir eagerly closed with this proposal. In the treaty thereupon concluded, he consequently was styled "Most Serene Highness, Lord and Sole Master of Moldavia, Confederate [*collegator*] of Russia." A similar engagement was drawn up between Peter I. and the Wallachian prince. Both Hospodars then invited the Czar to enter their country with his army; and when he had crossed the Pruth, assisted him to the best of their ability against Turkey. Fortunately, their designs were frustrated. Peter, surrounded by the Turks, very nearly fell into the hands of his enemies, and only owed his personal safety to the circumstance of his mistress, and future Empress, Catherine, having bribed the vizier in command of the Ottoman troops.

These evidences of an eager desire, on the part of a powerful faction in Moldo-Wallachia, to become the tools of the Muscovite, of necessity altered the Ottoman policy. Still, many of their provincial rights remained untouched; but, at the same time, in all important state matters, the seignorial *hatticheriffs* were henceforth promulgated at Jassy and Bucharest, as in any other province of the empire. The Turks had become too well acquainted with the military importance of the Danubian countries to allow them to become the prey of so grasping a power as Russia. The rapidity with which Muscovite ambition developed itself after Peter I., in both Europe and Asia, put the Porte more and more on her guard. Turkey beheld her rule secretly and openly attacked by the Autocrats in the Black Sea, in Greece, on the Caucasus, and the Danube. Who, under these circumstances, can wonder at or blame Turkey for taking those measures necessary for the preservation of her Danubian outposts?

It is important these facts should be deeply impressed on the mind of Western Europe. The autonomy of Moldo-Wallachia was only forfeited as a punishment for the intrigues her princes had indulged in with the unscrupulous court of Russia.

In the preceding pages it has been shown that it was Russia, in that first stood godfather to the project of restoring Moldo-independence. The motive that actuated her in this, is essentially Russian.

be detected. At various epochs it was ever a favourite plan of the Czars first to detach some province from a neighbouring state under the pretence of independence, in order thus the better to prepare it for final incorporation with their own empire. Peter I. pursued this policy. Catherine II., when victorious against the Turks, strove to carry it out with even greater perseverance. The annexation of the Crimea, which she brought about by her cunning, offers, in this respect, a lesson which may well be studied to-day.

When, towards the end of the last century, the Czarina was bent upon gaining a footing on the Black Sea, one of her first acts tending to this aim, was to favour the movement then made in the Crimea for the forming that peninsula into an independent kingdom. Taking advantage of the jealousy the Khans of the Crimea felt towards their Ottoman suzerain, the Russian government espoused the cause of the Tauric Tartars, and thus contrived to bring about a severance of the ties which for centuries had bound the peninsula to Constantinople. Consequently, in the peace of Kudji-Kainardji, 1774, the Crimea was acknowledged as an "independent realm,"—"*dependent only from God*," as the Russian wording has it. The people of the peninsula were henceforward to govern themselves "freely," without any interference on the part of the Ottoman lord. Such were the stipulations Russia imposed upon the Porte. Europe, in its infatuation, applauded this "generous policy." Many misguided liberals even extolled the magnanimity of the Czarina.

A few years more passed by, and the designs of the wily Catherine were unmasked. The Crimea, unable by its own force to resist the pressure of Russia, and unaided by the armies of her former suzerain, fell, in 1787, an easy prey to the Northern invader!

Thus miserably ended an "independence" which had been so pompously heralded into life!

A similar trick Catherine II. intended to play upon Europe by the "deliverance" of the Danubian Principalities. It was altogether a notion of the Czarina to create independent states: witness her design to establish the "independent Hellenic Republics,"—under a Russian protectorate! In this latter plan, it is true, she met with a decided failure. The insurrection she caused Alexis Orloff to foster in the Peloponnesus, by means of paid Russian agents dressed as Hellenic priests, utterly miscarried. In the question of Moldo-Wallachia too, she did not succeed to the full extent of her desires. Still, the steps she took in that direction are important enough to be recorded here. They give a clue to the pertinacity with which the idea

of an independent Moldo-Wallachia is, from epoch to epoch, regularly brought forward.

Already in 1772, at Foksani, Catherine had proposed to render the Danubian provinces independent. The project at that time was at once shelved. In the deliberations preceding the treaty of Kudji-Kainardji, Russia repeated her demands. She ostensibly paraded the right of Moldavia and Wallachia to a national administration of their own. In fact, Russia, on this occasion, contrived to give to the Hospodars the unusual title of "sovereigns," and to confer upon them the privilege of being represented at Constantinople by diplomatic agents. At the same time, Russia took care to assure to herself the important right of interference, under cover of guaranteeing the constitution of the Principalities against Turkey.

Of course, the title of "sovereign" thus liberally awarded to the Hospodars, only was meant to serve as an instrument wherewith to batter down the Ottoman suzerainty. In the same way, the privilege of a diplomatic representation at Constantinople was conferred by Russia upon the Principalities, merely with a view of having in the Turkish capital Rouman agents in the interest of the policy of St. Petersburg.

Shall we go over the history of the Danubian countries since the beginning of the present century? It is too well known that Russia, from Catherine II. down to our days, has never ceased to busy herself with an apparent advocacy of the self-government of Moldo-Wallachia, whilst, at the same time, drawing them more and more into the meshes of her own policy. Every stride made by the Autocrats since 1774, was an effort to convert the Hospodars from vassals of the Porte into subjects of the Muscovite protector. Sometimes, Russia worked on this behalf by mere diplomatic intrigues; sometimes, by military invasion; sometimes, even by getting up sham insurrections. The insurrection of Ypsilanti, 1821—in appearance a national rising—was one of these Muscovite concoctions. Ypsilanti was as undoubtedly an agent of St. Petersburg as Capo d'Istrias, the "Hellenic hero," acted in the pay of the Czar.

The influence Russia acquired in Moldo-Wallachia after the war of 1829, and her further progress in 1849, through the treaty of Balta Liman, are matters of notoriety. On both these occasions, the Emperor Nicholas did not so much care to insist on guarantees for the independence of the Principalities as to make stipulations for his own right of interference. It is altogether remarkable, that the government of St. Petersburg, in the course of time, gradually dropped the idea of Moldo-Wallachian independence, only cultivating that of Russian

influence. Thus, in 1848, we find the Czar Nicholas pronouncing himself, in a note of the most violent terms, against the establishment of an independent Roumania, which had been the object of the Revolution of Bucharest. The interest the Czars felt in the scheme of independence only lasted so long as they were able to direct the movement.

The policy of Russia, in this matter as in others, was always a policy of expediency. No wonder, therefore, that Alexander II., since the recent war and the Peace of Paris have done away with the Russian protectorate, has resumed again the advocacy of "independence." In the present situation of Europe, he evidently hopes, that if only the Danubian countries are once out of the power of the Sultan, they will soon fall in the grasp of the Czar. No sane man can indeed believe that if a "free Roumania" were established, Russia would contemplate in quiet the constitutional development of such a country on her frontier. No sooner would the Principalities be severed from Turkey, than the agents of St. Petersburg would begin convulsing the new state by means of the nobility and clergy. Complications would arise; and at a fitting time, when Europe would either have no leisure, or no disposition, to occupy itself with the East,—the Autocrat would pounce upon the young and weakly realm with the utmost facility!

We come now to another feature of the question that has not yet received its due share of attention. We allude to the danger which would result to the territorial integrity of Hungary if the advocates of an independent Moldo-Wallachia were permitted to carry their views.

That the influence of the Magyar element in Hungary, even under the present infamous despotism of the House of Hapsburg, still acts as a barrier against the progress of Russian Pan-Slavism, we scarcely think necessary to prove. Blot out Hungary, as an essentially Magyar state, from the map of Europe; let the principle be proclaimed, that, in future, there shall not be any more a Hungarian nation or state, but that each of its races, Magyar and Slovak, Croat and Rouman, German and Ruthene, shall be entitled to form a separate community,—and the gate of Eastern Europe will be swung open to Russia. Now, this, we contend, is the very danger that would accrue to us through the premature formation of an independent Roumania.

The fact is, the champions of Rouman nationality are far from being content with merely severing the Danubian countries from the Turkish empire. They also proclaim—at least, they have done so but a few years ago—their intention of detaching from Hungary a great number of districts, under the



pretence of national affinity with the Rouman stock. Not only Moldavia and Wallachia, but Transsylvania, the Banate, and, if possible, half Hungary—"Hungary up to the Theiss!"—are to be part and parcel of the new Rouman state. This, since 1848, has been the openly proclaimed project of agitators from Jassy and Bucharest. The fury with which they attack the principle of territorial integrity in Hungary, the malicious envy with which they treat everything Magyar, surpasses even the enmity they display against Turkey. They heap upon the Magyars—who, like the Osmanlis, are the real anti-Russian element in Eastern Europe—the most poignant insults; they pronounce them to be "intruders from Asia," who might be, without injustice, rejected into the wilderness from whence they came; they taunt them with "barbarism," and give us clearly to understand that the dominion even of Russia is to be preferred to the continuance of the Magyar race in its present position.

It is well here to bring into recollection the part played by a portion of the Roumans of Hungary in the revolution of 1848 and 1849. During that gigantic struggle, which won the admiration of Europe for the cause of Hungary, a number of Roumans allowed themselves to be made the tools of both Muscovite and Austrian agents. They lent their ear to the infernal insinuations of despotic emissaries, and *contributed to overthrow the Hungarian cause by rebellion against the revolutionary government.* We may leave it uninvestigated how far the gold of Austria and Russia exercised influence in these deplorable occurrences, and how far the sentiments of race and religion had to do with them. Certain it is, that the Roumans rebelled against the provisional government of Hungary at the very time when the Austrian enemy in front, and Russia in the rear, brought up their military forces against the Magyars!

Thus, the Roumans facilitated the defeat of Hungary. Thus, they acted as allies of tyrants. Thus, they opened the door to Russian invasion.

We may draw therefrom an inference as to what we have to expect from the "liberalism" of an independent Roumania.

Since the time that the Hungarian revolution was strangled by the hangman of Arad, the Rouman intriguers in the pay of despotism, have ever continued in their efforts to tear in pieces the territorial integrity of Hungary. In common with some of the Slavonians, they beleaguer the court of Austria, are petitions, demanding a complete separation from the Mat in comitats—so as to enable the Rouman and Slavonian for as tion “to belong in a more direct manner to the majority crown.” *Divide et impera*, the motto of the Imperial, the Russian protectorate, have chosen for their own. It has

them. It has

In order not to be misunderstood, we owe a word of explanation for our reasons in declaring against the idea of dismembering Hungary. In nowise do we advocate the establishment of monster empires where a variety of nations are, without any natural cause, huddled together to gratify some morbid dynastic ambition. Thus we do *not* acknowledge the constitution of the present Russian empire, nor that of Austria, to be tenable before the tribunal of political reason. We believe the cause of civilization could derive nothing but benefit, if these overgrown empires were broken up and remodelled. We would have a Poland for the Poles, and, therefore, the injustice of partitions atoned for; Italy for the Italians, consequently Lombardy and Venice disconnected from the government at Vienna, and restored to a united Italian commonwealth. We wish Germany for the Germans, which includes the union of Schleswig-Holstein to the mother country. At the same time, we readily own that the German body has no right to keep Hungary tied by force to herself. But while we thus would see great national bodies constituted within the sphere of their own race and language, it appears to us a dangerous and senseless experiment to break up political organizations like Turkey and Hungary into small and powerless duodecimo states.

It is the characteristic of Hungary and Turkey, not so much to present the features of a strong national unity, as of a medley of fragments of races. Turkey can boast of a host of them, numbering in their ranks the Osmanli, the Sclavonian, the Shkipetar or Albanese, the Tartar-Bulgarian, the Rouman, and the Greek. Hungary exhibits nearly an equally varied arrangement. Leaving out minor shades, we there find the Magyar, the Sclavonian (the latter with many discordant branches), the Rouman, the German, besides a heterogeneous number of fragments of Asiatic and European races.

The great migrations and invasions of bygone centuries have turned the whole eastern quarter of Europe topsy-turvy. Everything there is so disjointed that one must either be prepared to carry out the separation of nationalities with such nicety as to constitute almost every province, nay, even sometimes simple towns, into distinct states; or else one must be content to see an empire formed of several races, taking as a woatrix that nationality which offers the most guarantees for hegemonism against Russia. Here lies, in our opinion, the substance of the necessity for maintaining the existence of both Hungary and Turkey.

Such is the necessity of combining, in the fold of one state, many like to one, does, however, not imply, *per se*, any supremacy of being '1 from '1s others. In Turkey, it is true, the problem is

not easily to be solved, how far perfect equality of position among the different races there, would be consistent with the maintenance of the empire. But in Hungary, the question has become more simple. The statesmen of Hungary at least, in their glorious revolution, although staunchly and justly upholding the principle of territorial integrity, did not hesitate to declare the full emancipation of all nationalities within the precincts of the empire. A decree of the Revolutionary Diet placed all inhabitants, of whatever origin, on a footing of perfect equality in political and civil rights.

Unfortunately, this was not what the Rouman agitators were content with. They wanted to dismember and mutilate Hungary. They intended taking away from her the very districts which form a strong military position. Hungary was to be deprived of her Carpathian wall; she was to be parcelled out and cut up, and thus rendered an easy prey to that barbarian power which brought about the partition of Poland.

After this discussion on the merits of the Roumanian question with regard to Hungary, we revert again to Moldavia and Wallachia, in order to briefly touch on the constituent elements of their population.

When a new state is to be formed, as a first question it may well be asked,—Which are the classes of the community in whom the political power will chiefly be vested? Is it to be the popular classes? or the middle class more especially? or is it, perchance, the aristocracy? If the popular classes, what is their degree of political education and general progress? If the nobility, what is its relation to neighbouring despotic powers?

Now here we must at once allude to a fact calculated to cause the most serious reflection. It is that a middle-class, as already indicated in the beginning of this article, can scarcely be said to exist in the Principalities! “The middle-class,”—says one of the most zealous defenders of Rouman independence, himself a Rouman by birth,—“has scarcely begun to form itself in Moldo-Wallachia.” (*Le tiers-état commence à peine à se former*). There remains, therefore, the peasantry and the aristocracy. Unfortunately, the most numerous class, the peasantry, are so deeply sunk in ignorance and superstition,—they are so completely under the thumb of their Greek clergy, who, on their part, are naturally looking to Russia as to the great protector,—that in them, in the peasants, a liberal element cannot be hoped for as a support for the new state of things. Then, as to the majority of the influential noble families, they are wedded to the Russian interest; they owe their very rise to the Muscovite protectorate, and continue faithful to the power that elevated them. It has

often harassed the Porte to find a sufficient check for the philo-Russian zeal of these boyards. Moreover, the Porte has also had frequently to do battle against them, on account of the rapaciousness they exhibited in their dealings with the unhappy people that is bound to the glebe.

It is well to keep in remembrance this latter circumstance. The tyranny of great landowners, as well as the licentiousness of monasteries in the Principalities, would have grown to dimensions still more intolerable, had not the despotic rulers of Turkey found it good policy somewhat to abate the growth of feudalism and clerical arrogance.

Thus, after all, in looking over the available strata of the population in Moldo-Wallachia, there remains nothing but a party of lesser boyards who, it may be, are imbued with patriotic and liberal sentiments. We will grant, for argument's sake, that *they* are bent upon most extensive reforms, political and social,—that *they* are fully decided to wage war against the philo-Russianism of the great families, the ignorance of the peasantry, and the Muscovite leanings of the clergy. Still, the question arises,—Are these boyards of the lesser nobility strong enough to impress their own feelings on the policy of the young state? We greatly doubt it.

These are serious reflections, not to be reasoned away by hollow and high-sounding phrases. To create at the very frontier of the Czar's dominions a new realm, which, by nature, has no protection from aggression, and by the constitutive elements of its population, no real power against Russia, seems to us a venture too hazardous to inspire us with any confidence. A risk like this *might* perhaps be made, without any remarkable danger, if the general aspect of European affairs were more reassuring. But with the great despotism of the North still overhanging Eastern Europe like a cloud, it seems a game too frivolous to set the fate of Turkey on the cast of one die.

A last point remains to be treated of. In order to give a full insight into all the intrigues that are played in the question at hand, we have to allude still to the various candidates for the new Rouman throne. It is to be understood that we only give them from the indications put forth in the semi-official press of France, Germany, and other countries. The list, in any case, is instructive and curious enough. We find mentioned as aspirants:—

1. Prince Constantine Frederick Peter of Oldenburg, general in the service of Russia, and president of the civil and ecclesiastic department of the Russian senate.

2. A Prince of the House of Nassau, related to the Russian dynasty.

#### THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES.

3. Prince Bibesco, ex-Hospodar of Wallachia; and
4. Prince Stirbey the younger;—both of families that owe their rise to Russia;
5. The French Marshal de Pelissier, Duke of Malakhoff.

The last-named candidature is certainly one of the most astounding. We transcribe the recommendations offered for it, from a French memorandum, published at Paris:—

“In the present state of things,” the memorandum says, “when a prince is to be given to Moldo-Wallachia, who is the foreigner upon whom the choice of the people could fall? Is he to be a Russian? *No*; for this would bring back the very danger the recent war has undertaken to dispel. Will he be an Austrian? *No*; for Austria, being a contiguous power, would thereby obtain a dangerous amount of political influence. Will he be an Englishman? Again, *No*; for though Englishmen are able to protect, they are unable to organize a country: witness their incapacity to organize themselves. [!] It is, therefore, necessary that the Prince of Roumania should be a Frenchman; and on which Frenchman could the consent of the cabinets, the suffrages of the people, and the investiture by the Sultan more appropriately be united, than on that general whose name has found an echo everywhere—to whom the supreme command of the armies of four nations was entrusted—who has himself consolidated the throne of the Sultan, by the capture of Sebastopol, and who, by thus carrying out the policy of the Powers, has ceased to be exclusively the man of France, and created himself, for the time, the man of all Europe! Let not the Roumans deceive themselves. Their future is still black with threatening clouds. The first want of their new state will be military institutions, fortresses, a disciplined army! They certainly cannot obtain these advantages, save at the hands of a warrior equally gifted with high administrative qualities and heroic courage—a man, in fact, worthy to command the descendants of the soldiers of Trajan.”

The memorandum plainly enough adds: “The election of the Marshal-Duke of Pelissier to the throne of the Grand Duchy of Roumania, would besides *develope the influence of France in the East.*”

This quotation may be sufficient to judge of the disinterestedness of the motives which have led the government of Louis Bonaparte to stand up, in official notes, as the champion of Moldo-Wallachian “independence.”

We hasten to conclude. Having now passed in steady review the chief features of the Moldo-Wallachian question, we believe there is no difficulty in arriving at a proper judgment. History, as we think we have shown, offers ample warning against

undertaking the risk of the proposed political experiment on the banks of the Lower Danube. The general situation of the moment no less urgently forbids us to follow the course into which the plausibility of certain writers endeavours to lure Europe.

True, the "classic origin," the early history of Moldo-Wallachia, connected as it is with that of Rome, may inspire us with sympathy for the country. Reason, that sterner guide, should, however, teach us how dangerous an indulgence it becomes to yield to the influence of poetical reminiscences, when we have to deal with hard, political realities, so little corresponding with the phantasms of our dreams. What advantage accrued to civilization and the welfare of mankind from the fever of enthusiasm that seized upon Western Europe, more than a quarter of a century since, for a "resurrection of ancient Hellas?" The unreflecting visionaries only served on that occasion the cause of the barbarian North. The frenzy of enthusiasm was turned to a most unromantic purpose. To the classic inebriation followed a hollow and hideous deception. As the German poet sang, with so deep feeling:—

" Alle unsre Blüthen sind gefallen  
Vor des Norden's schauerlichem Weh'n."

Has not the result of the Greek episode cured the day-dreamers? Have they yet to learn that, in place of the descendants of ancient Hellas, they handed over Greece to a semi-Sclavonic, semi-Albanese race—a people more distinguished by its Greco-Catholic fanaticism and Russian leanings, than by any aspirations towards pure freedom? Are the schemers of "academic" policy again to mislead Europe by their theories of Latin nationality and Daco-Rouman classicism?

Let Moldo-Wallachia become independent *without Hungary, Germany, and Poland, being beforehand established as strong democratic commonwealths*, and you will have only founded a state, Russian by all the ties of religion, and thus placed in the hands of the plotters of St. Petersburg an ever-ready handle for interference. Let Moldo-Wallachia be independent— and the Czar will possess, in the flank of Turkey and in the rear of Hungary, an important strategic position, equally dangerous to the independence or territorial integrity of these countries as his establishment in Russian Poland is to the security of the German Confederation. It has always been the policy of the Muscovite to acquire influence by thus pushing his own weight like a dividing wedge into the neighbouring realms.

May it not be said that Europe, forewarned as to the policy of the Autocrats, would henceforth keep a careful watch on the



banks of the Danube. Idle consolation! Is it already forgotten how monarchical Europe remained inactive even long after the armies of Nicholas had crossed the Pruth, and how a full year passed before the courts of France and England offered their military aid to Turkey? If the Western courts exhibited so little eagerness in coming to the rescue when the fate of Constantinople, nay, of all Turkey, trembled in the balance, can we feel any degree of certainty that more alacrity would be displayed when only Jassy or Bucharest became in danger? What, moreover, entitles us to assume that an Anglo-French alliance is perpetual, or can always be possible?

From Austria, no sane man could well expect any strong opposition to the designs of Russia. The wavering policy of the Court of Vienna is too fresh in the memory from the events of the late war, to allow us to consider the tottering despotism of the Hapsburgs as a rampart against Muscovite aggression. Under such circumstances, would it not be madness to believe in the strength of the position of Moldavia and Wallachia? Would not their "independence" become, on the contrary, a continual menace and source of war?

We know full well that these arguments are anticipated to some extent by the advocates of the Rouman nationality. They are prepared, at least some of them, to meet us with an assertion that, if the necessity can be shown, they are even ready to "acknowledge the suzerainty of the Porte,"—provided "Moldo-Wallachia be virtually declared independent!". It is, however, not the *word* "Turkish suzerainty," but it is its real and efficient existence which alone can prevent the Danubian countries from falling a prey to Northern encroachments. Unless Turkey, therefore, continues to exercise a strong influence in Moldo-Wallachia, the nominal acknowledgment of some shadowy suzerainty will not avail her. We all remember how the acknowledgment of Ottoman supremacy was paraded when the kingdom of Greece was yet in an embryo state. At that epoch, also, hypocritical diplomatists declared their readiness "to respect the rights of the Porte." But how long did the comedy last? Was not the Turkish suzerainty suddenly juggled away, and the Hellenic state forthwith developed to its full Muscovite bloom?

Surely, these are facts worthy of being well weighed by Europe. Whatever be at this moment the sentiments expressed by the partisans of Moldo-Wallachian union, their real aim, we may rest assured, is to throw overboard entirely the Ottoman supremacy, and to perpetrate, if possible, even bolder deeds. Fortunately, warnings as to the real nature of their designs are not wanting. Now and then some startling revelation comes from Bucharest which we would do well to treasure up, in order the

better to understand the forthcoming debates in the Moldo-Wallachian divans. Thus, in a print that has of late circulated in the Principalities, the prospect is held out of "gradually annexing all European Turkey to the new state of independent Roumania," and, by this means, "creating a Greco-Catholic empire, with Constantinople as its capital!"

It would be difficult to have exhibited more plainly to the eyes of men the cloven-foot of Northern Autocracy.

## ART. II.—THE RACES OF MANKIND.

1. *The Natural History of the Varieties of Man.* By Robert Gordon Latham, M.D., F.R.S., &c. London. 1850.
2. *The Races of Men: a Fragment.* By Robert Knox, M.D., Lecturer on Anatomy, and Corresponding Member of the National Academy of Medicine of France. London: Renshaw. 1850.

Few subjects are more calculated to excite interest than those included in the title of this article. If natural history generally be a pleasing and instructive study, how much more so that branch of it which relates to our own species, involving as it does the most essential points in the past history, present condition, and future prospects of the human family. Questions too are involved, which, however theoretical they may at first sight appear, have an important practical bearing on subjects of the highest importance—political, social, and even religious. In history, and in social and political questions, the importance of race has only been recognised of late years; while some of the opinions of a class of physiologists have been brought forward by interested parties against the views of those who hopefully believe in the future civilization and religious elevation of all the varieties of the human race.

Of the importance which Ethnology is beginning to assume in historical investigations, an illustration is afforded by the mode in which Michelet opens his sketch of the Punic wars: "That struggle," says he, "was not merely to decide the fate of two cities or two empires; the matter in hand was to determine to which of the two races, Indo-Germanic or Semitic, should belong the dominion of the world." He then goes on to give an enumeration of these two great families of the white races, and adds, "on the one side was the heroic genius, that of art and of legislation; on the other, the spirit of industry, navigation, commerce: these two hostile races have everywhere attacked each

other.”\* The generalization is too hasty; the main fact is true. At the present time, in the social condition, not to speak of many parts of the British empire, but of many parts of the British islands, we find problems in the solution of which the element of race is an important ingredient. And, lastly, the slaveholder, and those opposed or indifferent to missionary efforts, attempt to justify their position and occupation, their opposition or their indifference, on account of the alleged permanent inferiority of races of men incapable of elevation to the dignity and privilege of civilized beings.

In an article necessarily comprised within the limited space of the present, there is not much room for generalities; we must, therefore, rapidly advance to the principal topics of discussion. We intend, first, to discuss the question of the unity of the human race, and of the grounds upon which resemblances and differences among the various races are determined; secondly, to speak of the more important races, and especially of the questions connected with them which remain somewhat open; and then to conclude with some more special observations.

I. As is pretty well known there are two views of the differences which exist among the races of men. One of these views is, that the differences among mankind are not specific, but merely varieties; another, that these differences are so great that it is utterly impossible for mankind to have arisen from a common stock; and that, for instance, a Hottentot, or Negro, is no more a man like us of the so-called Caucasian race, than a zebra or an ass is a horse. To show that this comparison does not exaggerate the views of some naturalists, we refer to the statements of M. Agassiz, certainly a very eminent man. He maintains that the differences existing between the races of men are of the same kind as the differences observed between the different families, genera, and species of monkeys and other animals, and that these different species of animals differ in the same degree, one from the other, as the races of men; “nay, the differences between distinct races are often greater than those distinguishing species of animals one from the other. The chimpanzee and gorilla do not differ more, one from the other, than the Mandingo and the Guinea negro; they, together, do not differ more from the orang, than the Malay or white man differs from the negro. . . . What are called human races down to their specialization as nations, are distinct, primordial forms of the type of man.” After all, it may be questioned whether the apes, which M. Agassiz refers to, are not mere varieties. But this leads us to consider what is species,

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\* History of the Roman Republic. Michelet. (Trans.)

and what are the greatest variations among the races of man; and what causes may serve to account for these variations, independent of difference in primordial type. Hitherto the generally received opinion as to what constitutes species may be expressed in the language of M. de Candolle. "We unite," says he, "under the designation of species, individuals which mutually bear to each other so great a resemblance that they may have proceeded originally from a single pair." It cannot be denied that there is a hypothesis mixed up with this definition. Almost all naturalists had agreed that the continuation of hybrids of different species, by propagation among themselves without the interference of one of the original stocks, was impossible. Now, it will be found that the opponents of the doctrine of the unity of the human race—for that perhaps is the most comprehensive term we can use—have endeavoured to bring forward two somewhat opposite views in this matter, contending, first, that there are hybrids of different species, as between the goat and sheep, which possess the power of self-continuation; and secondly, that no mulatto races among mankind possess that power beyond a few generations. This, if it proves anything, would prove too much, since it would serve to show that there is more resemblance between a goat and a sheep than between a European and a negro. However, the anxiety felt on this point shows the importance attached to it. Now we think that, however difficult it may be to obtain correct data on such a point, because mulattoes are constantly liable to fresh mixtures of blood, there are self-maintaining mulatto races. The Malays of Borneo, and other islands, are believed to be a cross between the Arabs and Mongol races; the Cafusos, in Brazil—an extraordinary race between the native American and Negro—appear undoubtedly to be self-maintaining; so also the Griquas in Africa—mulattoes between the Dutch and Hottentot. To what limits is this doctrine about mulattoes to be carried? It may be that some races are less adapted for intermixture than others; and mulatto races, in the United States, may be better supported by an intermixture of some of the original blood from time to time, than by leaving the race alone, without drawing any monstrous inference from such a fact of the fundamental difference. The absence of a race of mulattoes between the white and black races in Australia, has been commented on as an argument for the diversity of species. But we find the following: "Again, it is well known that every half-caste child is massacred on its coming into the world."\* Dr. Morton thinks he has shown, "First, that mulattoes are the

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\* *Reminiscences of Australia*, by C. P. Hodgson. (P. 222.)

shortest-lived of any class of the human race; secondly, that mulattoes are intermediate in intelligence between blacks and whites; thirdly, that they are less capable of bearing fatigue and hardships than either blacks or whites; fourthly, that mulatto women are peculiarly delicate, and subject to a variety of chronic diseases; that they are bad breeders, bad nurses, liable to abortions, and that their children generally die young; and fifthly, that when mulattoes intermarry, they are less prolific than when crossed on the parent stock." \* He then shows that mulattoes, like negroes even unacclimatized, are endowed with great exemption from yellow fever, in which there seems nothing very wonderful.

The differences which do exist in the human family are those of form, and especially the form of the cranium, colour, and certain additional peculiarities, as hair, the position of adipose matter, the sight, &c.

With regard to form, it has been observed that in all other races compared with Europeans (the Indo-Teutonic, and other higher races included, of course), the limbs are more crooked and badly formed. "In the Negro, the bones of the leg are bent outwards; the tibia and fibula are more convex in front than in Europeans; the calves are very high, so as to encroach upon the hams; the feet and hands, but particularly the former, are flat; the os calcis (heel bone) instead of being arched is continued nearly in a straight line with the other bones of the foot, which is remarkably broad." As far as the skull is concerned, races have been divided into the Dolichokephalic and Brachykephalic, the Negro being the extreme of the long straight skull, while the Mongol, or extinct Tasmanian, represents the broad low one, and the European, and perhaps the Turk, the intermediate character.†

Since we are considering the extent to which varieties of mankind proceed, the following observations of Dr. Latham seem worthy of being quoted:—

"If we were to take three individuals, specimens of the human species, which should exhibit three of the most important differences, they would be, I think, 1. a Mongolian, or Tangous, from Central or Siberian Asia; 2. A Negro from the delta of the Niger; and 3. A European from France, Germany, or England. At the first view the Negro would seem the most unlike of the three, and perhaps he would do so after a minute and careful scrutiny. Still the charac-

\* Gliddon's *Ethnological Researches*. (P. 377.)

† The singularly globular form of the Turkish skull has often been remarked: has this any connexion with the remarkable mingling of races which exists in him?

teristic and differential features of the Asiatic would be of a very remarkable kind. In the general profile, in the form of the eye, in the front view of the face, he would differ from both. In the colour of his skin, in the character of his hair, and in the lower part of his profile, he would differ from the Negro. In the upper portion of the profile, and in the outline of the head, he would differ from the European. The Mongolian or Tasmanian's face would be broad and flat, with the cheek bones prominent; the breadth of the head from side to side would be nearly equal to its length from the forehead to the occiput; the nose would be flat, and almost certainly neither arched nor aquiline; the eyes would be drawn upwards at their outer angle; the skin would be of a yellowish brown; the hair straight; the beard scanty, and the stature undersized. The Negro, besides his black complexion and crisp hair, would exhibit a greater depth of head measuring from before and backwards, and the upper jaw would be much more projecting. Possibly, it would be so prominent as to give the head the appearance of being placed behind the face rather than above it.

“The European would be characterized by negative rather than positive qualities. His face would be less broad, and his head would have greater depth in proportion to its breadth, than would be the case with the Mongol. As compared with the African, he would differ most in the parts between the nose and chin. The mouth of the Negro, instead of lying under the nose and forehead, projects forward in a slightly elongated shape, so as, in extreme cases, to be a muzzle rather than a mouth; the effect of which, as already stated, is to throw the upper part of the face and head behind the jaw. In the European profile, on the other hand, the general direction is vertical. The upper jaw does not project, and the forehead does not retire, so that the forehead, nose, and mouth are, comparatively speaking, nearly in the same line.”

These are undoubtedly the great divisions of the human race, according to anatomical and physiological properties, not even forgetting colour. The red Indian of America does not differ anatomically and physiologically so widely from the Mongol; but he differs from the races of the Old World most in his speech. The minor races, as the Hottentots and Bushmen, differ in some additional points, especially the latter, as hair growing in tufts; the presence of those masses of fat, on the hips especially, and other peculiarities; in excessively keen sight, and in the clacking kind of speech; but take all these together (and the speech may be excluded), and surely we must agree with Dr. Pritchard, that the varieties of many domestic animals, whose origin from a common stock no one doubts, are infinitely greater—dogs, sheep, and poultry—and we see these varieties multiplied under our eyes. Blumenbach remarked that there is less difference in the form of the skull in the most dissimilar families of mankind, than between the elongated head of the Neapolitan horse, and



the skull of the Hungarian breed, which is remarkable for its shortness and the extent of the lower jaw. Flourens has endeavoured to attach much importance to colour, and the so-called *rete mucosum*, which was supposed to contain the colouring principle, and he denied the existence of this in whites. The existence of the membrane itself separately, is not now believed in, but as for the colouring matter it must exist in all, for albinos exist in all races.

The capacity of the skull differs in different races; but the development of the intellect is not wholly in the ratio of the capacity of the cranium, for the ancient Egyptians and Hindoos, as also the Mexicans, had smaller heads than the savage races around them.

We come now to consider the possible influence of climate and external circumstances, and also the springing up of spontaneous varieties, as means of accounting for the differences which exist among the members of the human family, more, however, with the view of criticizing some points than of vindicating the derivation of the human race from one source.

It is interesting to inquire what varieties, occurring spontaneously as it were, and the effects of climate and habit may effect in this way. Some have argued that accidental varieties springing up, might find their places in those regions most fitted for them. Instances have been quoted of the occurrence of very singular varieties among animals, which have been propagated. Dr. Prichard mentions a remarkable case of a breed of sheep in Massachusetts, called the Otter-backed sheep, possessed of longer bodies and shorter legs, which arose accidentally; and being found less able to leap fences, has been propagated. But it seems extravagant to account for the variety of races which exist, from the operation of such causes as we see them in operation among men, or have known of them in history. On the other hand, is it not as unphilosophical and infinitely more presumptuous to judge, not only of what took place, but of the plasticity of the human system at the first origin of the race? That external circumstances have considerable power, and that races are not quite so unalterable, even under present circumstances, as the extreme advocates of race pretend, we shall endeavour to prove before quitting this part of the subject.

In the first place, with regard to colour, those who deny the influence of climate, assert that climate has little or no influence on colour. The descendants of Europeans do not get dark in hot climates, but become pale and etiolated. Again, such a fact is insisted upon, as, for example, that in India the Rohillas, a tribe of Afghans, are white, though surrounded by dark races. The mountaineers of Nepaul are black. That

there are many exceptional facts, we are aware; but we think that an examination of the map, and a little consideration, will show a very general connexion between climate and colour. Contrast the inhabitants of the valley of the Indus with those of the table-land of Afghanistan, both apparently of the same race, religion, and habits. The Rohillas have been but a short time settled in the country. There is the well-known instance of the colony of black Jews at Cochin, who are believed to be of pure descent. It has been said that races may decay in another climate, but will not alter. The Jews have been so often cited as evidences of the unalterability of race, that we can bring them forward as an unexceptionable instance of the fact or otherwise. They have preserved unquestionably, in most instances, the purity of their lineage. What their physiognomy was in former ages may be seen on the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments. Now, climate is of course but one of a series of external modifying causes. While lower-class Jews frequently exhibit even caricatures of their peculiar faces, Jews of the higher classes cannot be distinguished, in most instances, from other ladies and gentlemen. The crania found in very earlier sepulchres of the stone period in these islands, are smaller than in those where metallic weapons are used. There is no proof of change of race; the assumption rather is that the development of the head had increased with a higher degree of civilization. It would be easy to select from the works before us the most contradictory statements with regard to the unalterability of race. Thus, we are first told in Mr. Gliddon's work, that "in no part of Europe, at the present day, can we discover the striking national contrasts which Tacitus describes," and almost immediately that, after perusing M. Thierry's work, "*Histoire des Gaulois*," Milne-Edwards "made a tour of France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, and engaged in careful study of the present diversified races in connexion with their ancient settlements; and he asserts that now, after the lapse of two thousand years, the types of the Belgians (Cimbri), Gauls or Celts, the Iberians or Aquitanians, and the Ligurians are still distinctly traceable." What, then, are we to infer from all this? That the influence of race is great, but in many instances not invincible, especially when the power of external causes brought to bear is great.\*

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\* Dr. Knox, who is so great a stickler for unalterability of race, says that the Anglo-Saxon race in America degenerates: there is a deficiency of fat; the muscles stand out like cords; the form becomes scraggy; the women soon lose their teeth; and the race might even die out, without importations from Europe.

The jaw is less developed in the modern Copt than in the ancient

In considering the affinities of the varieties of men, we are to be guided first, and above all, by physiological considerations; and secondly, by resemblances or differences in languages, manners, and customs. The first class of tests will only apply to the great divisions, and their chief sub-divisions; we would hardly, for instance, on physiological grounds *alone*, decide even between an ancient Gaul and an ancient Teuton, as the descriptions have come down to us. With regard to resemblances in language, great caution is required, as the many odd mistakes in Ethnology testify. The resemblances in the Asiatic languages are rather those of roots, while in the American there is remarkable resemblance in grammatical construction, even where there is least radical similarity, and where the languages are reciprocally quite unintelligible. It has been a matter of opinion to which of these characteristics greater weight should be given.\*

When such resemblances as exist between numerals in the Sanscrit, Persian, Welsh, Erse, Greek, Latin, Anglo-Saxon, English, Dutch, Icelandic, Danish, Mæso-Gothic, Old High German, and Russian, as shown in the table prefixed to Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, occur, great weight is naturally attached to the evidence they afford of the common origin of the nations; and it is worthy of observation that the Welsh and Erse seem farthest from the rest; the Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic, most like. Few can inspect a list of Gipsy and Hindostani words without being struck with the frequent resemblance. Blumenbach found a Georgian skull in a museum, and, being struck with its resemblance to the Greek, placed the race among the Indo-Teutonic family; but Latham shows that this inference is contradicted by great difference in language. Extraordinary coincidences may sometimes occur in resemblance of words. Very little is known of the Australian tongues. Mr. Cull lately called the attention of the Ethnological Society to the resemblance between the pronouns in some of the Australian dialects and the Tamul. Now, it is just possible that this might lead to something more decisive, since there is nothing very improbable in some of the aboriginal tribes of Hindostan being related to the tribes of Polynesia and Australia. Some words in the Australian tongue are like Greek, as *gin*, or woman,

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Egyptian, yet the former is considered the representative of the latter. Dr. Prichard says, "that the Jews are assimilated in physical character to the nations among whom they have long resided, though still to be recognised by some minute peculiarities of physiognomy." Is not then the permanency of race exaggerated?

\* Humboldt considers that likeness in the grammar should overrule differences in the vocabularies.

; and some are like Hebrew.\* Some coincidence might be pointed out of a very remarkable. In the very interesting work of Mr. Barker on the head will be found among the representations of ancient times covered at Tarsus (at p. 203, *et seq.*), a very remarkable head, characterized by a most brutal expression of the face, and a prodigiously curved and elongated nose. The head is short in its antero-posterior diameter, but elongated from the top to the chin, and something like the head of a horse. Nothing like it is known now-a-days. But Mr. Barker shows that it is very like the heads at Palenque. He conjectures they might be Huns; but they have nothing in common with the Hun, or any known race, unless we might consider the profile an exaggeration of the coarsest Jewish face.

As to inferences from habits and customs, they are, perhaps, the most precarious of all tests, as in similar states of society, most varieties of men act in much the same way, unless the variety be great indeed. Circumcision is practised by the Kaffir (Infidel) Amakosas and the Mahomedan Turk. Our Saxon ancestors sold their dependants, perhaps their children, into slavery in more wealthy lands, like the Circassians of the present day. So that similar customs may be practised, and even those of a very remarkable character, under both similar and dissimilar circumstances, and by races of very different kind. The result of the whole is this: *all* the circumstances connected with the natural history of races require to be taken into consideration in estimating their affinities, and these assisted as much as possible by the light of history and archæology.

The first place in such evidence is to be given to that derived from physiology, then to language, and lastly to manners and customs.

II. *Of the Principal Varieties of the Human Race.*—Many writers have been in the habit of speaking of the different races of mankind as if almost at any time they had to do with pure breeds,—a view which can never be adopted by those who maintain the common origin, except with regard to a few exceptions who have fallen off from the common stock, and become isolated. If we can make ourselves understood, we would say that the object in considering the affinities of the varieties of the human race is not so much to look at differences, as degrees of resemblance, although sensible of the obscurity of the mode in which

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\* A gentleman, mentioned to us lately that the person who performed the right of initiation to the young natives into the rights of manhood, is called *Cohen*, the Jewish name for priest.

† Lares and Penates; or, Cilicia. London. 1853.

the thought is expressed. For example, how many have been in the habit of speaking of the Kelt and the Saxon, or Teuton, as widely apart, and yet Prichard reckons them both members of the Indo-Teutonic family. Undoubtedly, however, the various branches of the Keltic family do form a subdivision of the great class, as separate from the Teutons and Goths. Again, it seems probable that a series of affinities may be traced from the Egyptians, perhaps from the so-called Semitic races—the Hebrews, and Chaldeans—to the Negro races. Certain it is, that we observe a beginning in these latter races of some of the physiological (i. e., anatomical) characters of the Negro; perhaps of their languages, and some of their manners and customs. From an early period of the history of mankind, wave after wave of the various varieties of the race have mingled; and it must often be difficult, even if the data were tolerably clear, to ascribe any particular race to its true position. Almost all the great nations of the earth in ancient times, as now, seem to have been of very composite order, as the ancient Persians, Greeks, Indians; and apparently in many instances corresponding to our Kelts and Saxons. In the middle of the Negroes, we have the Mandingoes, Foulahs, or Fellatahs, with hardly any trace of Negro features, and probably sprung from Berber or Tawarek blood, perhaps mixed with the Negro. Now these Berbers—the Kabyles of North Africa—have by many been considered rather analogous to the Iberians of Spain. They are the ancient Numidians, and have attained a considerable degree of civilization: so the Mandingoes are a much superior race to the other Negroes.

A division of the races of mankind into classes is, therefore, a most difficult matter. That of Latham, after Prichard, seems, on the whole, the best. He forms three great classes: 1. The Mongolian, including the true Mongols, Chinese, natives of Burmah, Siam, Cambodia, and so forth; the Calmuck and Bashkir tribes, and their innumerable modifications and clans; the Tartars of the Crimea, and Turks; the natives of the Eastern islands, for the most part Malaysian; Fins, Lapps, Permians, Yotiahs, even the Magyar. Among this prodigious family there must be great varieties. The physiological type of this class is to be found in the Mongol or the Hun. Supposing Dr. Latham's views are correct, how this type must have altered in the Magyar, the Ottoman Turk, or what he terms the Dioscurean\* division of the Mongolidsæ, viz., the Georgians, Lazi, and Mingrelians, among whom are to be found some of the finest specimens of mankind; and who, on that account, were classed

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\* From Dioscurias, a port on the Black Sea, where the ancients used to trade with the inhabitants of Mount Caucasus.

among the Indo-Teutonic or Caucasian race, until it was shown that their languages did not accord with this. Read the portrait of Attila: "A swarthy complexion, small deep-seated eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a short square body; in fine, he displayed all the signs of his origin." Then again, "They are fearfully swarthy, their face a shapeless lump, if I may so speak, rather than a human countenance, and having two dots for eyes." If admixture with other races can so obliterate the character of the original, what becomes of the permanency of type? Surely a Mongol is as far from a pure Saxon as a Negro. True, there is the climate in favour of the intermixture with the former. The language of the Osmanli Turk would yet, it appears, be understood as far as the Lena, but the original type of race has disappeared.\* In the same way Dr. Latham decides chiefly from language that those tribes of the Caucasus, whose beauty has been so much admired, are essentially of Mongol origin. Among the same class he places the North American Indians, although, as has been heretofore remarked, there is the difference of language. Most American writers place the tribes of America in a separate division altogether; and, in fact, not only do they differ in language essentially, but anatomically, quite as much as the Mongol from the Negro. Many of the inhabitants of the Polynesian group belong rather to the Negro race; but there is no end to the mixed races. It has always occurred to us that the Mongol is the most repulsive variety of the race in the eyes of a European; and we may see specimens of them brutalized, in the wretched Chinese objects who beg in our streets. How different, doubtless, the luxurious mandarin, or the Emperor of China! Such an effect has cultivation on a race. It has been asked what has become of those Huns and Mongols, once the terror of the world. It has been maintained, that as a species of monsters they would cease to exist; but the Chinese, who have at the same time softened down, increase and multiply. The fact is, the population of Mongolia still exists as in the days of Zinghis, but it has ceased to be formidable. In those nomad hordes every adult male was a soldier, and it was easy

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\* Many think that the original Turk should be rather assigned to the Indo-Teutonic family, but then there is the language. Certain it is, that if the portraits of the early Turkish sultans be correct, they represent anything but the heads of Calmucks. Sultan Othman was the grandson of Soliman Shah, who was driven from his native Karism by (probably) Uzbek hordes. His countenance is classic. We have authentic medals of Mohammed II., and representations and descriptions of other early sultans, and there is nothing Mongol about them. The type must have soon changed if it ever existed.



for them to traverse vast plains with their flocks and herds, and pour upon the rich countries of Europe and Asia. Now some of the tribes are civilized, they are everywhere surrounded by barriers; and, above all, the art of war confines them to their deserts. Doubtless, either the Emperor of Russia or the Emperor of China would employ as many of them in war as were likely to be profitable.

The second division or class of Dr. Latham, the *Atlantidæ*, includes the dark races of Africa, as the Negro and Kaffir; also the Berber, or Amazirg; the Egyptian and Nubian races; the yellow Hottentot and Boshjeman races; and even the so-called Semitic races, the Jews and Assyrians. So much has been said of the dark races, their capabilities, and so forth, that it seems unnecessary to dwell on them; it seems certain that in some regions, as in Soudan, they are not destitute of a species of civilization altogether independent of European influence.

With regard to the Coptic, Jewish, and Berber races, the allusions already made must suffice within these limits. In the Scriptures, while Canaan is a descendant of Ham, the Hebrews and Assyrians come from Shem. The frequent alliances between the Hebrews and Canaanites, forbidden as these were, would account for the African physiognomy which is observed in some of the Jewish race. The Assyrians, as may be seen on the sculptures of their buildings, have a physiognomy decidedly not African, but differing altogether from that of Europeans. Arabs, Berbers, Pali, Philistines, and the mysterious Pelasgi, have all been referred to the Semitic race; so have the races of India who existed there before the period of Sanscrit invasion: these are points, the discussion of which far exceeds our limits. In many of these matters it seems to us that too definite a line has been sought to be established, and too little left to probable argument. Take, for instance, the mysterious Etrurians, or Raschi. Herodotus distinctly tells us that the ancient Tuscany was colonized from Lydia, while Livy asserts that its inhabitants came from the mountains of Rhætia; and there are advocates for each view. Now, is it not highly probable that both statements may be correct? The rude mountaineers of Rhætia were little likely to originate the high civilization of Tuscany, and, from the account of Herodotus, the colonists from Lydia were but a small body. It seems likely, therefore, that these latter served to introduce the Asiatic civilization to a ruder people.

The origin of the Gipsies has been long a problem. No one now believes that they came from Egypt, as they themselves pretended. All seem agreed now that the Gipsies are of Indian origin. According to Herodotus, there were Indians near the

Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Sigynæ, who occupied the countries north of the Danube in his time, had some of the characters of the present Gipsies. In these regions, they are still called Zigani, Zigeunes; and perhaps the name they give themselves, Roma-Romani, may refer to their original seat in Dacia, where a large number of the people are still called Roumani.\*

The third great division of Dr. Latham is that of the *Iapitidæ*, *lati Iapeto*, (*Japati*, Sanscrit, the Lord of the Earth).† Of these he makes two great subdivisions: the Occidental, including the Kelts and Iberians; the Oriental or Indo-Teutonic, including the German, Gothic, and Sarmatian races, with the Zend and Sanscrit. As in the preceding classes, we do not attempt to enumerate the subordinate divisions. These are the great races—the conquerors and rulers of the earth. For them has been reserved the highest development of intellectual greatness. Latham has a subdivision of this class, which he terms Classical—the Greek and Latin nations—but there seems every probable reason for supposing that these classical races were compounded of others having somewhat similar relations to the Kelts and Saxons of our own time. Such would be the Pelasgi and Hellenes.

At the time of the earliest historical records, and according to the most authentic traditions, Spain, Gaul, Britain, Northern Italy, and many of the Mediterranean islands, were inhabited by a race of common character, termed Iberian and Keltic, or Gaulish. One of the most curious problems in Ethnology is the relation of these to the Pelasgi. This mysterious race is believed to have been the first founders of cities in the Mediterranean countries, remarkable for those immense walls, termed Cyclopean, and which have some resemblance to Druidical circles, and especially to those vast enclosures of rough stones, as at Pen-y-dinas, and Yevering Bel in Northumberland. They are supposed to have founded Troy, and to have had their chief place of worship at Samothrace, whence their priests, the Cabiri, issued as from a college. There is much in the de-

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\* We are not aware whether this explanation of the name by which the Gipsies designate themselves has been given; it probably may. We do not recollect it in Mr. Borrow's work. Dr. Knox mentions a curious fact within his own knowledge. A gentleman from India had two native servants, who married and settled in the south of Scotland, and had families of mulattoes. When the Gipsies came to the neighbourhood, they preferred encamping near these families whom they styled "our people." Did they recognise *our people*?

† The Greeks worshipped Jupiter; the Phœnicians, Pal; Philistines, Baal; and the worship, as is well known, was carried to Britain. Has this to do with the title of nobility Sardanapal, Hannibal, Hasdrubal bear? Most likely it has.

scription of these identical with that of the Druids.\* They were agriculturalists and miners; they had colleges of initiation; they worshipped fire; and seem to have been conquered by more heroic races, as by the Hellenes, who, in many countries, seem to have enslaved them. The punishment of Prometheus, the inventor of arts, by Jupiter, has been supposed to be typical of the subjugation of the industrious Pelasgi by the Hellenic race. The populations of Southern Italy and Greece appear to have been compounded of these two peoples; but there

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\* "The Mythology and Rites of the British Druids," by the Rev. Ed. Davies (London, 1809), contains proof as conclusive as the nature of the case affords, of the resemblance, nay, identity, of the Druids and Cabiri, and of the worship of Noah as Hu, and the ark under the title of Ked or Kedwen, who was also worshipped as Demeter and Ceres, as also under other titles. Hu was also Bel, Baal, or Belin, the sun, and was worshipped under the symbol of a bull, because Hu, by means of his oxen, drew the *avanc*, or dragon, out of the lake, the waters of which it had caused to overflow. Hu first taught mankind agriculture. Aneurin, evidently speaking of Stonehenge, says it was sacred to the god Hu and the goddess Ked; and as Aneurin, who lived in the fifth and sixth centuries, had "some knowledge of the sacred writings, where he found the name and actions of Noah," so he distinctly refers them to Hu as *Noe*. "In allusion to the sun's progress in the ecliptic, Aneurin styles this god the *lion of the greatest course*. He has also the name of *Bádd*, victory, and *Buddugre*, the god of victory—the king who rises in light and ascends the sky." In the Argonautic Orpheus, the Iernian islands are described, and the "wide mansions of Demeter" (Stonehenge):—

" ——— Ibi chorus ingens  
Feminei coetus pulchri colit orgia Bacchi,  
Producit noctem ludus sacer; aura pulsan-  
tibus, et crebris late sola calcibus urgent;  
Non sic Absynthi prope flumina Thracis alumnæ  
Bistonides, non qua celeri ruit agmine Ganges  
Indorum populi stata curant festa Lyæo. (*Quoted by Latham.*)

Of the fundamental identity of the superstitions of the Oriental nations and those of the Druids, especially of those of the Pelasgi, Syrians, probably Assyrians, and Carthaginians, there can be no doubt, or of these being a kind of travesty of the religion of the Bible. The ancient religions of Hindostan seem to be of the same type; but the conquering races, Sanscrit, Hellenes, Teutons, appear to have introduced a more complicated form of idolatry, fundamentally, however, based upon the other, and which seems in many cases to have accorded wonderfully well with it. The Druidical rites appear to have had some resemblance to the Eleusinian mysteries, and also at times to the mysterious orgies held in honor of Iris (Demeter) and of Bacchus. The Druses of Mount Lebanon have two orders, the Jahel, and Aakel, or initiated. The meetings of the latter always take place in secrecy. May not their rites and those of the Ansarians be derived from ancient Phœnician sources, rather than from more modern origins, as is pretended in the case of the Druses. Is it likely that non-Mohammedans, like the Druses, would derive their origin from the Caliph Hakhem? This is probably a mere blind of the Druses.

may have been aborigines even before them, as the wild Cyclops living in caves, the Oscans, and others.

Whether in Western Europe, in Gaul, Iberia, or Britain, there was an aboriginal population before that with which we are tolerably well acquainted, the Iberian, or Keltic, is not known; nor is it known to what extent these populations were modified by their undoubted intercourse with the Greeks in the south of France, and the Phœnicians and Carthaginians in the south of Britain and in Spain. Tin was brought from Britain twelve hundred years before Christ. The practice of fighting in chariots used by the Britons is very likely of Phœnician origin. If the Basques are the remains of the ancient Iberians—and the Iberians were closely related to the Kelts and Gauls—what relation does their tongue bear to the remaining Keltic dialects? Hardly any, it appears. They call themselves *Eskaldunac*; nevertheless, there may be a resemblance even here—*Ottadeni* and *Gadeni* in Britain, having something to do with inhabitants of mountainous valleys. However, we have at least a good description of the state of these populations in the time of Cæsar, whose Commentaries are in fact the only solid basis of our historical knowledge of the subject. The mode in which he expresses himself, has left in doubt the distinction between Gauls and Kelts, or whether there was any distinction at all. On this point, Latham says:—

“By the time of Cæsar, however, a great number of understood Gauls were included under the name *Celtæ*; in other words, the Iberian name for an Iberian population was first adopted by the Greeks (of Marseilles) for *all* the inhabitants of South-western Gaul, and it was then extended by the Romans so as to include *all* the populations of Gallia, except the Belgæ and Aquitani.”

The word *Keltai* also passed for a native name, “*Ipsorum lingua Celtæ nostra Galli appellantur.*” Upon this, Prichard remarks that Cæsar would have written more accurately had he stated that the people whom the Greeks called *Keltæ* were Galli in the eyes of the Romans.

Of the fact of the identity of the bulk of the populations of Gaul and Britain, the settlement of Belgians on the southern coast, and perhaps of Germans, long before the supposed era of the Saxon invasion on the eastern, all are aware. There are one or two points with regard to the Ethnology of the British Isles to which we shall advert: first, who were the Picts? The recollection at once flies to the memorable controversy in the “*Antiquary*,” where each of the disputants gives half of the word *Ben-val* to his opponent. Dr. Latham, we think, shows satisfactorily that not only is that word more Welsh than Erse, but that the

names of hills, towns, &c., in the Pictish region of Scotland have the same character. Without entering into this vexed controversy, our opinion is that the Picts were the unsubdued Britons, called *Picti* by the Romans, because they painted their bodies like their ancestors in Cæsar's time, and, therefore, were so termed as if to say *wild* Britons, instead of those who were tamed and subdued. We call, in a somewhat similar manner, the *Amakosas*, Kaffirs, having taken the name from the Dutch and Portuguese, who got it from the Arab merchants of Eastern Africa, who termed the infidel or heathen nations, *Kaffirs*. At the same time, Teutonic races might settle in the eastern parts of Scotland, just as they were settling in England at the very time when the Scoti, the companions of Fingal,\* were landing in the west, and all together find their interest in warring on the Roman powers; for the terrible wars of the Romans must have materially weakened the Picts. If Severus lost sixty thousand men in one campaign, the slaughter among the barbarians must have been prodigious.

The Teutonic races are supposed to have begun to extend in Europe, about the close of the eighth century before Christ, and the Sarmatians about three centuries after the former. It is a curious circumstance that most of these races emigrating from the east to the west, seem to have had a notion of a land of happiness, a white isle, a bright isle, "beyond the stream of ocean." The *Hesperia* of the Greeks continually floated before them as their knowledge advanced, and they saw the terrestrial paradise still disappearing in the west. Such a land, the white island of the west, the land of the sun, the paradise of the moon, is lavishly decked in the Hindu language with all splendid epithets; it "enjoys the mild beams of ten thousand moons; it is named not only *Sweta*, the white, but *Ghrita*, the bright, *Teja*, the splendid, *Canta*, the brilliant, *Cirna*, the effulgent, *Cshira*, the milk-white, *Padma*, the flower, &c."†

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\* Two circumstances which weigh in particular against the essential authenticity of Ossian may be removed. One is that "Caracul, the King of the World," described as flying before the arms of Fingal, had not, according to Gibbon, the title of Caracalla until some years after he left Britain—a nickname derived from his Gallic dress. But we were informed by a Scottish nobleman and Highland chief, that the word in Gaelic means *rolling eye*; and if any one will take the trouble to look at representations of coins of this emperor, it will be seen that he had indeed a very peculiar eye. Another circumstance is that, although there is abundant mention in Ossian of feasts of shells, and deer, there is no notice of salmon. It appears, however, from Ammianus Vespasianus, that the Caledonians had a great dislike to fish; an objection which the Scotch retain with regard to some few fish at present.

† Desborough. History of Maritime and Inland Discovery. (Lardner's Cyclopædia.)

These words have a striking resemblance to the names of some of the islands of the Greek Archipelago. Wherever "the Indo-Teutonic nations have fixed themselves, we find white islands still looming in the west, and surrounded by white seas. The Caspian is called White Sea by the nations inhabiting its eastern shores, and it bears among them at present the Turkish name *Akindjis*, which has the same auspicious appellation."\* The Turks call the *Ægean* the White Sea; the Sarmatians, on the other hand, called the *Euxine*, *on their east*, the *Marmora*, or "black" sea—a title which the Turks confine now to the *Propontis*. The Baltic has its name from the Lithuanian *balta*, white. In the same way, Britain was called *Alfionn*, the white isle; and Ireland, and even the western isles of Scotland, had a sacred reputation. This myth, embodied as it was in the fables, perhaps the traditions of the Atlantis, may have been finally the means of bringing about, in modern times, the discovery of America.

Whence came the Teutonic nations? Latham, pointing out that the old Lithuanian language and the Sanscrit are nearest, says that the area represented by the former in Europe, is larger than that represented in Asia by the latter. The class or genus to which the two tongues equally belong, is represented in Asia by the Sanscritic division only, whereas in Europe it falls into three divisions, each of at least equal value with the single Asiatic one, the Sarmatian and Gothic; and if we extend the value of the term Indo-European, the Classical (Greek and Latin); and the Keltic. Hence he infers the necessity of bringing the Indian and Lithuanic regions as near together as possible. At an early period, he supposes, the Lithuanians, the common ancestors of the Sanscrit and Teutonic races, were in possession of Southern Russia. From thence, either as Indigens, or as the invaders of a country essentially Ugrian (Mongol), they conquered certain portions of Europe and Asia. Many of the tribes of Northern India closely resemble the Teutonic nations in some of their essential manners and customs. It is observable, that in all the legends of the Teutonic and Gothic nations, their ancestors are always called *Asi*, and are deified as such; and their primeval abode is called "*Asgard*," synonymous sometimes with heaven. It is conjectured that the *Issedones* of Herodotus may have been the people who overthrew the Greek empire of Bactria, and the same as the *Asi*. It certainly seems probable that *Asgard* was the Caucasus, or some high table-land of Asia, whence the Indo-Teutonic

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\* Desborough. History of Maritime and Inland Discovery. (Lardner's Cyclopædia.)



nations poured upon the lower countries of Asia in one direction, and on Europe in another, pushed perhaps by the Sarmatian races, as these were afterwards by the Mongols.\*

III. If too much has been made by some, of the doctrine of race, still there are great differences in the physical constitution and character of the human race, which must materially influence the destiny of nations. But the mixture is so great, that it is not always easy to decide where the preponderance of blood of a particular race is; take, for instance, France and Britain. The former is generally put down as a Keltic, the latter a Teutonic, empire; but, observe, both were originally Keltic, taking that term in its widest acceptation; both were conquered, the former *perhaps* wholly, for it is doubtful whether Brittany was a partial exception; the latter in part by the Romans; both were conquered by Saxons, for the Franks were of the same blood as the Saxons, and while France had her Gothic, and even Saracen, blood in the south, and her Scandinavian blood in the north, England had the Anglo-Picts, Danes, &c. Of the two countries, Britain appears to have preserved the largest quantity of real Keltic blood: as the Highlands, Galloway, Strathclyde, and perhaps Cumberland, which seem to have remained essentially Keltic till near the Norman Conquest,† and Wales. These countries can hardly have been conquered by the Romans, since we find that nations thoroughly subdued by this imperious people, almost always exchanged their dialect for a Romance tongue, whereas the Welsh speak to this day their pure language. No doubt the Romans erected fortresses there; but this fact of speech would seem to show that the Welsh were not merely the provincials driven back by the Saxons, but rather a people previously independent, who resisted, as they had ever done, in their mountains; that, in fact, the Saxons did little more than enter, after many a hard struggle, upon the Roman province. There is also Cornwall, and nearly all the Irish. In France, only Brittany is pure Keltic. It would seem, therefore, that there is more Keltic blood amongst us than in Gaul; yet writers sometimes still speak as if they were essentially Kelts, and we all Saxons.

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\* The first appearance of the Teutonic races upon the classical historic page was in the irruption of the Cimbri and Teutones, who were defeated by Marius. It has been contended that the Cimbri were a Keltic race—Kymri. In favour of this fact, it may be mentioned that they readily formed alliances with the Gaulish tribes, and marched with them against the Romans; and the Cimbri especially had to do with these alliances.

† Ritson gives a list of kings of Strathclyde till the end of the tenth century. The Picts of Galloway are mentioned in King David's army at the battle of the Standard.

Dr. Latham's classification seems to err in including the American race in any division, and not setting them apart; and the Hebrew, Assyrian, Arab, and Berber races, with perhaps others, might form a separate division—the Semitic.

The work of Dr. Knox is so clever, and so suggestive, that we deeply regret the paradoxes, and, occasionally, the historical errors of the author. The section on the beautiful in sculpture, as exemplified in the works of the ancients, is one of the most admirable pieces of writing we ever perused.

In conclusion, we would remark that Ethnological researches which carry us back to the past, and teach us to frame inferences with regard to the future, independent of their bearing on the *present*, are precisely of that kind which, as Dr. Johnson says, "exalt us in the dignity of thinking beings."

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### ART. III.—THE ANGLER IN THE LAKE DISTRICT.

*The Angler in the Lake District; or, Piscatory Colloquies and Fishing Excursions in Westmoreland and Cumberland.* By John Davy, M.D., F.R.S., &c. London: Longmans. 1857.

THE English Lake district is gradually fulfilling its destiny, that of becoming the chosen dwelling-place of persons of refinement and intelligence who are also lovers of nature. There are multitudes of highly educated and intelligent Englishmen who could not live among the mountains—persons who, in a greater or less degree, hold Dr. Johnson's opinion, that there is no scenery so beautiful as the view up Fleet Street, and to whom "the crowd, the hum, the shock of men," are essential conditions of happiness. But there are also considerable numbers of persons of cultivated minds who can live very well without much dining out; who prefer friends to "society," and "plain living and high thinking" to crowds, morning calls, and conventionality. The Lake district is attracting this class of persons, and in the end it will be mainly this class which will become naturalized among the mountains. Many besides these, charmed by the beauty of the district, have settled and will continue to settle among the hills for a time, but only those who, to some stated occupation or mental resource, join a strong love of nature, will take permanent root in the soil.

A winter in Cumberland or Westmoreland is just the same dreary business as in any other country place, to those who have

no self-sustaining power of enjoyment. What dismal hours of vacuity, and infinite longings for the luxury of scandal, gossip, and morning calls, have throughout the weary winter months haunted unhappy cits (not citizens) and their wives, who, beguiled by a sentimental love of the Lake district in summer, have taken a house, garden, and paddock on lease, or perhaps even bought an acre or two of land, and built themselves a mediæval cottage of gentility thereon. The case of these unhappy persons would be worthy of all commiseration were it not that there are always cities of refuge for them to flee to,—fashionable watering-places at home and abroad,—and that the insult they have offered to this beautiful Nature in presuming to think themselves fitted for her society, deserves some such punishment as they suffer. The rich button-manufacturer who exclaimed on Derwentwater, “How beautiful! how calm! oh! I could repose here for ever!—pull away, my lad! pull away!” is the type of many of those who attempt, without the requisite resources, to fix themselves among the Lakes for life. The desire to live the life of Logan’s cuckoo (the northern mountains have always been a favourite haunt of the cuckoo)—

“ Sweet bird! thy bower is ever green,  
 Thy sky is ever clear;  
 Thou hast no sorrow in thy song,  
 No winter in thy year.”

—this, in a world of trial and endeavour, not very respectable desire, brings many to the Lake district, and takes them away again, and brings others in their stead,—a ceaseless succession of cuckoos, with more or less of the cockney diathesis, which cannot stand the winters of the hills.

But there is another class, and the author of the “Angler in the Lake District” is a distinguished member of it, who, to a perennial love of nature join a richly stored and highly cultivated mind, and who, after a life spent actively and well, have retired to these charming scenes to wear out the evening of their day in rational contemplation, recreation, and repose. In one of the choicest of all the choice situations among the English Lakes the author lives, and pursues his philosophical studies and his “contemplative man’s recreation” of angling, with as much zest as when in youth he assisted his brother, Sir Humphry, in his science or his sport. At a short distance, in another of the sweetest nooks in all the Lakes, his brother-in-law, the famous Arctic voyager and naturalist, Sir John Richardson, resides, and thus, after nearly half a century spent in the service of their country, and being often separated by the whole diameter of the world,—the one in the Arctic seas, the other in

Ceylon or under the tropics, they have cast anchor at last within pleasant hail of each other, and in the bosom of their families are together enjoying the evening of life. There is something, to us, most delightful in the sight of men like these thus enjoying the pleasant life of the Lake district, and we have very little doubt that as years revolve, a greater number of men of their class will settle down permanently among these northern vales. Had they been, as from their services and their ability they should have been, at the head of their separate medical departments—the one of the army, the other of the navy,—it would have been better for England during the late war and at the present time. But for themselves, it is better to be as they are—the honoured denizens of a land which, to such men, is the best earthly type of paradise. As to our author, we believe he has “fishing days” among his Westmoreland hills “in which the feelings of youth return,” and that the remark of Poietes at the close of “*Salmonia*” addressed to Halieus (who is always understood to be in some sort Sir Humphry himself) may be most appropriately transferred to the “Angler in the Lake District:”—

“POIET. I do not think Halieus had ever any season, except a perpetual and gentle spring, for the tones of his mind have been always so quiet; it has been so little scorched by sunshine, and so little shaken by winds, that I think it may be compared to that sempivernal climate fabled of the Hesperides, where the same trees produced at once buds, leaves, blossoms, and fruits.”

And as, like dear old Izaak Walton, our author possesses that essential ingredient in human felicity, “*mens sana in corpore sano*,” we hope he may also, like him, enjoy length of days, and “in his eighty-third year” be projecting “a pilgrimage of more than a hundred miles, into a country the most difficult and hazardous that can be conceived for an aged man to travel in, to visit his friend Cotton, and doubtless to enjoy his favourite diversion of angling in the delightful streams of the Dove;” and that on the ninetieth anniversary of his birth-day, he may by his will, “declare himself to be of perfect memory,” as dear old Izaak did.

“A mind stored with a great variety of useful knowledge; a temper that could harbour no malevolent thought or insidious design, nor stoop to the arts of fraud or flattery, but disposed him to love and virtuous friendship, the enjoyment of innocent delights and recreations, to the contemplation of the works of nature, and the ways of Providence, and to the still sublimer pleasures of rational piety;”—all this is, we believe, as applicable to our author as to the father of English anglers; and it

is because we believe it is the tendency of this sport, properly followed, to attract such men, and foster such qualities, that we have great love and esteem for it, and would gladly see the number of the true brothers of the angle greatly increased.

The present work is well qualified to aid in this object. Under the old, honoured form of dialogues or colloquies, our ancient friend "Piscator," who, from Izaak Walton downwards, generally says the best things and acts the part of guide and philosopher,—and his friend "Amicus" hold various discourse at various fishing stations in the Lake district; and, besides the usual talk about the sport, and the natural sciences allied to it, tell each other many things concerning the poets, the dalesmen, the meteorology, and, generally, the life of the northern English mountaineers, which most intelligent persons will be pleased to read, and to which "contemplative" anglers in especial will be delighted to listen.

Christopher North, who fell so savagely foul of Sir Humphry in reference to "Salmonia," would, doubtless, have lashed the "Angler in the Lake District,"—his own district—thoroughly; for if the Professor found "Salmonia," with its beautiful philosophical spirit, dull, we fear he would have considered the "Angler in the Lake District" as a mere poacher on his own preserves.

But though the "Angler in the Lake District" has not, in our opinion, by any means exhausted the subject, nay, rather has just touched on its most interesting parts, still there are facts and speculations there which, however little Christopher North might have relished them, are exceedingly interesting to all those who carry a love of natural science into their sport. In the notes to "Salmonia," various contributions to the Transactions of the Royal Societies, and in these two fishing books, the "Angler and his Friend," and the "Angler in the Lake District," Dr. Davy has contributed information, for which every red-fisher and student of the *salmonidæ* must be grateful; and we trust he will go on giving us similar books, on the Highlands and other places, to which he resorts in the pursuit of his favourite recreation, for a quarter of a century to come.

It is difficult, without giving very long quotations—for which we have not room—to do justice to a work like this. Referring, therefore, the angling reader to the work itself, we make one or two brief quotations, with such comments as arise.

In his advertisement, the author says, that in the following pages, he, "availing himself of his leisure, has endeavoured to give an account of those parts of the Lake district, which are most interesting to the angler and the tourist. The form of

dialogue which he has adopted—so tempting and favourable to varied discussion—has often led him to the consideration of other matters than piscatory, and some of them of higher moment: such as the instincts of animals, the poets' homes, and kindred subjects, for the introduction of which he trusts he may be pardoned so long as angling deserves to be called "the contemplative man's recreation."

In the "dedicatory note," the author speaks of the Lakes as "once the favourite haunt of the angler, and which might be so again, could unlawful fishing be prevented."

The plan of instituting government certificates for angling, as for shooting game, has sometimes been proposed by gentlemen-sportsmen. Dr. Davy himself, in the "Angler and his Friend," a pleasant little volume, of the same size, and in the same colloquial style, as the "Angler in the Lake District," to which may be justly applied the modest criticism of Izaak Walton on his "Compleat Angler; or, the Contemplative Man's Recreation," viz., that it is "a discourse of fish and fishing, not unworthy the perusal of most anglers;"—Dr. Davy himself, acquainted as he is with the free life of the "'statesmen" and peasantry of the English Lake district, suggests the propriety of a government certificate for anglers—a larger sum being paid for salmon than for trout fishing.

Without entering into the question as applicable to salmon rivers, and to the rich old enclosed counties of England, where the difficulties of getting such a plan "to march," would be even more difficult than in wilder countries; and confining our remarks to trouting streams and the "Angler in the Lake District," we should think there are insuperable objections to the plan.

In the first place, even so small a sum as five or ten shillings for an annual certificate, to enable a man to capture trout, would take the sport out of the hands of labourers and mechanics; and much as we wish to see the recreation of angling enjoyed by gentlemen and men of leisure, it seems to us of far more consequence to preserve it as the poor man's sport. It is a cheap, innocent, wholesome recreation, easily followed at odd hours—after the day's work is done, or, if the river is near, even for half-an-hour at meal-times, by the peasant or artizan; it does not, like some other sports, lead to drinking and rioting, and the lessons of purity and cheerfulness learnt from the running brook and in the fair face of nature, are such as even the most illiterate man may read and understand. A true poor man's sport, it is also one in which rich and poor may still—even in this conventional age, and much-to-be-deplored increasing separation of classes—meet together occasionally in



the presence of nature, without suffering from those hostile sentiments of caste — arrogance and assumption on the one hand, rudeness and envy on the other—which so much debase so many of both the upper and lower classes in modern society. Nay, it is almost the last remaining English sport, in which the proprietor may meet with the peasant under some kindly recognition of their common manhood—the one granting, the other receiving, a privilege, which does not injure the first in bestowing, nor pauperize or humiliate the latter in receiving it. For these reasons, we think it especially desirable to preserve the sport of angling as a poor man's sport; both, we repeat, because it is cheap, innocent, healthy, and almost the only outdoor sport left to him from the old forest-times of his fathers, and because, in cultivating kindly feelings between the different classes, the pleasure and the profit to be derived by the proprietors of lands and fisheries from keeping the streams free to the working man, will far exceed any advantage from exclusive preserves. We are speaking entirely with reference to the streams and lakes of the Lake district, and to the trout in especial, as a game fish for the angler. We do not believe it possible to preserve trout in any district (unless by breeding and watching them, in the most expensive fashion, in rivers, the property of individuals or clubs; certainly, it is quite impossible in the Lake district, where property is much divided, and every dale contains a score or two of "'statesmen,") without the hearty good-will and co-operation of working men. The interests of tenants and landlords are so manifold and involved, so much more numerous, and so much less capable of being in any way bought up by the angling community, than in the case of game fowl, that we should think the method of a government certificate, which has been so inefficacious with reference to hares, would turn out to be still more impracticable in the case of trout.

No doubt in the *free* lakes of the northern mountains of England—that is to say, in those lakes which have so many proprietors on their banks with rights of fishery, that it is not worth while to attempt any preservation of them, so that the usual results of an unlimited common right have ensued, viz., the establishment of the barest possible pasturage—in these lakes, of which Windermere, Ullswater, and Grasmere are instances, the want of some general law is much felt.

But in all lakes belonging to one proprietor, or to a small number, who may be able to agree on rates; and on the banks of all rivers running through enclosed grounds, where the law of trespass can be applied to the illegal fisher, there is nothing required from government, except an act, establishing a close

time for trout, so as to enable magistrates easily to convict offenders. The angling community must do the rest for themselves, and they can only do it by co-operation.

In the vale of Keswick they have already done it; and as the sole angling association, founded on the above principles, with which we are acquainted, we venture to lay before the reader their last annual report, recommending all the anglers in the Lake district to go and do likewise:—

“Five years have elapsed since the Derwentwater Angling Association was established, and it may now be fairly said that the hopes of its founders and early friends have been fully realized.

Their object, as stated in their first address to the public, was to repress the system of midnight poaching, which had depopulated the streams and lakes of this district, and to preserve the trout as a game fish, in its proper season, for the angler. Some good, it was expected, would result to the public morals, by putting an end to the illegal methods which prevailed; while by offering to every fair angler all the privileges of the society, however little he might be able to contribute towards its expenses, it was hoped, not only that the sport would be always followed in an honest fashion, but that sentiments of good will would be cultivated between those who liked the recreation, and those who, possessing lands and fisheries, kindly granted free liberty to enjoy it.

“These objects have now been attained; the doubt and opposition which the plans of the society at first, in some quarters, met with, have given place to confidence and cordial good-will; the destruction of trout during the breeding season, and the consequent sale of unwholesome fish, at high prices, as potted ‘char,’ has ceased for some years past; and midnight poaching has disappeared.

“The pools in the mountain brooks, the ‘Fellbeck Dubs,’ may, perhaps, be now and then swept by the silk net, and there may be an occasional midnight attempt on some of the river pools, but these depredations must be rare and unprofitable; and as the poachers never, as formerly, boast of their exploits, but are, on the contrary, discountenanced by every honest working man, it is certain that the demoralizing influence of their example has ceased.

“It is the universal conviction of the anglers that the trout have very largely increased both in the lakes and streams. The best proofs of this are, that much greater numbers of anglers than formerly are seen out at all seasonable times—the number of working men by the river’s side, for an hour or two’s fishing in the evening, being especially remarkable; that the increase of trout, both in number and size, is spoken of by every observer of the breeding streams; and that the Lake of Derwentwater is now regularly fished with the fly rod—a thing almost unknown for twenty years before the establishment of this society, and the abolition of tram and lath fishing. Some very fair sport has been had of late years by rod-fishers on Derwentwater; and last year, the veteran angler, ‘Willy Bowe,’ killed with the fly, within two hours, in the lake, near Denny, ten

trouts, weighing in all nine pounds. Another indication of the increase of the trout is the increase of the members of the society. Last year there was an addition of 120 members, making 223 in all. The funds, also, are in a flourishing condition.

"The committee, therefore, have every reason to rejoice in their labours, and to congratulate the members on the present state of the association; and they trust still to receive the aid of the landowners and gentry, as well as the support of every angler and angler's friend, in order to preserve a society which is a credit to the neighbourhood, and a benefit to the working men, and which tends to attract to our beautiful river-sides the lovers of nature, as well as the brothers of the angle."

A few sketches from the Colloquy, on Wasdale Head and Wastwater, will give the reader an idea of this wild and secluded region. Amicus says:—

"So this is Wasdale Head, which I have so long desired to see. How grand are these mountain forms by which it is surrounded! How charming the little pastoral region which they enclose: a farm-house here, a farm-house there, and there the humblest of churches, distinguished only by its primitive and characteristic belfry—a single arch supporting a single bell."

"This farm-house is quite worthy of the place; and I may say the same of our kind hostess. Did you ever see more cleanliness, neatness, and order? The little flower-garden in front, with its trimmed shrubs [Amicus does not mention the bee-hives beneath, in their splendid sheltering box-trees, for which worthy Mrs. Ritson is as famous as for her neatness, obliging disposition, and cheerfulness], the pretty entrance-porch; and here within, the flagged floors of sandstone, freshened with ochre, the black oaken polished staircase, the clean, carpeted bedrooms,—all in such keeping.

"PISCATOR. This is a fair specimen of a Dale farm-house, and, altogether I am told they are only seven, and those belonging to so many farms; the little chapel in accordance, its side walls under six feet in height, enclosing eight pews, one for each family, with the parson's. It is a curiosity in its kind, that is, in its smallness; in other respects, differing but little from the churches of the district generally. You noticed its belfry perched in its western gable: I dare say the bell may often be heard sounding in the dead of the night, when the wind is high; for it hangs, you may perceive, unsheltered."

Besides trout and charr (the latter inferior to those of Crummock Water, Windermere, and Conistone—very like the Welsh charr, or those of Ennerdale), Wastwater contains perch, and the migratory fish, salmon, marts, and spod; and also the *botling*, respecting which there has been so much doubt among anglers

and naturalists in the Lake district. There can be no doubt, however, that it is the great lake trout, once common enough in all the large lakes, but now only taken in a few of them with the net, or killed in the streams during spawning time. The cause of the doubt which envelopes its history is, that it is only seen in the streams during October and November, Wastwater being rarely netted; and as the dalesmen who kill them with the "liester," or fish spear, are not much versed in the natural history of any region but their own, they are apt to give rather a marvellous air to their reports of the botling, and to claim it as a denizen of their lake alone. We have seen the great lake-trout of ten and twelve pounds' weight, and heard of one, thirty-two pounds' weight, taken in the Cocker, near Crummock Water. Clarke, in his "Survey of the Lakes," an Ullswater man, describes the great lake-trout as common in that lake in his day; and old John Tyson, of Loweswater, who has fished Buttermere for fifty years, once caught one, out of condition, in the "dubs," or pools, between Buttermere and Crummock Lakes, which, had it been in good order, would have weighed forty pounds. There can be no doubt of the authenticity of this report, for John is both well skilled in fish and very careful in his statements. Clarke even mentions that the great lake-trout has been taken, of sixty pounds' weight. All, or almost all, of these large trout have been killed out in the spawning seasons, as the country has become more populous, during the last half-century; but, in the remoter lakes, a few still remain. Last year, the worthy owner of Crummock Water Fishery took one, eleven pounds' weight, which we tasted; it was of a pale pink colour, not so good as a smaller trout, and, as a Dalesman said, "as ugly as owt!" This, then, is the botling. William Ritson's belief that they are *all* males, is to be accounted for partly, as Dr. Davy suggests, from the circumstance that the female fish is more easily killed on or near her redd,—partly, also, by the fact that the roe is the chief thing wanted; and that, as even in Wastwater, it is hardly considered legal fishing to kill a spawning salmon, or big trout, the report of their being *all* males is convenient enough.

The chapter referring to the Wordsworthian district—that around Rydal and Grasmere—is especially interesting; we can only regret that our limits prevent us from giving it in full. The same may be said respecting the Duddon, with the account, never to be too often repeated, of "wonderful" Robert Walker, who, in his amazing industry, thrift, and obliging disposition, was an excellent type of the best of the Dale clergymen; and the example of whose life is still doing good among the simple tenants of these hills.

We pass on to Keswick; sorry indeed to be obliged to hurry past so much pleasant reading.

It is in the merry month of May that our author and his friend visit the far-famed Derwentwater Lake, rich in romantic interest of various kinds; and—if it be not unfair to assign superiority to any where all are so lovely—perhaps the loveliest and most habitable of them all. The head of Ullswater, the head of Windermere, and the head of Conistone Water, are all, it is true, equal to anything in the valley of Derwentwater. There are features of beauty or sublimity, or both combined—in each of these lakes, even superior in their kind to those of the Keswick Lake; but Derwentwater has *two* ends and *two* sides of surpassing grandeur and beauty, whereas, in all the other lakes, the chief charm is found at their head, among the mountains from which the streams that feed them descend. Broad-shouldered Skiddaw stands sentinel at one end of Derwentwater; the wild, romantic chaos of Borrowdale stretches away at the other;—on this side, sheer down to the clear depths of the lake, the smooth, fairy slopes of Catbells, wood-fringed at their feet, descend; and on that, towering above glorious glades and thickets of oaks, rise the vast, gloomy cliffs of Walla Crag;—whether in storm or sunshine, with dark mists sweeping fiercely across, or bright, visionary vapours wreathing his sullen brows—or standing bronzed in the glare of the autumn noon—or dark in the silence of the starry night—one of the grandest crags in Cumberland. Like some grim old hero of the Scandinavian mythology, gazing upon a beautiful captive of his spear and shield, stands the old crag, glowering at the graceful creature across the lake; while she, looking timidly down into its depths, reveals yet more of her beauties.

So stand the mountains round Derwentwater at every period of the day, and however the sunshine and shadows lie; still displaying new combinations and a varied view; and this it is which makes us, while loving and admiring all the other lakes, consider Derwentwater as the choicest and most habitable of them all. The sunrises are as fair upon Buttermere, Rydal, Windermere, and Conistone; but none of the other valleys have, like Derwentwater, as Coleridge first remarked, “a grand opening, cut out of the mountains, for the sun to set in;” and he who, from the top of Walla Crag, has seen the summer sun go down behind the Scottish hills, streaming up and flooding the rich, verdant valley of the Derwent with an Italian beauty, while far away to the south, the grim chasms and massive shadows of Borrowdale stand in the strongest contrast to the fairy-like beauty of the other half of the scene,—he who, well

acquainted with the Lake district, has seen this, will admit that there is nothing like it to be found elsewhere.

Our author's chapter on Derwentwater and Borrowdale is in his happiest manner. The season is that in which "according to the direction of the wind, winter and spring seem as it were struggling for the mastery. What a contrast between the meadows, every day brightening in verdure, and the higher hills crested with snow; and how marvellous that, with such bleak winds as have lately prevailed, and a temperature at night, at or near the freezing point, and occasionally below it, the buds should be bursting, the flowers expanding, and vegetation generally making such progress!" Amicus has been speaking, and Piscator replies in a way very characteristic of the author,—one which shows his angling to be really the "contemplative man's recreation," and which makes this volume, as well as the "Angler and his Friend," a storehouse of interest to the lover of natural science.

"PISCATOR. Remember, that the sun is now exerting a powerful influence, warming the earth and the waters, and thus favourable to the ascent of the sap, and the active processes of change in which vegetable growth depends. Remember, moreover, that the determined time is arrived, when, in the course of nature, a large number of our plants awake, as it were, from their winter's sleep, and spring into active life: each species observing its period with wonderful regularity, denoting a *vis insita* in the individuals almost as strongly marked as in the instance of animals. It would be no great stretch of fancy to associate the budding or flowering of the one with the hatching and birth of the other. We might couple the appearance of the snow-drop and sweet-scented violet with the exclusion from their ova of the young of our favourite fish, the salmonidæ; flowers next in succession with the appearance of the tadpole, of the frog, and triton, and the birth of the lamb;—we might compare the progress of the expanding bud, or bulb, with that of the ova,—those of birds for example, each kind of which has its developing period; thus, the time of incubation of the barn-door fowl is, as nearly as possible, three weeks; of the common duck, a month; of the goose, five weeks; of the swan, six weeks, &c."

This idea is followed out in a very interesting way; and the book is full of such passages, wherein fancy and science walk hand in hand. By-and-bye, the companions are on Derwentwater, and though they only catch one trout (somehow or other there are very few fish taken in this book!—very different from most other angling treatises, from old Izaak downwards—a fact, doubtless, to be ascribed to the modesty of the author, and not to the want of skill or of fish),—though only one trout is taken, "it is a beautiful fish, well fed, over a pound, short and thick, silvery below, of a rich, olive brown above; a good specimen of the



Derwentwater trout, and I am sure it will cut red, and be well flavoured, when dressed." After taking this trout, Piscator observes a swan gliding from the reeds in which its nest was placed; and regrets that his friend, to whom the swans belong, has not been able to naturalize them by breeding.

Now in reference to this, we have a little story to tell, which is not inappropriate to the author's idea of bursting buds and breeding birds going along with a warming temperature; and which will agreeably relieve his good-natured regret:—

Shortly after Piscator caught his trout in Derwentwater, there was a violent storm; and when the storm passed away, we (the writer of this notice) happened to be on the shores of the lake. The swans, we learnt, had disappeared for a few days, and there was some anxiety about them; but one lovely evening before the sun was set, when the lake was still and clear, and the blue smoke from the little town of Keswick on the further side, rose up, in parallel sunlit columns into the calm, soft, pure air (for the house-mothers were kindling up their kettles for the goodmen's supper on their return from work), and the Keswick windows glittered, and the houses shone ruddy in the setting sun, and the dark features of Walla and Falcon Crag near at hand, and the bronzed hills of the Helvellyn range, farther away, glowed and flushed, as if sharing in the general hope and gladness of spring-time, — *then*, slowly rounding the wooded promontory of Faw Park, came sailing the two beautiful truant creatures, gracefully dipping their bills in the dimpling water; and, having swum round the little islet built for their pleasure, settling down on the smooth, liquid mirror beyond it. For a few moments their forms were reflected perfectly ("floats double, swan and shadow!"); every line and feather of the image *clearer* in the reflected, than in the real, appearance. And thus they remained, motionless—an unspeakably beautiful picture of grace and peace.

There seemed, nevertheless, from the moment they glided round the wooded promontory, something in their manner different from the usual quiet, dignified, and *nonchalant* habit of the species;—an exquisite softness, harmony, quietness, and gentleness—a sympathy and responsive grace in all their gestures, such as, though familiar with the birds, we had never noticed before. Perhaps it was the novelty of seeing them again, after missing them for some days from the lake; perhaps it was only the celestial beauty of the evening, and the sight of their unexpected forms, thus stealing into the scene, as if to give it the last touch of grace and the highest charm of loveliness;—or, perhaps—but while we were thus speculating upon it, the two fair creatures resolved our doubt, by gliding up to each other,

placing against each other their dazzling and swelling breasts, and dipping and raising gracefully, yet rapidly and more rapidly, their heads and fair necks, in a sort of cloud-like dalliance, commencing their loves. Cygnets, in due time, succeeded.

We beg pardon of the reader, and the author of the work under notice, for this episode, and hasten to conclude.

We miss in the "*Angler in the Lake District*" something of the jollity and lyrical spirit, which makes, or helps to make, angling books so pleasant. For anything we learn to the contrary, Dr. Davy may be a teetotaller; and if Professor Wilson lashed his brother (in his criticism on "*Salmonia*," in *Blackwood*) for confining his friends to a pint of claret per man, he may imagine how enraged the jovial critic would have been at his tea banquets at Brotherelkeld, in Eskdale, and elsewhere. But Dr. Davy's is a sober book, as becomes a physician of rank and a philosophical angler—of the type whereof his brother and "*Salmonia*" are the best examples. We miss Izaak's jovial songs, and Stoddart's wild enthusiasm. No one would expect to find the grave "*Angler in the Lake District*," calling out, as our friend Stoddart does, at the commencement of the fishing season:—

" Bring the rod, the line, the reel,  
Bring, oh! bring the fishing creel;  
Bring me flies of fifty kinds—  
Bring me streams, and clouds, and winds! "

But, we repeat, our author belongs to the class of philosophical anglers; and though we suspect there is a real relish for fun in him at bottom, he has got it well disciplined by a military service of forty years.

We recommend, however, every angler to add this book to his collection; and every lover of the English Lake district to read it.

#### ART. IV.—THE LIFE OF HANDEL.

1. *The Life of Handel*. By Victor Schœlcher. Trübner & Co.
2. *Handel: his Life, Personal and Professional*. By Mrs. Bray. Ward & Co.

M. SCHÖLCHER'S work was originally written in French, and has been rendered into clear and classical English by Mr. James Lowe. It is published at the happiest moment, when all minds are turned towards the works of Handel, and when scarcely any person accustomed to think or read is without a desire to learn something of the life and

genius of the unsurpassed composer. From no other source than M. Schœlcher's work, can the necessary knowledge be gained. Mrs. Bray's volume contains, indeed, a loving and graceful record of Handel's life; but it is too brief, and too slight in texture, to satisfy the reader in serious pursuit of information. M. Schœlcher's biography is ample and minute. Written in an unaffected, unadorned style, it analyzes in a series, the splendid productions which gave their composer both delight and fame; and it certainly presents as perfect an account of himself and his works as the most eager or enthusiastic devotee of music will care to possess. Indeed, we may safely anticipate that the crowds of *virtuoso* listeners to the magnificent oratorios announced for the Festival, will have largely primed and prepared themselves from the stores of remark, of anecdote, of incident, and of descriptive criticism, collected by M. Schœlcher. In this case, there need be no regret that M. Schœlcher does not publish in his own language. Mr. Lowe is a faithful and an eloquent interpreter, who has a mastery over both languages, and who proves his sympathy with the subject of the narration by following rapidly, and with peculiar precision, the course of the history, as developed by the author, in the same style of severe simplicity in which he once anatomized the imperial usurpation in France.

The merit of M. Victor Schœlcher's work consists, as we have said, in the unquestionable evidence it affords of conscientious diligence. Not in a single instance throughout the occasional complexity of circumstance, and the perpetual pressure of activity, which marked the career of the great musician, does M. Schœlcher relax in his integrity; no amount of toil appears to have daunted him in his researches, and authenticity is stamped on every page. His volume is distinguished by singular accuracy and care, and these qualifications, indispensable as they are admirable in a biographer, render the predominating characteristics of this new life of Handel, those of excellence. M. Schœlcher was aided in the fulfilment of his task by an especial admiration for the composer of the "Messiah" as a man, as well as in connexion with the science of which he was an incomparable master. He has not, therefore, laboured with the enduring though uninspiring apathy of a compiler, but with the loving zeal of a friend, seeking assiduously, and treasuring gratefully, every fragment which he deemed serviceable to his cause. He has rendered himself thus unmistakeably master of all the materials essential to an adequate biography of Handel, such as had never yet appeared; and produced, as the result, a work of veracity and importance. M. Schœlcher's difficulty appears, indeed, to have been in re-

ducing the mass of evidence into harmonious system—the narrative exhibiting at times a deficiency of that flexibility and ease which is the mark of perfect execution. A more plastic adaptation of abundant resources, while detracting nothing from the worth and weight of its testimonies, would have increased considerably the attraction of the work, in which we miss that emphatic ambition for design which, by a powerful fusion of necessary elements, makes them subservient to artistic conception, and reproduces them afresh, stamped with the originality of genius. It is pleasanter to perceive in a production the pure result of an author's toil, rather than to be permitted continual glimpses of the toil itself, as we desire to lose sight of, in the elegance and finish of some fabric, the several threads composing it. Nevertheless, M. Schœlcher's work contains certain excellences of style. It is earnestly written, and with an occasional enthusiasm, which if it sometimes betrays its author into indiscriminate partiality in his views, is never manifested in extravagance of diction, but has the good effect of imparting only a pleasant animation and greater warmth of tone.

George Frederic Handel was born at Halle, in the duchy of Magdeburg, Lower Saxony. There exists not less than five different fashions of writing the great composer's name, but M. Schœlcher has adopted throughout his narrative the English orthography, from the fact of Handel's having almost invariably employed this version for his signature. On setting out, M. Schœlcher has to correct the universal error of previous biographers of the musician, as to the date of his birth, which was in reality the 23rd of February, 1685, and not, as had been supposed, the 24th of the same month, 1684, which erroneous date is, strangely enough, carved upon Handel's tomb in Westminster Abbey. Even in early childhood, Handel manifested irresistible evidence of his peculiar order of genius, and underwent the opposition which is customary to its advent, and which in so many cases appears even to assist in its development. The old Dr. Handel, sixty-three years of age, when his child was born, thought stringent measures were necessary to extinguish the ignoble inclinations which would end, he imagined, in his son's becoming a mountebank, "to amuse the world in its idle moments," by music. He not only, therefore, banished every kind of musical instrument from the house, but refused to let his son enter a public school, or any place where he might meet with one. Such tyranny was, of course, retaliated through the only possible means, deception. A dumb spinet or clavi-chord introduced into the household, and practised on secretly, sufficed to instruct young Handel in the harmonic complications of the keyboard. Accidentally, he found a champion and a

patron in the Duke of Saxe Weisenfels, who, discovering the peculiar musical aptitude and inclination of Handel's son, harangued the old doctor to such good purpose, as to make him ashamed of his bigotry. Immediately, young Handel was permitted to receive instructions from Sackau, organist of the cathedral of Halle, and could not have found a more appropriate tutor. Sackau enamoured of music, and eruditely versed in all intricacies of composition, was the very man thoroughly to ground a young student in the essential elementary principles. Analysis was his method, and this admirable process he applied to every kind of music,—the productions of infinitely diversified schools. When young Handel was but nine years old, his master would set him to write a cantata weekly, and these exercises continued for three years; so it is not difficult to imagine the rare and priceless store of musical knowledge amassed by so eager and diligent a student at the end of the period—a period of immeasurable importance to Handel. At length, the excellent instructor confessed, with honourable candour, that he was no longer in advance of his pupil, for whose benefit a journey to Berlin was proposed, in order that he might study other models. From a careful comparison of various authorities, M. Schœlcher places the date of this journey in 1696, Handel then being eleven years of age. At Berlin, he became acquainted with Attilio and Bonocini, Italian composers—a circumstance memorable from the evil influence which one of these men sought afterwards, and not ineffectually, to exercise on Handel's career. Attilio, the more amiable of the two, ever spoke with enthusiasm of the young prodigy, for which Handel passed at Berlin; but Bonocini, who saw in him a rival, and yet was ignorant of the extent of his power, determined, if possible, at once to vanquish him by an unworthy stratagem. He, therefore, composed a cantata for the harpsichord—Handel's favourite instrument—which he rendered almost unreadable with difficulties, feeling confident no professor even could master it at first sight. What was his dismay, when Handel executed it at once, without error! The decease of Handel's father, in 1697, left him poor; and he had now the stimulus of providing for existence to urge him on. Not having the means of visiting Italy, which he desired, he repaired to Hamburg, where he joined the orchestra of the opera-house. Here he became acquainted with Mattheson, a composer and an actor, who prided himself on the peculiar renown of having written as many books on all kinds of subjects as he had lived years! Handel's first dramatic work, "Almira, Queen of Castile," was produced at this period. Abundant memorials in vocal and other music testified to his diligence; "two chests full" of his productions being left, it is said, at

Hamburg. Notwithstanding his ardent desire to visit Italy, he shortly after refused an invitation from the Grand Duke of Tuscany to accompany him to Florence, preferring to reserve the remainder of his pay at the theatre, part of which was appropriated by him for his mother, and wait in order to perform the journey unaided. Handel was at this time twenty-one, and his refusal to attend the princely retinue at an age when few are insensible to the proffered attractions and emoluments of a court, is dwelt upon with affectionate complacency by M. Schœlcher. The fact is certainly to Handel's honour, especially in days when musicians were ranked by their patrons with cooks and valets! Nevertheless, Handel entertained no decided aversion to aristocratic companionship, remembering with gratitude, probably, that his first benefactor was of ducal degree. He possessed, notwithstanding, a true nobility of spirit, surpassed, perhaps, only by the rare mental elevation of Beethoven.

The year 1706 found Handel enjoying the object of his long desire—a residence in Florence. He there produced his “Roderigo,” for which the Grand Duke presented him with a service of plate and a purse containing a hundred sequins. In the following year, he proceeded to Vienna, and made the acquaintance of Steffani, Scarlatti, and Gasparini. The Venetians received with enthusiasm the “Agrippina” with which he presented them. From Venice he repaired to Rome, where he received as the intimate associate of cardinals, dukes, and prelates, the most gratifying tributes to his genius. During his sojourn in Italy, Handel composed various sacred pieces, adapted to the Roman Catholic form of worship,—a fact which, as M. Schœlcher remarks, does not convey an idea of any rigour in his doctrines as a Lutheran. Among these productions was a noble Magnificat, which the composer himself thought not unworthy to adorn the splendid creation of his riper genius, as many years subsequently, it was introduced by him into his “Israel in Egypt.” French canzonets of this period also prove the versatility of his powers. After a visit to Hanover and Halle, Handel repaired, at the close of 1710, to London,—destined to become the scene of mingled triumphs and disasters. A growing taste for Italian music then animated the fashionable circles of the great capital, and the dawning fame of the opera, since so unrivalled in attraction, prospered in spite of the blighting sarcasms of Addison and Steele. The director of the Haymarket Theatre—already dedicated to the performance of operas—hailed the arrival of Handel as a signal of success; and prevailed upon him to set to music the episode of Tasso’s “Rinaldo,” which was shortly after represented with such



extraordinary success, that the publisher is said to have realized the sum of fifteen hundred pounds in this case, as in so many others, but little to the advantage to the author, which drew from Handel the following humorous complaint, in a letter: "My dear Sir,—As it is only right we should be upon an equal footing, *you* shall compose the next opera, and *I* will sell it." An ode for the birthday of Queen Anne, a *Te Deum* celebrating the Peace of Utrecht, and a *Jubilate*, next occupied his pen; these engagements being diversified by occasional performances on the harpsichord at the house of Thomas Britton, a singular celebrity of the age, who, an itinerant coal-merchant by trade, was nevertheless a skilful artist in music, and so great was his renown as to render the very quarter in which he resided, near Clerkenwell Green, illustrious. The tenant of a stable, the ground floor of which was his coal repository, he managed, notwithstanding, to attract the *élite* of London to his weekly musical *soirées*, given gratuitously, and numbered even duchesses among his audience. Portraits of Thomas Britton present him to posterity clad in a dustman's hat, a blouse, and a neckerchief knotted like a rope.

The desire of the Elector George to retain Handel as his chapel-master, was not sufficient inducement for the musician again to visit Hanover; and he remained enjoying the favours and flatteries of London till the arrival of the Elector, as successor to Anne, brought the musician and the monarch once more into communication. Aristocratic circles at the time contended for the honour of Handel's presence, and the musician consented to remain for a year at the house of Lord Burlington, where he was gratified by the intellectual society of such men as Pope, Gay, and Arbuthnot.

After a visit to Hanover (1717), during which Handel composed his exquisite German oratorio of the "Passion," he returned to London, and soon after was elected as chapel-master in place of Dr. Pepusch, by the Duke of Chandos. The magnificence of this English Cosmo will be imagined from the splendours of his palatial residence of Canons,—the pillars of the great hall as well as the steps of the staircase being of pure marble, each step consisting of one piece twenty-two feet long. His entire establishment, indeed, was conducted on so courtly a scale, that he was known as the "Grand Duke." A singular anecdote attaches to his domestic history, showing by what stratagem of fortune the gracious Chandos gained a *third* wife. As he was on a journey, he saw at the door of an inn a groom beating a young servant girl (whose beauty tradition does not contradict) with a horsewhip. The duke was about to interfere on the girl's behalf, when he was informed that she and her

persecutor were married, the law then sanctioning such an enormity as the "moderate correction of wives by their husbands,"—the moderation left to the tender mercies of the enraged husband. The groom, however, perceiving the inclination of the duke, offered at once to sell him his wife if he would buy her, which, in order to save her from further punishment, he did,—the law conniving also at the scandal of these sales, since the perpetrators of them were not prosecuted. But the poor girl realized the truth, that mercy is better than justice, for the duke, somewhat puzzled at first how to dispose of his new possession, after sending her to school for awhile, took her from it to make her Duchess of Chandos,—a dignity under which she comported herself, it is said, with perfect ease and grace. Among other objects which gratified his luxurious tastes, the duke owned a chapel at a short distance from his mansion, which he had planned and caused to be fitted up in the true Italian style, the road to which was every Sunday thronged with the equipages of the aristocracy, Handel's audience; a fact which acted as the breath of fresh inspiration, seemingly, on the musician, since memorials of the most ardent diligence belong to the period of his chapel-mastership,—containing the two Te Deums and the twelve Anthems, known as the "Chandos Anthems,"—filled with an eclectic harmony, which the gloriously bold genius of this great composer could so artistically employ.

At the commencement of the year 1720, we find Handel engaging in new schemes of progress for the advancement of Italian music in England,—speculations which involved him subsequently in disappointment and loss. Fifty thousand pounds was realized by private subscription for the revival of the opera in the Haymarket, previously occupied for some time by French comedians, whom the jealousy of English rivals did not scruple to designate as "French vermin!" and it is curious to note, in the limited association of nobility and talent, which the society then formed—assuming by permission under George I., the prerogative of Royal,—the institution, since so widely known as the Royal Academy of Music. Engaged by this institution, Handel undertook the directorship of the Italian Theatre. Not resigning his chapel-mastership, however, he composed at the same time for the Duke of Chandos, his English oratorio of "Esther." It was at this time that the Academy invited the assistance of Attilio and Bonocini—Handel's old acquaintances—the latter of whom did not fail to make himself busy in fomenting to Handel's detriment the musical faction then prevalent, and the spleen of these cabals spoke through the caustic tirades of Swift. The enterprise of the Academy was a source

of continual loss,—the “French vermin” having been better favoured than the splendid creations of Handel. Nevertheless, neither his energy nor his hope was abated, having still in his possession ten thousand pounds saved from the profits of his previous works. In partnership with Heidegger, proprietor of the Haymarket, he engaged to bring out operas for three years at that theatre, and repaired to Italy accordingly, to collect a company. For years, he continued to work assiduously in the cause he had undertaken, enduring, in addition to his actual duties as director the toil and perplexity of negotiation and arrangement in various quarters, the labours of composition also; and harassed by the envy and injurious machinations of rival factions, was damped, too, by want of success in his endeavours. These years, then, from 1720 to 1737, anxiously and arduously spent, yet unsatisfactorily in their immediate results, we cannot but regard as a period of no ordinary trial. The ill effects of the ordeal were proved in the severe indisposition which afflicted Handel early in the year 1737. So acutely, indeed, had he felt the responsibilities of his position, that an attack of paralysis, doubtless induced through nervous excitement, caused the temporary suspension of his mental faculties. The waters of Aix-la-Chapelle speedily restored him, however; and, once convalescent, he worked again with unremitting diligence. A desperate determination seemed to inspire operatic speculators, for the Haymarket was again re-opened, under the younger Heidegger, who requested Handel to take up his pen for him. Handel’s involved circumstances urged him to assent. On the 15th of November, he commenced “Pharamond;” on the 20th, the death of Queen Caroline occurred, and the king desired Handel to write a funeral anthem. He did so, and yet finished the opera by the 24th of December—little more than a month. The funeral anthem was executed by not less than one hundred and eighty performers. An amusing incident is recorded in connexion with the history of this anthem, which expresses with great *naïveté* the characteristics of the Georges. The king seemingly overwhelmed at the idea of becoming a widower, burst into a flood of tears; the queen all the while renewing her entreaties that he would take another wife after her decease. He sobbed aloud; but, amidst his sobbing, suggested that, rather than take another wife, he would maintain a mistress or two. “Eh, mon Dieu!” exclaimed Caroline, “*cela n’empêche pas!*”

To “Pharamond” succeeded “Xerxes,”—likewise a failure. Notwithstanding these defeats, the disappointment of his theatrical enterprises, and the want of success in his operas, the genius of Handel was appreciated as it deserved by all those of true greatness in the country—really intellectual men—Pope,

Fielding, Hogarth, and others, of equal eminence, adhering to him steadfastly, and combating the adverse judgment of a factious crowd. A marble statue was erected to his honour in Vauxhall Gardens.

The oratorio of "Saul" was commenced by Handel in July of the year 1738, and was finished by the 27th of September. Four days after, he began the "Israel in Egypt," and completed it in twenty-seven days—one among the many instances proving the extraordinary facility with which he composed. In the following year, Handel took the Haymarket, for the performance of oratorios twice a-week. This project was destined, like the others, to end in failure. Here the "Saul" was first given—a work, abounding in passages of surpassing grace and beauty. The "Dead March" has since obtained a universal reputation; but Handel could not succeed in popularizing it, any more than that magnificent creation, the "Israel in Egypt." We can infer the reception of the latter, from the fact of Handel's announcing its suppression, on presenting it for the *second time*. An advertisement told, that "the oratorio would be shortened, and intermixed with songs;" which simple sentence speaks volumes as to the public taste of the period, which Handel had in a manner to educate, in order to render it capable of appreciating his masterpieces. Thus, only the enlightened few among his contemporaries, of intellectual superiority and cultivated taste, had the acumen to forestall the judgment of posterity, which, in the perpetual celebration of these oratorios, pronounces them of unequalled excellence.

Difficulties accumulated around him, but Handel was not discouraged, for he possessed a vigour of the moral nature proportionate to the expansion of his intellect. Adversity only elicited his energy and indomitable perseverance, as opposition had failed to quench the powerful genius of this Michael Angelo of music. At fifty years of age, he had the misfortune to find himself embarrassed, defeated, and persecuted by a zealous faction, who animated a portion of the nobility against him. The petty malice of this cabal is best understood from the meanness to which they condescended: pulling down his advertisements as fast as they were pasted up, and indulging in a multitude of other miserable acts of persecution. The irritation, naturally excited by this conduct, together with the discouragements of his position, were, doubtless, the motives which induced Handel to determine on a journey to Ireland, whither he proceeded in 1741. The resolve was a happy one, since the cordial reception which he met, recompensed Handel in some measure for the ingratitude he had experienced in London, where an exclusive and honourable dedication for

years to his high vocation,—his courage, enterprise, and indefatigable activity,—were as nothing in the scale against the weight of ignorance and malignity which kept him down. Not without reason, therefore, did he warmly allude to the Irish people, in his letters, as “that generous and polite nation.” For them he composed his “Messiah,” from the honourable motive of assisting a charitable society, organized for the liberation of prisoners for debt. On his journey to Ireland, he was detained by contrary winds at the city of Chester, where he was met by Burney. “I was,” says this quaint recorder, “at the public school, at Chester. I very well remember seeing him smoke a pipe, over a dish of coffee, at the Exchange Coffee House; and, feeling extremely curious to see so extraordinary a man, I watched him narrowly as long as he remained in Chester.”

Handel, wishing to employ the delay in trying over some pieces of his new oratorio, sought for some one who could read music at sight; and a house-painter, named Janson, was pointed out to him, as one of the best musicians attached to the cathedral. A meeting took place; but poor Janson managed so badly, that the irascible composer became purple with rage, and after swearing, as was his wont, in four or five languages at a time, cried out: “You schountrel, tit you not tell me dat you could sing at soite?” “Yes, sir,” replied the fellow; “but not *at first sight!*” Upon this, Handel good-humouredly burst out laughing, and the rehearsal was over.

The “Messiah” was performed with immense success; and so crowded was the audience, that ladies were publicly intreated, in the announcements, to lay aside their hoops, as it would greatly increase the charity, by making room for more company. It was represented, by way of persuasion, that if they would, but for one evening, lay aside their hoops, however ornamental, the hall would contain a hundred persons more with ease. To such an extent was carried this most ungraceful fashion, which civilization has not yet rendered obsolete.

Repeated representations, with increased applause, decided the success of the “Messiah;” and Handel, with the benevolent resolve of still devoting its proceeds to charitable purposes, divided his property in it with the Foundling Hospital,—presenting that institution with a copy of the score, and promising to come every year and conduct it, for the benefit of the good work. From this period, Handel continued to devote himself principally to the composition and performance of oratorios.

Without pursuing further M. Schœlcher’s elaborate narrative, we may notice that Handel, a considerable period before his death, was smitten by partial blindness; and that he died in

1786, while the summer tide of his glory was rising fast around him. We owe many and cordial thanks to M. Schœlcher for the admirable book in which he has commemorated the events of this great composer's life, especially at a time in which the excellence of his works, at the **HANDEL FESTIVAL** may be expected to attain the apogee of a long-delayed reputation.

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### ART. V.—EUSTACE CAREY.

*Eustace Carey : a Missionary in India.* A Memoir, by Mrs. Carey.  
London : Pewtress & Co. 1857.

THE remark of our great philosopher and critic as to the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of composing good hymns, applies, at least in a modified sense, to biography, and especially to Christian biography. No doubt every life has its meaning and its lesson to mankind generally, if we could only read and relate it. Greatness of achievement and poetry are in so far relative terms as the one and the other imply a certain sympathy in those who are to be affected by them. It were but to repeat a mere truism to remind the reader that the highest moral heroism and the deepest life-poetry are often to be found in the dwellings or the lives of those who are comparatively humble or unnoticed by the great crowd. Indeed, as Robert Hall has justly said, "The moral history of a beggar which faithfully revealed the interior movements of his mind, and laid open the secret causes which contributed to form and determine his character, might enlarge and enlighten the views of a philosopher."

But while there are thus ample materials for biography of the highest interest and utility, the fact still meets us that, in the increasing mass of such publications, there are few that will survive: the critic is bound to add—there are few that deserve to survive. However disagreeable the admission, the fact remains none the less certain, that the great mass of the curiously entitled memoirs which issue from the press, find a temporary habitation in drawing-rooms, and greatly bewilder any unfortunate person who has to contend between the desire duly to acknowledge the Christian element and the conviction that it is hid amid much which in plain language must be called *trash*!—deserve to meet the fate reserved for them. Biographies, such as those of Chalmers, Foster, and Arnold, which we reckon among our educational text-books—taking education in the



highest sense of the term are, alas! exceptions. Of course, we are aware that one main element of interest in these and similar works is, the character of the men whose lives are told; but we are convinced that this does not account entirely for the difference. Other biographies might be less stirring, but equally permanent in their usefulness. If we mistake not, one of the great errors committed by biographers is, that of not presenting the subject of their memoir in his entirety. You have a *perfect* man, or a *perfect* woman, set before you, just as much as in any American religious novel, and you rightly conclude that you have not a true portraiture presented. One set of features is selected; one aspect is presented; and you have only a fragment, not a history. Such fragments are not only unnatural, but they cannot be useful; they present only the fruits of the victory, but neither the contest nor the victory itself. They are not adapted to our wants, and might almost, without breach of charity, be called historical fictions. Besides, in such cases, the writer often omits what to his or her religious development appears incongruous with the ideal—ordinary flesh and blood it cannot be called—to be presented to that part of the community which is accustomed to highly-seasoned diet. The boy, the youth, the man—life, labours, joys, sorrows, death—all are *couleur de rose*, or good in that superlative degree to which, unfortunately, we are strangers in every-day life. That, under such circumstances, only religious *imagination* can be excited, or perhaps self-righteousness stimulated, needs no comment. Those who are outside remain strangers to the influences of such biographies; those who are struggling and would fain hear the *excelsior* along a path which they *can* thread, are either dispirited or disgusted;—neither the world nor the church are benefited. To say the least, the biography dies from sheer inherent weakness.

It would be an ungracious task for critics so bland and gentle as ourselves, to determine what, if any, proportion of these exceptional remarks might be found applicable to the memoir under review. That an affectionate wife should present to the public rather a loving memorial of a husband whose general worth and incessant labours of usefulness are known and acknowledged throughout the churches, can only appear natural. We will just say, as we feel ourselves in duty bound to do, that, in general, memoirs by near relatives are not the most promising, and that, in this special instance, some of the space which to us appears needlessly occupied with digressions and reflections, might with greater interest and profit to the reader, have been devoted to a more full and detailed sketch of the character and development of one who, in many respects, must be viewed as a model to ministers of the gospel, and especially to missionaries.

EUSTACE CAREY was born in 1791, in the little village of Paulerspury, in Northamptonshire, celebrated as the birthplace of his illustrious uncle, Dr. Carey, of Serampore. Little is recorded of Mr. Carey's early life. His father, Thomas, was a non-commissioned officer in the army; his mother, who seems to have been an excellent woman, first dropped into his heart the seeds of religion. But the boy was mainly indebted for moral development to two paternal aunts who lived in the village of Cottesbrook, and to the preaching of Dr. Ryland, of Northampton, one of that devoted band, who, in many respects, have become historical in the religious annals of Britain.

Here the most eventful years of Mr. Carey's life were spent, if we may call such the term when the child successively ripens into the boy and the youth, and that formative process is commenced which, when turned in the direction of moral good, is so momentous for after life. Surrounded by such relatives, it is scarcely astonishing that after Mr. Carey had become the subject of decided religious impressions, and resolved to devote himself to the ministry, he should have looked to India as the appropriate field of his labours. The most important portion of the volume is devoted to an account of the unremitting labours of Mr. Carey during ten years' stay in India. There are many deeply interesting circumstances connected with this period; we can only find space to advert to them, and we gladly refer the reader to the volume itself for details.

The first point which struck us was the success of the preaching among the soldiers in India, and the consequent formation of churches in the different regiments. Nothing can exceed the godly simplicity and spirituality which their letters breathe, or the decision with which they appear to have testified on behalf of saving truth. But much more interesting and important is the fact, that without wearying, or becoming unbelieving, the little missionary band at Calcutta, of which Mr. Carey may be taken as the most prominent representative, continued, day by day, preaching in the streets and market-places, teaching and exhorting, and that with apostolic faith and zeal, and with truly Christian humility and affection.

Our readers need not be reminded of the unhappy differences which, for a time, separated those who were called the *senior brethren*, at Serampore, and the *junior brethren*, at Calcutta. With the former, Dr. Carey identified himself; with the latter, Mr. Carey. At Calcutta, as at Serampore, a missionary family, or union, was formed. There the missionaries threw all their means into a common fund. It is touching in the extreme to read how, not only the Home Society's contributions and the subscriptions of private friends, but the money gained by the

personal exertions of the missionaries, and even the produce of their fruit-gardens and fish-ponds, were, in the most self-denying and conscientious manner, applied to strictly missionary purposes, and that at a period when personal want of necessaries was not unknown in the family. We would earnestly recommend all our readers to peruse the extracts from Mr. Carey's journal, contained in this volume. We have not met with more affecting instances of devotedness and zeal than these exhibit. It deserves the special attention of the friends of missions that Mr. Carey considered the preaching of the Word, in the vernacular tongue, as the great work of an evangelist in heathen lands. All other educational and benevolent institutions were to be merely auxiliaries to this. A dangerous illness obliged Mr. Carey, after a brief stay in America, to return to England.

Here, in the summer of 1829, the missionary lost his wife. The labours of Mr. Carey in this country must be well known to many of our readers. For thirty years he advocated the cause of missions with marked acceptance and success. At first, the unhappy differences, to which we have alluded, occasioned considerable difficulty, but any such obstacle was removed by the manifest importance of a cause so ably advocated. In 1834, Mr. Carey married again,—the accomplished and talented lady to whose pen we are indebted for this memoir. Many interesting touches of private character are recorded in this book. At last, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and while in the midst of unimpaired usefulness, he unexpectedly fell asleep by the rupture of a blood-vessel in the head. Such are the brief outlines of a life which, even irrespective of the great name Mr. Carey bore, would always remain remarkable for singular piety and success. Beloved by his fellow-workers, appreciated by some of the greatest and best of his age, eminently useful in his life, and peaceful in his death,—the record of such a man will be perused with deep interest and sympathy by many who must recollect his personal appearance. Of his mental calibre, and especially of his peculiar talent for preaching, we cannot present a more favourable testimony than that contained in a letter from Robert Hall to Dr. Ryland (dated January 16, 1811), which has never before been published.

“ I have troubled you with a few lines by Mr. Carey, principally with this view, that as you have in him a prize of the first magnitude, you may be careful to preserve him, and not suffer him, by the importunity of foolish people, to destroy himself by overmuch preaching. His constitution is extremely delicate; and if he often preach three times in one day, I have little doubt he will soon be in his grave. He is *by far* the most extraordinary preacher for a young man I ever heard. His popularity, I have little doubt, will exceed

that of Mr. Pearce, and not fall short of the admired Spencer's. He delivered a sermon at our meeting on Sunday evening, which appeared to me in manner and matter to approach nearer to perfection than any I ever heard from human lips. That detestable practice—an invention of Satan, I have no doubt—of preaching three times in one day and in one place, has already destroyed some of our most eminent and useful ministers; indeed, it appears to me to have been introduced by the powers of darkness for that purpose, and for no other. They who cannot be benefited by two sermons will derive no advantage from three. Such are my views on this subject; and if I could prevail upon all churches to abandon that practice, I should think it would justify a peregrination through all corners of the land. I hope, my dear sir, you will excuse my warmth and freedom on this subject. The design of my introducing it just now is to protect my dear admirable young friend from this snare of the devil. I have, as you requested, noticed the sermons you were so kind as to send me, in the *Eclectic Review*."

In this testimony of the great master in the art of preaching, who at so early a period discerned the promise offered by Mr. Carey, all who have read the record of his life, or witnessed his public appearances, will be disposed entirely to concur. To the writer of this memoir, the thanks of the Christian public are due for preserving, in a permanent form, the record of such a life.

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#### ART. VI.—CHARLOTTE BRONTË.

*The Life of Charlotte Brontë.* By E. C. Gaskell. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1857.

THIS is one of the saddest lives we have ever read. We opened it with great curiosity to discover how it was that the daughter of an obscure Yorkshire clergyman had been able to learn enough about human nature to write three such remarkable fictions as "Jane Eyre," "Shirley," and "Villette;" but before we had read many pages we became far more interested in the fate of the woman, than in the discipline and development of the authoress: the genius of Currer Bell was forgotten in the sorrows and struggles of Charlotte Brontë. And now that we have finished the strange, sad story, we have no heart for mere literary criticism; we must lay aside her books, and leave their brilliant excellences uneulogized, and their scarcely less brilliant faults uncensured: others may criticize her writings—we are unable to think of anything but her life.

Mrs. Gaskell has done wisely in telling us all she could about the wild country in which Charlotte Brontë spent nearly the whole of her short life—about the people that lived there—about the noble, passionate nature of her father, her brother's tragical history, and the very remarkable powers and strongly marked characters of the two sisters who shared her literary ambition, and might, perhaps, had they lived longer, have shared her reputation and success. Whatever may have been her natural genius, she needed for its peculiar development extraordinary external influences; and we now learn what those influences were.

Her father, the Rev. Patrick Brontë, was born in 1777, in the county Down. The old man must have been unusually handsome in his youth: he is still, we are told, a fine stately-looking man. The shadows of death hang gloomily over his house; five children and their mother lie buried in the church which he can see from his study-windows, and a sixth lies in the old church at Scarborough. Eighty winters have passed over his head, and all his loved ones have been taken from him one by one, and he sits solitary in the rooms which were once gladdened and brightened by their love. His keen intellect and robust but eccentric moral nature, must have had very much to do in suggesting to Charlotte the type of character which may be recognised more or less distinctly in all her heroes and heroines. The discipline to which he subjected his children, was quite Spartan-like in its simplicity and rigour. Mrs. Gaskell has given us several illustrations of this, and of his strongly defined intellectual and moral peculiarities. One day, the little girls had been caught in the rain while out on the moors, and when they came in, their nurse thinking their feet might be wet, got out some coloured boots, which had been sent them by their friends,—“little red shoes,” perhaps, like those which Eliza Cook sings about: “they were ranged round the kitchen fire to warm; but when the children came back, the boots were nowhere to be found; only a very strong odour of burnt leather was perceived. Mr. Brontë had come in and seen them; they were too gay and luxurious for his children, and would foster a love of dress; so he had put them into the fire.” Some one gave Mrs. Brontë a silk dress, which her stoical husband thought far too handsome; and having one unfortunate day left the key in her drawer, she found, on returning to her room, that Mr. Brontë had cut the silken vanity into shreds. Sometimes his fierce Irish blood became too tempestuous to be controlled; and his methods of working off his passion were very peculiar. We heard of a man the other day who is accustomed whenever he finds “the devil rising within him,” to throw himself on his

knees—no matter who is with him—and entreat God to give the victory. He had lived a violent, godless life till he was forty years old, and now feels that nothing but instant prayer enables him to master his stormy temper when once it has been roused. We know another who, in the hour of darkness, strides away for ten or twenty miles across the country, and then has peace. Mr. Brontë, when the fountains of the great deep were broken up, used to fire pistols out of his back-door in rapid succession. Once he got the hearthrug, stuffed it in the grate, and looked on until it was burnt. Another time, in his speechless anger, he sawed off the backs of his chairs, and degraded them to stools. We cannot wonder that the children of such a father had some pith in them.

In 1821, Mrs. Brontë, who was a Cornish lady, died, leaving behind her six little children; the eldest between seven and eight years old, the youngest an infant. About a year after her death, one of her sisters came from Penzance to look after the motherless children, and superintend the household. Miss Branwell appears to have been a kind, conscientious person, but destitute of that genial temperament and abounding strength and flexibility which were needed by the little people at Haworth Parsonage. They esteemed her, but she was never able to find her way right into their hearts. *They* lived within a mystic circle of love and confidence, into which she was never admitted. But the eye of the bereaved father was too keen not to discover very early that in the nursery, or, as it was called even when they were infants, “the children’s study,” the heaven-kindled fires of genius were glancing and brightening. We extract the following passage from a letter of his, of which Mrs. Gaskell has made use in the *Life*:—

“ ‘When my children were very young,—when, as far as I can remember the oldest was about ten years of age, and the youngest about four, thinking that they knew more than I had yet discovered, in order to make them speak with less timidity, I deemed that, if they were put under a cover, I might gain my end; and, happening to have a mask in the house, I told them all to stand and speak boldly from under the cover of the mask.

“ ‘I began with the youngest (Anne, afterwards Acton Bell), and asked what a child like her most wanted; she answered, “Age and experience.” I asked the next (Emily, afterwards Ellis Bell), what I had best do with her brother Branwell, who was sometimes a naughty boy; she answered, “Reason with him, and when he won’t listen to reason, whip him.” I asked Branwell what was the best way of knowing the difference between the intellects of men and women; he answered, “By considering the difference between them as to their bodies.” I then asked Charlotte what was the best book in the world; she answered, “The Bible.” And what was the next best;



she answered, "The book of Nature." I then asked the next, what was the best mode of education for a woman; she answered, 'That which would make her rule her house well.' Lastly, I asked the eldest what was the best mode of spending time; she answered, "By laying it out in preparation for a happy eternity." I may not have given precisely their words, but I have nearly done so, as they made a deep and lasting impression on my memory. The substance, however, was exactly what I have stated.'

"The strange and quaint simplicity of the mode taken by the father to ascertain the hidden characters of his children, and the tone and character of these questions and answers, show the curious education which was made by the circumstances surrounding the Brontës. They knew no other children. They knew no other modes of thought than what were suggested to them by the fragments of clerical conversation which they overheard in the parlour, or the subjects of village and local interest which they heard discussed in the kitchen. Each had their own over-strong characteristic flavour.

"They took a vivid interest in the public characters and the local and foreign politics discussed in the newspapers. Long before Maria Brontë died, at the age of eleven, her father used to say he could converse with her on any of the leading topics of the day, with as much freedom and pleasure as with any grown-up person."

Charlotte was born at Thornton, near Bradford, on the 21st of April, 1816, and she lived there till she was nearly four years old, when Mr. Brontë removed to Haworth. So minute and vivid are Mrs. Gaskell's descriptions of Haworth church and parsonage and the country lying around, that if we should ever visit the scenes of Charlotte Brontë's childhood and youth, we are sure that, through the impression left by the written picture, we shall seem to be gazing on what we had actually seen and familiarly known before. After living four years more at home, the little girl was sent to school at Cowan's Bridge, near Kirkby Lonsdale. The sufferings she passed through here, she has reproduced and perpetuated in the terrible representation of Lowood, in "Jane Eyre." We fear, however, that in this matter, she cannot be altogether cleared of blame. The school was instituted by a clergyman who, notwithstanding his faults, was thoroughly earnest in his desire to afford to his indigent brethren the opportunity of giving their children good education. Miss Brontë had received under its roof far better teaching than, perhaps, her father would have been able at that time, to provide for her, if the institution had had no existence. The miseries which she had endured, great as they were, had resulted, not from any want of right feeling on the part of Mr. Wilson, but from his ignorance of the real condition of the school, and from his too implicit trust in an old servant who was not worthy of his confidence; and when "Jane Eyre"

was written, the evils under which Miss Brontë had suffered, had for many years been remedied. We are informed by Mrs. Gaskell that Miss Brontë more than once said to her that—

“She should not have written what she did of Lowood, in ‘Jane Eyre,’ if she had thought the place would have been so immediately identified with Cowan’s Bridge, although there was not a word in her account of the institution but what was true at the time when she knew it; she also said that she had not considered it necessary, in a work of fiction, to state every particular with the impartiality that might be required in a court of justice, nor to seek out motives and make allowances for human feelings, as she might have done if dispassionately analyzing the conduct of those who had the superintendence of the institution.”

There are three separate grounds of defence presented here, of which we think that only one can be maintained. It is urged: first, that Miss Brontë did not think that Lowood would have been so immediately identified with Cowan’s Bridge; secondly, that what she had written was true at the time when she knew it; and thirdly, that considerable latitude must be granted to the writer of fiction in the treatment of the facts and characters which are the foundation of her story. The first ground of justification is valid, though it would have been much more so if the words “so immediately” could have been left out. If she thought the original would not be recognized, she was, of course, free to use the materials it supplied as she pleased. The second cannot, we think, be admitted. Many years had gone by since Cowan’s Bridge had been the scene of her sufferings; and she had no right to imperil the usefulness of the institution, and injure the characters of its managers, by writing what had been true once, but, when she wrote, was true no longer. Or, if the memory of past mismanagement was to be perpetuated, she should surely have taken very great care to make it understood that the days of which she wrote had for a long time passed away.

The third ground of justification involves an important principle of literary ethics, and deserves a larger refutation than we are able to find room for. The freedom claimed for the writer of fiction is a degradation rather than a distinction. If novels had no influence in forming the judgment of their readers in reference to the events and characters they profess to exhibit,—if their highest aim and sole result were amusement, and not instruction,—if they were forgotten as soon as they were read,—the plea might be admitted. But works of fiction exercise too serious and too wide an influence for it to be safe to grant their authors the license which Miss Brontë seems to have claimed.

Whenever the novelist approaches so near to real life that his originals are likely to be recognised, he is as much bound to avoid all exaggeration and over-colouring, and all suggestion of false motives, as the writer of the calmest and most didactic narrative. Multitudes have derived their opinions of Lieut. Austin, the late governor of the Birmingham gaol, from Mr. Reade's account in his "Never too Late to Mend,"—of the horrors of Mr. Hawes's administration of prison-discipline in "the gaol at ——," who never had an opportunity of reading the official examinations and reports on which that part of his story is founded. Was it not in Mr. Reade's power to inflict even more damage on the reputation of the Lieutenant than could have been inflicted by the most calumnious article in a mere local journal? And wherever the use of any instrument—no matter what may be its name and form—may cloud a good reputation, or unjustly blacken even a bad one, surely the laws of righteousness require that it should be used carefully. Are not Mr. Dickens's tales as libellous in their representations of religious people as though the calumnies were embodied in a dull treatise, instead of in brilliant works of fiction which are found in every house, and read by nine-tenths of all the young people of the country between the ages of fifteen and five-and-twenty? Whenever the novelist pretends to exhibit religious sects or political parties, honesty requires that he should try to give his readers a just impression of their principles and characters; and whenever individuals are introduced into the story who are not sufficiently disguised to be secure from recognition, all the reasons which make truthfulness obligatory on any speaker or writer, make it obligatory on him. By truthfulness, we mean, of course, truthfulness not in circumstance or detail, but in the general impression given of excellence and power.

Charlotte left Cowan's Bridge in the autumn of 1825. The resistless destroyer who had deprived Mr. Brontë of his wife, had already begun that fearful work which has now been consummated among his children. Twice during that summer had the dead been carried across his threshold: Maria, his eldest daughter, had died in May; Elizabeth, the second, in June. Emily, Anne, Charlotte, and Patrick were left to him.

In 1831, after living at home for five or six years, Charlotte was sent to school again; this time to Miss Wooller's, at Roe Head, between Leeds and Huddersfield:—

"‘I first saw her,’ writes one of her schoolfellows, ‘coming out of a covered cart in very old-fashioned clothes, and looking cold and miserable. She was coming to school at Miss Wooller's. When

she appeared in the school-room her dress was changed, but just as old. She looked a little old woman, so short-sighted that she always appeared to be seeking something, and moving her head from side to side to catch a sight of it. She was very shy and nervous, and spoke with a strong Irish accent. When a book was given to her, she dropped her head over it till her nose nearly touched it; and when she was told to hold her head up, up went the book after it, still close to her nose, so that it was not possible to help laughing.' "

Is it not wonderful that, with such defective vision, she was able so vividly to conceive, and so admirably to sketch, the landscapes which occur in her writings?

At this time she was not quite fifteen, and a very singular girl her new teachers must have thought her. Her routine education had been neglected; she knew scarcely anything of grammar, and very little of geography; she never engaged in girlish games; in play-hours she was generally found standing still under the trees in the play-ground, or reading a book in some quiet corner; but she knew by heart scores of pieces of poetry, could tell the girls something about their authors, and the poems they were extracted from; she could draw pretty well, and knew, as her schoolfellows thought, a great deal about pictures and painters; what was more, her imagination enabled her to excite a kind of æsthetic interest among her companions, both in drawing and poetry; she was a "furious politician," delighted in *Blackwood*, worshipped the Duke of Wellington, distrusted Sir Robert Peel, and waged continual war with the democratic daughters of sturdy uncompromising manufacturers, whose political faith was summed up in the brief formula, "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." She was a favourite, however, even with her political opponents! What pleasant nights those girls must have had with Charlotte Brontë to tell them stories in the bed-room. No wonder that one night Miss Wooller was alarmed by hearing loud screams, and found that one of her pupils had been frightened almost out of her wits, and seized with palpitations, in consequence of one of these extempore romances. The governess was a good story-teller herself, and many years after Charlotte had been one of her listeners, some of her tales about the disturbances in the neighbourhood, occasioned by the introduction of machinery, were worked up into the texture of "Shirley." And, by the way, Field Head, Shirley's residence, may be seen not far from Miss Wooller's old house. Rose and Jessie Yorke and Caroline Helstone were among her schoolfellows there; and the original of Mr. Helstone was a clergyman living in the same neighbourhood. The "three curates" of the same story, she found at Haworth afterwards, and so like were their portraits that they

assigned to each other the names under which they appeared in the novel.

Charlotte only left Roe Head as a pupil to return to it as a teacher; and very happy were the days she spent there. Emily was a teacher at Halifax; Anne was at home in feeble health. But at Christmas time the three sisters met, and Mrs. Gaskell has given us the picture of an evening scene at Haworth Parsonage:—

“It was the household custom among these girls to sew till nine o'clock at night. At that hour Miss Branwell generally went to bed, and her nieces' duties for the day were accounted done. They put away their work, and began to pace the room backwards and forwards, up and down, as often with the candles extinguished for economy's sake as not—their figures glancing into the fire-light, and out into the shadow, perpetually. At this time they talked over past cares and troubles; they planned for the future, and consulted each other as to their plans. In after years, this was the time for discussing together the plots of their novels. And again, still later, this was the time for the last surviving sister to walk alone, from old accustomed habit, round and round the desolate room, thinking sadly upon the ‘days that were no more.’”

They had already begun to write, and were in the habit of criticizing each other's productions. Mistrusting each other's judgment, however, they resolved to submit their productions to a criticism which should be free from the bias of relationship and love. A letter was dispatched by Charlotte to Southey, to which in due time a very wise and admirable answer came. Branwell wrote to Wordsworth, and the letter exhibits evidences of such remarkable power that we cannot help extracting it:—

“ ‘Haworth, near Bradford, Yorkshire.

“ ‘January 29, 1837.

“ ‘SIR,—I most earnestly entreat you to read and pass your judgment upon what I have sent you, because from the day of my birth to this the nineteenth year of my life, I have lived among secluded hills, where I could neither know what I was, or what I could do. I read for the same reason that I ate or drank: because it was a real craving of nature. I wrote on the same principle as I spoke—out of the impulse and feeling of the mind; nor could I help it; for what came, came out, and there was the end of it. For as to self-conceit, that could not receive food from flattery, since to this hour not half-a-dozen people in the world know that I have penned a line.

“ ‘But a change has taken place now, sir, and I am arrived at an age wherein I must do something for myself: the powers I possess must be exercised to a definite end, and as I don't know them myself, I must ask of others what they are worth. Yet there is not

one here to tell me ; and still, if they are worthless, time will henceforth be too precious to be wasted on them.

“ ‘ Do pardon me, sir, that I have ventured to come before one whose works I have most loved in our literature, and who most has been with me a divinity of the mind,—laying before him one of my writings, and asking of him a judgment of its contents. I must come before some one from whose sentence there is no appeal ; and such a one is he who has developed the theory of poetry as well as its practice, and both in such a way as to claim a place in the memory of a thousand years to come.

“ ‘ My aim, sir, is to push out into the open world, and for this I trust not poetry alone—that might launch the vessel, but could not bear her on ; sensible and scientific prose, bold and vigorous efforts in my walk in life, would give a further title to the notice of the world ; and then, again, poetry ought to brighten and crown that name with glory ; but nothing of all this can be ever begun without means, and as I don’t possess these, I must in every shape strive to gain them. Surely in this day, when there is not a *writing* poet worth a sixpence, the field must be open if a better man can step forward.

“ ‘ What I send you is the prefatory scene of a much longer subject, in which I have striven to develope strong passions and weak principles struggling with a high imagination and acute feelings, till, as youth hardens towards age, evil deeds and short enjoyments end in mental misery and bodily ruin. Now, to send you the whole of this would be a mock upon your patience ; what you see does not even pretend to be more than the description of an imaginative child. But read it, sir, and as you would hold a light to one in utter darkness—as you value your own kind-heartedness—*return* me an *answer*, if but one word, telling me whether I should write on, or write no more. Forgive undue warmth, because my feelings in this matter cannot be cool ; and believe me, sir, with deep respect,

“ ‘ Your really humble servant,

“ ‘ P. B. BRONTË.’ ”

Having been obliged by failing health to leave Miss Wooller’s, Miss Brontë remained for a little time at home. When she gained strength, she went out again as a governess ; and as it seemed likely that the sisters would have to earn their living by teaching, though neither of them very heartily liked it, it was resolved that Charlotte and Emily should be placed in an establishment at Brussels, to improve their qualifications. To this residence in Brussels we owe “Villette.” We must not dwell on several curious passages in this part of her life, which we had marked as illustrating the story which sprang out of it ; but must pass on to some of the incidents connected with the writing and publication of “Jane Eyre.”

On her return from Brussels, she came home to a house of sorrow. Her father was blind ; her sisters were in very feeble



health ; she herself, at the beginning of 1847, describes herself as having utterly lost her appetite, and as looking "grey, old, worn, and sunk." The inclemency of the weather brought on toothache ; this was the cause of restless, miserable nights ; and the loss of rest was followed by dreary, nervous prostration. But her courage did not fail. During these dark and desolate months, she had been working hard at her first novel, "The Professor," for which, however, she tried in vain to find a publisher ; though before this article is in the hands of our readers, it will probably have appeared. She was not daunted by her ill fortune : instead of giving way to despondency, she commenced "Jane Eyre." Messrs. Smith and Elder had treated the author of the "Professor" more respectfully than most of "the fathers of the Row ;" and to them, therefore, was the new venture sent. They were requested to address their reply to "Mr. Currer Bell, under cover to Miss Brontë."

"When the manuscript of 'Jane Eyre' had been received by the future publishers of that remarkable novel, it fell to the share of a gentleman connected with the firm, to read it first. He was so powerfully struck by the character of the tale, that he reported his impression, in very strong terms, to Mr. Smith, who appears to have been amused by the admiration excited. 'You seem to have been so enchanted, that I do not know how to believe you,' he laughingly said. But when a second reader, in the person of a clear-headed Scotchman, not given to enthusiasm, had taken the MS. home in the evening, and became so deeply interested in it, as to sit up half the night to finish it, Mr. Smith's curiosity was sufficiently excited to prompt him to read it for himself ; and great as were the praises which had been bestowed upon it, he found that they had not exceeded the truth."

And although it is nearly ten years since "Jane Eyre" startled us with its vigour and daring, who does not remember the electric shock of delighted surprise with which it was read for the first time ? Everybody talked about it ; and keen was the curiosity to learn who the new writer could be.

Some amusing circumstances happened in consequence of the *nom de plume* under which Miss Brontë appeared. Once, the sisters overheard the postman asking Mr. Brontë, from whom Charlotte was anxious to conceal her attempt at authorship, where one Currer Bell could be living ; but the clergyman knew of no parishioner of his having that name, and could give him no information. A more serious misadventure happened in connexion with her publishers. Ellis and Acton Bell (*alias* Emily and Anne Brontë) had sent "Wuthering Heights" and "Agnes Grey," not to Smith and Elder's, but to another well-known publishing house. In the early summer of 1848, Anne

had nearly completed a second tale, the "Tenant of Wildfell Hall," and submitted it to the same firm she had employed before. An American publisher had arranged with Messrs. Smith and Elder for early sheets of Currer Bell's next work, and was not a little astonished and indignant at hearing that similar arrangements had been made by another American house, and that the new tale was just coming out. The fact was, Acton and Ellis Bell's publisher imagined that "Jane Eyre," "Wuthering Heights," and "Agnes Grey," were all written by the same hand, and had agreed to furnish his American correspondent with early sheets of "Wildfell Hall," assuring him that Acton Bell and Currer Bell were, to the best of his belief, the same person:—

"Though Messrs. Smith and Elder distinctly stated in their letter that they did not share in such 'belief,' the sisters were impatient till they had shown its utter groundlessness, and set themselves perfectly straight. With rapid decision, they resolved that Charlotte and Anne should start for London that very day, in order to prove their separate identity to Messrs. Smith and Elder, and demand from the credulous publisher his reasons for a 'belief,' so directly at variance with an assurance which had several times been given to him. Having arrived at this determination, they made their preparations with resolute promptness. There were many household duties to be performed that day; but they were all got through. The two sisters each packed up a change of dress in a small box, which they sent down to Keighley by an opportune cart; and after early tea, they set off to walk thither; no doubt in some excitement, for, independently of the cause of their going to London, it was Anne's first visit there. A great thunderstorm overtook them on their way that summer evening to the station; but they had no time to seek shelter. They only just caught the train at Keighley, arrived at Leeds, and were whirled up by the night train to London.

"About eight o'clock on the Saturday morning, they arrived at the Chapter Coffee House, Paternoster Row,—a strange place, but they did not well know where else to go. They refreshed themselves by washing, and had some breakfast. Then they sat still for a few minutes, to consider what next should be done.

"When they had been discussing their projects in the quiet Haworth Parsonage the day before, and planning the mode of setting about the business on which they were going to London, they had resolved to take a cab, if they should find it desirable, from their inn to Cornhill; but, amidst the bustle and 'queer state of inward excitement,' in which they found themselves, as they sat and considered their position, on the Saturday morning, they quite forgot even the possibility of hiring a conveyance; and when they set forth, they became so dismayed by the crowded streets, and the impeded crossings, that they stood still repeatedly, in complete despair of

making any progress ; and were nearly an hour in walking the half-mile they had to go.

“ Neither Mr. Smith nor Mr. Williams knew that they were coming ; they were entirely unknown to the publishers of ‘ Jane Eyre,’ who were not, in fact, aware whether the ‘ Bells ’ were men or women ; but had written to them as to men.

“ On reaching Mr. Smith’s, Charlotte put his own letter into his hands ;—the same letter, which had excited so much disturbance at Haworth Parsonage, only twenty-four hours before.

“ ‘ Where did you get this ? ’ said he,—as if he could not believe that the two young ladies, dressed in black, of slight figures and diminutive stature, looking pleased, yet agitated, could be the embodied Currer and Acton Bell, for whom curiosity had been hunting so eagerly in vain.”

Soon after the amazing success of “ Jane Eyre,” came the death of poor Branwell Brontë. He was a young man of brilliant powers and genial temperament, and might, but for his vices, have won artistic or literary fame, and lived a life of happiness and honour. Unhappily, the interest and charm of his conversational powers made his company too welcome at tables where good wine and good talk flowed with equal freedom. He became, too, the passionate lover of a married woman, whose infirm husband was unable to restrain her vicious propensities. Branwell loved her with insane devotion ; and when she became a widow, went in haste to throw himself at her feet. But “ the will ” alienated her property if she ever spoke to Mr. Brontë again ; and though her guilty passion had been too strong for her honour, it was not strong enough to overcome her attachment to her money ; and she refused to see him. He became more wretched than ever, and sank more deeply from that time into the vices by which his noble powers were enfeebled and the happiness of his life ruined. He died at last on the 24th of September, 1848. Emily died in the following December ; Anne the following May. And then the old man, himself suffering various ailments, had only Charlotte left to him, and she was not strong.

The rest of our story must be told as rapidly as the rest of her life passed away. Of course, the literary reputation won by “ Jane Eyre,” sustained as it was by “ Shirley ” and “ Vilette,” brought round her many friends ; and very interesting are the keen, clear impressions which Miss Brontë received of the great world into which her genius had introduced her. The tale of her love and marriage, Mrs. Gaskell has narrated very delicately and touchingly : hard must the heart be which can read it without the deepest sadness. At first, her father would not hear of Mr. Nicholls marrying his daughter, and the

loving, submissive child quietly yielded. By-and-bye he relented, and for a few happy months sunshine rested on her hitherto clouded pathway. Her marriage did not separate her from her father. No ardent lover could have persuaded her to leave him. Mr. Nicholls became curate of Haworth, and all three lived together in the parsonage. She loved her husband, and knew that she had his love. But only a few months passed by, and again death had crossed the threshold. On the 31st of March, 1855, she exclaimed to her husband, "Oh! I am not going to die, am I? He will not separate us; we have been so happy." These were her last words.

Of her near kindred, only her father and husband were left to follow her to the grave: sisters and brother had been laid in the dust before her. But nearly every house in the village sent one of its members:—

"Among those humble friends who passionately grieved over the dead, was a village girl who had been seduced some little time before, but who had found a holy sister in Charlotte. She had sheltered her with her help, her counsel, her strengthening words; had ministered to her needs in her time of trial. Bitter, bitter was the grief of this poor young woman when she heard that her friend was sick unto death, and deep is her mourning until this day. A blind girl, living some four miles from Haworth, loved Mrs. Nicholls so dearly that, with many cries and entreaties, she implored those about her to lead her along the roads, and over the moor-paths, that she might hear the last solemn words: 'Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust; in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ.'"

Few and evil were the days of Charlotte Brontë. The great law of compensation was illustrated once more in her history: God gave her great powers and many sorrows. But let not the sons and daughters of genius complain of their destiny, or wonder at it. They need, and they have, a severer discipline than others: if they patiently endure their distresses, resolutely struggle against their difficulties, overcome troubles by holy strength and faith in God, instead of trying to forget them in wild self-indulgence, they will possess, when life comes to a close, a moral nature distinguished for power and beauty, as well as an intellect enriched with wealth and splendour. Goodness and genius may go together: and when they do, universal gratitude and admiration are their inheritance in this world; the brightest crowns, the loftiest thrones, and the most illustrious duties, in the world to come.

## Quarterly Review of German Literature.

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THE literature of Germany, unlike that of our own country, is not subject to the ebb and flow of periodical seasons. Every quarter brings its quota of new productions, and the press of Germany, in summer as in winter, is teeming with the results of profound studies. Each public man professionally engaged in science and in literature contributes his share, and the young *privatim docentes* of the universities are fast filling the ranks of their seniors who are removed by death. Since our last Quarterly Review we have read with sorrow the announcement of the death of Professor Movers, of Breslau, whose work on Phœnicia we then introduced to our readers. Unfortunately, this great monument of a life of study remains incomplete, and we fear that if even manuscript notes are left, a scholar sufficiently competent to carry on the undertaking can scarcely be found. But, if our knowledge of Phœnician antiquities is in danger of remaining for a time stationary, the study of Egypt, its history and science, is daily attracting more attention. We shall at present only notice a very interesting *brochure* by Dr. Max Uhlemann, of Göttingen, on the "Astrology and Astronomy of the Ancients, especially the Egyptians."<sup>1</sup> It is well known that these sciences had their home in Egypt and Chaldæa. In the former country, they were traced to Thoth, probably the god of that name. Of course, astronomy was the basis of astrology, as it was necessary before determining the nativity of an individual accurately, to observe in what sign and in what relation to other planets that of the nativity stood. Dr. Uhlemann treats, first, of the astronomical knowledge of the Egyptians; secondly, of the hieroglyphic or symbolic manner in which they were wont to note their calculations; and thirdly, of the astrological rules and inferences drawn by them. It is unnecessary to enter into further detail, and we shall only briefly notice a few interesting particulars. The Egyptians were acquainted with seven planets: the Sun (Ra, or Re), the Moon (Joh), Mercury (Thoth), Venus (Nephthys or Surot), Mars (Molech), Jupiter (Ammon), and Saturn (Rephan or Remphan—Acts vii. 43). With reference to the latter, it is well to remember, in reply to some who have attempted to convert the Egyptian Saturn-service into the Jewish Sabbath, that the god in question was the representative of the power of destruction,—an idea totally opposed to that of Judaism. The Egyptian year consisted of 365 days—a full year being intercalated after 1,460 years; it was divided into three seasons, each of four months, during which the sun was observed to stand in one of the twelve signs, denominated also by the Egyptians, *houses*. Originally, the Egyptian week consisted not of seven, but of ten days. To the curious we would spe-

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<sup>1</sup> Grundzüge der Astronomie und Astrologie der Alten besonders der Ägypter. Von Dr. Max Uhlemann, Docenten zu Göttingen. Leipzig: Otto Wigand. 1857.

cially recommend Dr. Uhlemann's analysis of the rules of, and the defence set up by its advocates for, astrology. It is remarkable how long it retained a hold upon some of the greatest minds. Perhaps the natural tendency to fatalism, which characterizes a certain class of minds, may have had more to do with this than the alleged accuracy of astrological predictions. Dr. Uhlemann shows that some, at least, of the most famous astrological coincidences of antiquity depended upon a misstatement of dates.

In our last review we promised to introduce to our readers some works of the deepest interest to the theologian and the historian. We hasten to redeem our pledge, at least in part, and so far as our limited space will allow. Probably the greatest work undertaken by the Protestant church on the Continent, next to the reprints of the Fathers and Reformers, is the "Real Encyclopedia for Protestant Theology," edited by Dr. Herzog, of Erlangen.<sup>2</sup> This work, in which the ablest theologians of the Continent take part, is designed to treat of every subject—exegetical, doctrinal, historical, and practical—in which Protestant theology or the Protestant church is interested. The names of those to whom the various articles have been entrusted would of themselves be a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and the soundness of the information conveyed. Hitherto, six and a-half volumes have appeared. The last part (first half of Vol. VII.) commences the letter K. We have had abundant opportunity during the appearance of the work to consult its articles, and have uniformly found that the information which they conveyed was of the most satisfactory and trustworthy character. Manifestly, the writers have had access to the latest sources of information. A very valuable feature in the work is that each article gives a complete list of the literature of the subject. We notice, especially in the last part, the articles on *Joseph II. of Austria*; *Joshua*, by Dr. Baumgarten; on *Irenæus*, by Kling; on *Ireland*, by Klose; on *Edward Irving*, by Kostlin; on *Italy*, by Cunitz and Klose; on the *Canon of the Old Testament*, by Oehler; on that of the *New Testament*, by Landerer; on the *Canons and Decretals*; and on *Kent*, by Ulrici. The article on *Charles V.* is also very good. Those on the *Kabbala* and *Carlstadt* contain little that is original in point of investigation. For the sake of our churches we could have wished that a similar undertaking had been commenced in Britain; or, if none of the "trade" were found sufficiently enterprising for this, that we should, at least, be furnished with a good translation of Herzog's work. However, the only means of access to this Protestant Encyclopedia possessed by those who are unacquainted with German, is through the condensed American translation of Dr. Bomberger.<sup>3</sup> In

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<sup>2</sup> Real-Encyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche. In Verbindung mit vielen Protestantischen Theologen und Gelehrten. Herausgegeben von Dr. Herzog, Professor zu Erlangen. Stuttgart u. Hamburg: Rudolf Beaser. 1854—57. (6½ volumes.)

<sup>3</sup> The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia, being a condensed Translation of Herzog's Real-Encyclopedia. With additions from



the abstract, we have no objection to condensed translations, provided we can rely upon the judgment of the condenser. Indeed, the difficulty experienced by many English readers in mastering translations from the German, arises fully as much from the literalness of the version, as from the supposed incompetency of the translator. Every nation has its mental idiosyncracies, and hence its peculiar mode of presenting thought. Certainly, if our choice should lie between a translation of the character which our German friends would designate as *Bearbeitung*, and a painfully literal version, we should not remain long undecided. In such a case, the work of the translator would also become more distinctively literary, while the character of the translations themselves would improve. But to return to Dr. Bomberger's version of Herzog's Encyclopedia, of which three parts lie before us, we are sorry that we cannot give it our unqualified commendation. A good many mistakes—perhaps printer's errors—occur in its pages. Indeed, they are so numerous as seriously to impair the value of the book. Besides, the condensation is, as it seems to us, not always of the most judicious character. Perhaps, however, the work may improve as it proceeds, and we promise duly to report progress to our readers. Before leaving this subject, we notice the appearance of a "Biblical Dictionary for Popular Use," of which the first three parts (nearly the half of the book) are before us.<sup>4</sup> The execution, entrusted to an association of able and pious divines, is good, and the price very moderate. The theological cast of the articles is moderately Lutheran. To the notice of the "Staats-Lexicon" in our last review, we have this time to add that of a kind of "Appendix to Brockhaus's Conversations-Lexicon," of which a first part has appeared.<sup>5</sup> The work in question is meant to discuss subjects of present interest, and to give notices of events or of the lives of persons which had not been described in the last edition of the "Conversations-Lexicon." In the present part, the articles of most general interest are those on the *Canalization of the Isthmus of Suez*, and on *Count de Morny*. The former of these especially deserves the notice of all interested in the subject. After describing the route of Indian commerce in ancient times, and during the Middle Ages, the author fully explains the project of Mr. Lesseps, and urges its advantages as compared with all other possible routes to India. He is evidently an advocate of the French project, and would fain convince English readers of its suitableness for mercantile purposes. Count de Morny is not discussed in the most loving style, nor certainly does he deserve it, if his character be that traced by the writer of the article.

We have, in our last, adverted to the great historical work of

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other sources. By Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D.D., assisted by distinguished Theologians of various denominations. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

<sup>4</sup> Biblisches Wörterbuch für das Christliche Volk: Alphabetisches Handbuch zur Förderung in der Kenntniss der Heiligen Schrift. Für alle Bibelleser. Stuttgart und Hamburg: R. Besser. 1856.

<sup>5</sup> Unsere Zeit. Jahrbuch zum Conversations-Lexicon. In Monatlichen Heften. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1857.

Schlosser, edited and partly recast by Kriegk, of which the eighteenth and last volume of the text has recently appeared.\* The history is brought down to the second banishment of Napoleon. This work was expressly designed for the German people, and it certainly deserves the cordial reception which those to whom it was addressed have given to it. Liberal in its political views, thorough and impartial in its historical information, and especially rich in the sketches of the state of society, literature, and science during each period described, it can lay full claim to general acknowledgment, the more so as the lowness of its price places it within the reach of the many. Of course, we must not be understood as always approving either the views of the author or his tone. Fain would we see an historical work similar to that of Schlosser written for and adapted to the British nation. Another historical work of considerable interest and of original research, is that by Giesebrecht on the "Reigns of the German Emperors," of which Vol. I. and part of Vol. II. have appeared. The latter commences with a description of the Germanic empire after the death of Otto III., and continues its history during the heyday of Germanic imperial power under Henry II. and Conrad II. The book abounds in most interesting sketches, among which we reckon those of the preparation for an ecclesiastical reformation; of the activity and death of the celebrated missionary, St. Brun, and other topics of similar interest.

Passing from secular to ecclesiastical history, we have the usual complement of works on this subject. On a former occasion we have adverted to Professor Gams's continuation of the French work of the Abbe de Berault-Bercastel.<sup>6</sup> Of the latter (which in French, appeared in 24 vols.), a German compendium had been formerly published. Professor Gams takes up the thread of history at the year 1800, and carries it down to 1848. It will readily be conceived that this period of renaissance to the Roman Catholic church, offers most inviting materials to an Ultramontane pen. The church, which during the period of the Revolution and immediately after it, had been so fearfully weakened in political influence and in power, now gradually regained her strength, and by identifying herself with despotism, obtained more than her former ascendancy in continental Europe. Coincident with this, and like a wave of the same movement, we observe throughout the world a gradually increasing tendency towards the mediæval. It is matter of painful notoriety what amount of sympathy this tendency has enlisted within the Protestant church, both in Britain and on the Continent. Professor Gams is decidedly Ultramontane. It is remarkable how thoroughly this party has gained the ascendancy in Austria. As an instance of this, we may mention that the work under notice,

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\* F. C. Schlosser's *Weltgeschichte für das Deutsche Volk*. Unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers bearbeitet von G. L. Kriegk. 18 Vols. Frankfurt-a.-M. 1856.

<sup>7</sup> *Geschichte d. Deutschen Kaiserzeit*. Von Wilhelm Giesebrecht. 2 Vols. Braunschweig: C. A. Schwetschke u. Sohn. 1857.

<sup>8</sup> *Die Geschichte d. Kirche Christi im 19ten Jahrhundert*. (Fortsetzung d. *Kirchen-Gesch. d. Berault-Bercastel*). Von Dr. B. Gams. 3 vols. Innsbruck: Wagner.

although printed at Innsbruck, is full of the most violent antagonism to the policy of the liberal Emperor Joseph II. and his successor Leopold. But, as the period of the Emperor Francis is approached, blame is imputed no longer to that monarch, but to his ministry. The only ground of antagonism to the policy so censured, is that of the suppression of monasteries. Dr. Gams's mode of reading history is sometimes sufficiently curious. To us he appears occasionally to read it backwards, as when he identifies the continued existence of Spain with its strict adherence to Catholicism. However, on many grounds, we recommend this work to all who make church history their special study. They will find in it many interesting notices and much important material. While referring to ecclesiastical affairs in Austria, we take the opportunity of introducing to our readers one of the few theological works which issue from the Protestant press of that country. Dr. Roskoff's "Letters on Hebrew Antiquities"<sup>9</sup> would be undeserving of more than mere mention, were it not that they are the production of one of the professors of the Protestant Seminary in Vienna, to which the training of the Austrian Protestant clergy is exclusively committed. The scientific value of the book is absolutely *nil*, whether in respect of originality or depth; and the style is in that laboured strain which characterized the *belles-lettres* of fifty years ago, and reminds one of powdered wigs, ruffles, and silver buckles. But what is more serious than these defects, is a sad want of the distinctively Christian element. So far as we have had patience to peruse this work, there is no allusion in it to the fulfilment of the law in Christ. Even sacrifices, and with them the passover, are idealized and deprived of their peculiar reference to the vicarious sufferings of Christ. We have often heard it stated that Rationalism was the favourite mode of Protestant development with Ultramontanes. Certainly, a better prospect for successful proselytizing could scarcely be afforded, if the Protestant church withholds from her adherents the bread of life, and attempts to nourish them upon the cold and empty abstractions of heartless speculation. Rationalism has laid deep hold on the Protestant church of Austria,—perhaps, in part, a revulsion to an opposite extreme from the superstition around. Now that evangelical religion has gained the ascendancy in Germany, we cherish the hope that its influence will extend to Austria. Considerable interest must always attach to the Evangelical Seminary at Vienna, and we can only express a fervent wish that we may soon meet with a more decidedly orthodox work from the pen of one of those to whom the Protestants in that empire must look for their future teachers. The mention of Hebrew antiquities naturally calls up notice of an appendix and additions to Cavedoni's "Biblical Numismatics," translated from the Italian by Werlhof.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Die Hebräischen Alterthümer in Briefen. Von Dr. G. G. Roskoff, Prof. an der K.K. Evang. Theol. Fak. in Wien. Wien: Braumüller. 1857.

<sup>10</sup> Biblische Numismatik, oder Erklärung der in der Heil. Schrift erwähnten alten Münzen, von D. Celestino Cavedoni. Aus dem Italienischen übersetzt und

Cavedoni's book required some such supplement, in consequence of the description of some interesting coins lately noticed, especially by De Saulcy. Occasionally, the somewhat rash statements of the French *savant* are controverted and refuted. On one or two points, however, we confess ourselves unconvinced by Cavedoni. We may especially mention that the circumstance of the inscription on some of the coins of Bar-Cochba, dating from the liberation of Jerusalem, does not by any means convince us that the latter city was, during the last revolutionary war, in any sense, the head-quarters of the Jews. Historical data are opposed to this hypothesis, and the inscription in question may be accounted for either on the general ground, that the deliverance of Palestine might be termed that of Jerusalem, or else that Bar-Cochba wished to imitate the coins of Simon Maccabee, which had borne a similar legend. We cordially recommend the German version of Cavedoni's Numismatics to all who are interested in Biblical antiquities. Before passing from ecclesiastical history, we notice two small publications which, if not directly belonging, are at least kindred, to it. The *brochure* of Ferdinand Gregorovius, well known as the writer of some works translated into English, is written with the ability which characterizes his other productions. If his description of the "Sepulchres of the Romish Pontiffs,"<sup>11</sup> does not add much to our historical lore, or to our means of ascertaining the character and motives of the various pontiffs, it is instructive in some other respects. The graves of the pontiffs, and the inscriptions on them, give an insight into the estimate in which they were held by their cotemporaries, and afford to the historian the opportunity of briefly sketching the lives of the pontiffs. A dark enough record, and an humbling account it is, which Gregorovius opens up. There lies Alexander VI., the father of Cæsar Borgia, of scandalous memory, in an obscure chapel, his remains having been removed by Julius II. from their sarcophagus. The latter stands empty and without inscription in the grottoes of the Vatican. Here, also, lies Innocent X., known for his nepotism, and whom those he had so much befriended in life, allowed to die unnoticed, and to be buried without bestowing on him even the ordinary attentions of acquaintances. Here also rest the remains of Clement XIV., who probably fell a victim to his measures against the Jesuits; and here an empty coffin forms a *memento mori* to the present Pope Pius IX. The other publication to which we refer is the biography of Matthew Claudius, by William Herbst.<sup>12</sup> The "Wandsbeck Messenger," as he was called, from the *nom de plume* which he had adopted, has become almost an historical personage, from the religious influence which he exercised on the popular mind of his cotemporaries. To many of our readers

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mit Zusätzen versehen, von A. von Werlhof. 2ter Theil, Anhang und Nachträge. Hannover: Hahn. 1856.

<sup>11</sup> Die Grabmäler der Römischen Päpste: Historische Studie. Von Ferdinand Gregorovius. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1857.

<sup>12</sup> Matthias Claudius, der Wandsbecker Bote. Von Wilhelm Herbst. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1857.

he is also known as the father of the excellent Caroline, the wife of Perthes. Matthias Claudius was born on the 15th August, 1740, in a village near Lubeck. The pastoral office was almost hereditary in his father's family and bodily weakness alone prevented the subject of this memoir from entering on the same. The life of Claudius may be divided into two periods—that preceding, and that succeeding, his decision on religious questions. His stay at the university was not characterized by anything remarkable, and his first attempt at literature (made about the same period) is almost below mediocrity, both in point of thought and style. After his return from Jena, he was brought into contact with Klopstock, and experienced the powerful influence of that master-mind. But the impulse which he received was rather literary than religious. We find him next at Hamburg and at Wandsbeck, supporting himself with difficulty by newspaper contributions and translations. He forms a romantic attachment to a peasant girl, who, as his wife, proves, according to the best testimony, all that could be desired. The poet Voss becomes his neighbour, and the description how the friends spend their time—musing, poetizing, dreaming, talking, and enjoying the family happiness of Claudius—is perfectly idyllic. Besides, Herder and Lessing are among the friends of our Messenger. At that time his influence over the German people was chiefly derived from the fact that he familiarly conversed with them from the heart to the heart, in language not only intelligible, but peculiarly their own. Claudius had not brilliant talents nor high poetic gifts, but he eminently possessed geniality, honesty, and truthfulness; while a vein of quiet satire gave zest to his simple effusions. The applications of his friend Herder, at last procured him a situation in Darmstadt. Here the President Moser had conceived the somewhat romantic design of reforming the country by throwing open the floodgates of an unexampled official philanthropy. A special commission was appointed to search out all possible grievances, and to point out any possible improvement. Of this commission, Claudius was the literary member, and for a time edited its organ. The commission inaugurated its labours by an address to the people, which to us who are unaccustomed to official confessions of past sins and professions of a future unlimited paternal governmental benevolence, certainly seems sufficiently extravagant. The labours of the commission ended as might have been expected, in disappointment and mutual recrimination. Claudius, who was weary of town life and not adapted for any continuous employment, was glad to return to his Wandsbeck retreat, where literature, farming, and at last a Danish pension, formed the means of sustenance to himself and his numerous family. But before leaving Darmstadt, a great change had taken place in our author. A dangerous illness had brought him to look death (or as he calls him, friend Hain), in the face, and the consequence was, that henceforth his life and his activity were devoted to those subjects which make life useful and death happy. In an age where to be Christian was to expose oneself to scorn and persecution—where Rationalism had attained almost its climax, Claudius was decided

and uncompromising. According to him, reason and morality only conduct us to a barrier which nature cannot surmount. Morality, he says, leads indeed to religion, but, in few words, just as poverty and want lead to the door of the rich man. Deeply he felt the want of righteousness within, or, as he calls it, of domestic peace. He says :—

“A noble slave within thee lives  
To whom thou freedom owest.”

But especially did he love to dwell upon the Person of the Saviour. His influence for good was very great; and although he possessed neither the depth nor the power of his friend Hamann (called the *Magician of the North*), he has probably done fully as much as any other person in calling forth popular sympathy on behalf of Evangelical religion. He died at Hamburg, in the house of Perthes, January 21st, 1815. In some respects, the composition of this biography does not come up to our idea: there is a want of clearness, of conciseness, and of vigour about it. But the subject is such as to interest the student of church history.

The work of Dr. Lechler on the “Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Age,”<sup>13</sup> forms a passage from ecclesiastical history, strictly so called, to dogmatics and exegesis. The book owes its origin to a proposal on the part of the Teyler society (connected with the Mennonites in Holland) to give a prize to the best essay, which, while acknowledging any differences that might exist between the teaching of Paul and the other apostles, should, at the same time, show the essential agreement between them and the Jewish and Gentile churches. It is well known that the Tübingen school of criticism has, of late especially, laboured to show, that there were essential differences between the Pauline form of Christianity, as represented by the Gentile churches, and that of the other apostles as received among Jewish converts. The essay of Dr. Lechler, although we do not in every point commit ourselves to it, deserves, indeed the prize which has been awarded to it, and the honour of a translation into our language. His stand-point is very much the same as that of Schmidt and Messner. To the latter, our readers will remember we have adverted in our last review. The method pursued in the work before us is eminently judicious and satisfactory. After a brief analysis of the mode in which the gospel was preached before the conversion of Paul, the views of that apostle are analyzed and traced through his various Epistles. Dr. Lechler arranges the teaching of Paul under two great particulars—that of the divinity of the Saviour (which, in his opinion, forms the central point of Paul’s teaching), and that of sin and grace. In a third section, the views of James, of Peter, and of John are analyzed; while a fourth section is devoted to show the essential agreement between Paul and the other apostles, notwithstanding the marked differences subsisting between them. The book abounds in passages

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<sup>13</sup> Das Apostolische und das Nachapostolische Zeitalter mit Rücksicht auf Unterschied und Einheit in Lehre und Leben. Dargestellt von Dr. G. V. Lechler. Stuttgart: Rudolf Besser. 1857.



of the deepest interest ; nor do we ever remember having read a more vivid delineation of the leading points in the teaching of the various apostles, or a more able exposition of the essential agreement between James and Paul, than that offered by Dr. Lechler. Indeed, to our mind, the data would have warranted even fuller inferences than those drawn. Besides the analysis of the apostolic teaching, the book also contains an inquiry into the state and mutual relation of Jewish and Gentile churches, both during the apostolic and the post-apostolic age. We would call the attention of the theological public to the work under review ; with the caveat which we have offered, they will find it a most useful addition to their library.

Kindred in character, but more purely in the interest of dogmatics, is the work of Professor Gess, of the Mission Seminary at Basle, on the "Doctrine of the Person of Christ, as developed from the Self-Consciousness of Christ, and the Testimony of the Apostles."<sup>14</sup> It is scarcely necessary to observe that the work is thoroughly Christian in its tone. The method followed is purely exegetical. In general, this is a kind of treatise which unfortunately has as yet but few parallels in the theological literature of our country. *Biblical theology*, if we have received a right idea of the subject, consists in the study of the Bible-text, with the view of deducing from it dogmatic inferences. It differs from ordinary dogmatics in this sense, that in the latter a doctrine is stated, explained, vindicated, and then confirmed by Scripture testimony, while in the former, the text of Scripture itself is the primary object of study, and doctrines are deduced from it, either in their historical or logical connexion. In the book before us, the author first discusses the self-consciousness of Jesus, the confession of the Jewish church, and the testimony of Paul and John concerning the Son of God. The personality of the Holy Ghost, and the eternal generation of the Son, are next deduced from Scripture. Part II. treats of the true humanity, of the sinlessness, and of the glory of Jesus while on earth ; Part III., of the glory and of the true humanity of Jesus in heaven, and of his offices there ; Part IV. details the history of the humiliation, life, and development of Christ, and his final glory ; Part V. reduces these facts to their ultimate principles. We have been much pleased with the spirit which the book breathes, and the laborious and careful inquiry which it embodies. A very different production is Dr. Volkmar's "Religion of Jesus and its First Development, viewed in the Light of Modern Science."<sup>15</sup> The book is dedicated to the Chevalier Bunsen, and attempts to follow in the track which the latter works of that writer have opened up. Our readers will remember our brief analysis of what threatens to become a new school, but, in reality, is a mixture of Rationalism and Pantheism, with a strong dash

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<sup>14</sup> Die Lehre von der Person Christi, entwickelt aus dem Selbstbewusstsein Christi, und aus dem Zeugnisse der Apostel. Von Wolfgang Fried. Gess. Basel: Bahnmaier. 1856.

<sup>15</sup> Die Religion Jesu und ihre erste Entwicklung, nach dem gegenwärtigen Stande der Wissenschaft. Von Dr. Gustav Volkmar. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1857.

of sentimentalism, couched in the phraseology of orthodoxy. Dr. Volkmar makes sad havoc with the doctrines of our faith; the resurrection of Christ, and all the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel—meaning, by that term, not the gospels which our critical knight subjects to a most ruthless warfare—are idealized. As an instance of this, we may mention that while Paul's account of the Resurrection is retained, it is wholly spiritualized and explained as analogous with the resurrection of the two witnesses in the book of Revelation. It is difficult to recognise any similitude to the ordinarily received doctrines of Christianity, or the gospels as we have been wont to read them, in the tangled remains which Dr. Volkmar sets before us. Withal, it were amusing, if not so painful, to think of the self-confidence with which criticism, so novel and startling, is broached with such an air of certitude, and yet with so entire an absence of proof of any kind in its favour. Surely, criticism like this, which wants even the decided negation of outspoken antagonism, cannot for any length of time exist in Germany; nor, let us hope, be capable of being transplanted. To our remarks on works on dogmatics, we will only add a notice of Strampff's collection of extracts from the works of Luther bearing on Marriage.<sup>16</sup> These are arranged after a certain plan, prefaced and annotated by the editor. We imagine the book is rather of value as an historical curiosity than for any other purpose.

Among exegetical productions, we can find space for only two notices. Dr. Rudolf Stier, the well-known commentator, has published a new and corrected edition of "Meyer's Translation of the Bible."<sup>17</sup> The movement for a new translation of the Scriptures had taken place in Germany long ere it commenced in our own country. There, it must be confessed, that the call for it was infinitely more urgent than here. Luther's translation of the Old Testament is defective and inaccurate in the extreme. It very frequently either distorts the sense of the original, or at least greatly weakens it. Under these circumstances, J. F. von Meyer undertook to publish a corrected edition of Luther's Bible for popular use. The plan which he followed was to introduce as few alterations as possible; to leave the general cast of the German Bible untouched, and to attempt adapting his emendations to the general style of Luther's version. In this he succeeded about as well as we suppose any theologian could have done. There were exceptions to this version also: some objected that it corrected too much; others, that it corrected too little. Among the latter is Dr. Stier, who has now given to the public a revised edition of Meyer. We suspect that, however valuable some of his suggestions and emendations, this edition will no more supplant that of Luther, than did that of Meyer. Dr. Stier has many qualifications which recommend him to the confidence of the

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<sup>16</sup> Dr. Martin Luther ueber die Ehe, aus Dr. M. Luther's Schriften. Zusammengetragen, geordnet, und mit Bemerkungen versehen. Von H. L. von Strampff. Berlin: Decker. 1857.

<sup>17</sup> Die Bibel, oder die ganze Heilige Schrift.: Alten und Neuen Testaments. Dr. M. Luther's Uebersetzung, nach Dr. J. F. Meyer. Nochmals aus dem Grundtext berichtigt, von Dr. R. Stier. Bielefeld. 1856.

public; and while we would not commit ourselves to this or any other emendated version, as supplanting our authorized translations, we gladly recognise the advantages offered to the Bible-student in the present case. These are the adoption of a minimum number of corrections; the retention of the general cast and style of the authorized version; the exegetical acumen of those engaged in the work; and last, though not least, the lowness of the price (5s. 6d.), which places this publication within the reach of Bible-readers generally. Ewald's "Translation and Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul"<sup>18</sup> partakes of the learning—and the rashness—of the criticism of that *savant*. His stand-point is well-known. The present commentary is purely exegetical. Without entering on particulars, we may notice, that the epistle to the Ephesians is entirely relegated as spurious. According to our author, the only real fragment of that Pauline production is to be found in Romans xvi. 3—20. *Ex uno disce omnes*, may be said of such criticism. At the same time there is an enthusiasm and a sincerity, as well as an amount of learning, about Ewald, which favourably distinguish him from the mass of those who follow in his wake. We may notice as unusual, to say the least, and somewhat disturbing to the reader, that Ewald discards the ordinary mode of marking substantives in German by capital letters. Nor are we quite sure that we always understand the *rationale* of his accentuation. This may be the appropriate place to notice the work of one of Ewald's numerous disciples: Dr. Eisenlohr's "Israel under the Kings,"<sup>19</sup> can lay little claim to depth or originality. When we say that the views of the author coincide in the main with those of Ewald, our readers will infer that they may neither expect deep appreciation of the spirit of the Old Testament, nor what is commonly and rightly called "soundness," in the history. But, it may be said that Dr. Eisenlohr shares Ewald's enthusiasm for the people and institutions of the Old Testament—as he understands them. The work also shows that the author has read much, and made use of the latest investigations into the history of Phœnicia, Assyria, &c. A production much more thorough, is Dr. Herzfeld's "History of Israel from the Destruction of the First Temple to Simon Maccabee."<sup>20</sup> The first volume appeared in 1847, and gave a sketch of the history of Israel to the time of the building of the second Temple. The second volume appeared in 1855, and the third, this year. The most valuable features of the work are its extensive literary notes and appendices, which offer an immense amount of information on the literature, the manners, and the religion of the Jews, as gathered from Talmudical and other Jewish

<sup>18</sup> Die Sendschreiben des Apostels Paulus. Uebersetzt und Erklärt von H. Ewald. Göttingen: Dieterich. 1857.

<sup>19</sup> Das Volk Israel unter der Herrschaft der Könige. Ein Beitrag zur Einführung in die neuern Vers. e. organ. Auffassung d. Isr. Gesch. Von Dr. Eisenlohr. 2 Vols. Leipzig: Brandstetter. 1856.

<sup>20</sup> Geschichte des Volkes Israel, von Zerstörung des ersten Tempels, bis zur Einsetzung des Maccabäers Schimon. Von Dr. L. Herzfeld. 3 Vols. Nordhausen. 1857.

and ancient sources. With the scientific value of this work we are deeply impressed, but its arrangement is such as to unfit it for popular use. Its historical and other criticism is often unsatisfactory. In short, it requires study, and discriminating study. The book will be welcomed by all who make Jewish history their study, and it affords rich historical material. The result of eighteen years of labour, it deserves acknowledgement even though we most decidedly differ from the fundamental views of the author. It may be added that Dr. Herzfeld is a Jewish rabbi.

Under the head of sermons, we have to notice Dr. Brückner's *brochure* on the "History of the Temptation,"<sup>21</sup> being sermons delivered in the Protestant church at Rome,—an able and orthodox contribution towards the elucidation of that subject. The Sermons of Professor Steinmeyer,<sup>22</sup> (of which Part IV. lies before us) are among the ablest specimens of German pulpit-eloquence with which we remember to have met. The power of these discourses lies not in their word or figure eloquence, but in the depth and richness of their thoughts. We refer here especially to the ingenious and striking view of the effect of Christ's death on his church, presented from the text, "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone, &c." The preacher shows how Christ's death really constitutes the *giving* of his life to the world, and with it the opening of the fountain of life. He also gives prominence to the fact that, in undergoing the death of the cross, Jesus had special regard to the honour set before him, in virtue of which every knee should bow to him, and repentance and remission of sins be preached in his name. A deeply practical vein runs through these discourses. The author frequently refers to the object of Christ's death as an atonement for the sins of men; but we confess we should have liked that more marked tone and emphasis had been given to this, the sacrificial character of the work of the Redeemer, which, in our days at least, may be ranked as the *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ*.

Among works on philosophy we may enumerate a sixth volume of the beautiful translation of Plato's Works, by H. Müller.<sup>23</sup> The text is enriched with annotations and introductions by Steinhart. The volume contains the *Timæos* and *Kritias*, together with the following (probably spurious) Platonic productions: *Menexenos*, *Theages*, and the *Rivals*. Another work which will excite considerable interest among Continental and British philosophers, is the publication of the collected works of the celebrated philosopher Schelling.<sup>24</sup> The edition is divided into two parts: works previously

<sup>21</sup> Die Versuchungsgeschichte, unseres Herrn Jesu Christi. Ein Exegetisch-psychologischer Versuch in Vier Betrachtungen. Von Dr. G. Brückner. Leipzig: Vogel. 1857.

<sup>22</sup> Beiträge zum Schriftverständniss in Predigten. Von Dr. F. L. Steinmeyer, Prof. der Theol. 4 Parts. Berlin. 1857.

<sup>23</sup> Platon's sämtliche Werke. Uebersetzt von H. Müller, mit Einleitungen begleitet. Von K. Steinhart. Vol. VI. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1857.

<sup>24</sup> F. W. J. von Schelling's sämtliche Werke. Zweite Abtheilung. Vol. I. Stuttgart: Cotta. 1856.

published, and those hitherto unpublished. The volume before us is the first in the latter class, and contains his Lectures on the Philosophy of Mythology and on Rational Philosophy. The first ten lectures treat of the former, the other fourteen of the latter. Those who, like us, have been privileged to hear any of these lectures, will never forget the thrilling effect which their delivery produced on the crowded audience that thronged the lecture-room. This is not the place to analyze either the tendency of Schelling's philosophy, or the merits of these lectures. We may be allowed to remind the reader that part of this volume (which has been well edited by one of the author's sons) contains the last things which Schelling penned. We venture to say, that in every respect this volume will be found deserving the attention which it is sure to meet with from the philosophical public.

The limits of our space prevent our noticing all the works which lie for review on our study-table, and, indeed, from fulfilling—at least this month—all the promises which we had made to our readers. But we cannot part from them without noticing an autobiography interesting from the insight which it affords into the literary, moral, and educational state of Germany during the first half of the present century, and for the remarkable success which attended its author during life. Dr. G. Eilers, the first part of whose "Pilgrimage through Life,"<sup>25</sup> lies before us, rose from being the child of a peasant, in an obscure village of the most obscure part of Germany, to be a Prussian councillor of state. The history of his childhood is interesting, as revealing to us scenes amid the peasant-life of Oldenburg, which remind us of olden times in Germany. Sturdy, independent peasants, not unlike what are called in Scotland, "bonnet lairds," hold the soil, and transmit it to their eldest sons. Simplicity of manners and Christian piety characterize the population. The mother of Eilers was pious; his father partook somewhat of the so-called enlightenment which had become the prevailing theological tendency of that age. Dr. Eilers introduces us to specimens of pastors which, we hope, were rare even among the Rationalists. An irresistible desire to become an educated man, which his father charitably characterized as madness, led him gradually to push his way, till he entered the gymnasium at Jever, where the celebrated historian Schlosser became his teacher. To this now so well-known historian, the youth was under the deepest obligations. After leaving the gymnasium, Eilers had meant to study theology; but the state of the church was not such as to encourage any sincere man to enter the clerical office. The Rationalistic reaction against dead orthodoxy had then reached its climax. To be Christian was sufficient to expose one to scorn and persecution. Even Lessing was not sufficiently sound for these Rationalists; Semler was scouted when he attempted to refute the statement, that the author of Christianity did not mean to make himself King of the Jews. Connected with this movement

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<sup>25</sup> *Meine Wanderung durchs Leben. Ein Beitrag zur innern Gesch. d. Ersten Hälfte d. 19 Jahrhunderts.* Von Dr. G. Eilers. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1856.



were the utopian philanthropic plans, by which the world was to be regenerated. The French Revolution separated the parties, and drove them to opposite extremes; the most extravagant despotism and the most extravagant liberalism were arrayed against each other. As an instance of the religion fashionable at this time, a superintendent-general writes in the year 1781, to his clergy, admonishing them when preaching the truths which Jesus had first imported from the sages into common life, "at least to mention his name as a witness, and out of gratitude towards that noble man." In 1810, Eilers came to Heidelberg. Here he met first with the poet Voss, who warmly recommended him to attend the lectures of Paulus. The personal appearance, as well as the teaching, of that hero of Rationalism, do not seem to have made a favourable impression upon the youth. It was otherwise with Daub, who, before his perversion to Hegelianism, exercised the most salutary influence upon his students. But, above all, Neander had just commenced his activity in Heidelberg, and attracted crowded audiences. Soon after his arrival, Eilers resolved to devote himself to the profession of teacher. Accordingly, he entered the philological seminary then under the direction of Kreutzer, the celebrated author of the "Symbolic and Mythology." Another interesting personage was the philosopher Professor Fries, so well-known for his opposition to the then prevailing school. Passing over the personal reminiscences of student life, which those acquainted with German life will find deeply interesting, we meet Eilers again at Gottingen, where he attends the lectures of Heeren, Planck, and the naturalist Tychsen. An interesting episode, belonging to that period, is that connected with the religious inquiries which, in the case of Eilers, led to humble faith,—in that of a fellow-student, to despair, and, when coupled with other disappointments, to suicide. From Göttingen, Eilers went as tutor to Frankfort into a patrician family, where he found a lasting home by marriage with one of the daughters. Frankfort, the great commercial capital of Central Germany, was at that time, even more than at present, the scene of mental as well as of material activity. If the gentlemen specially devoted themselves to business, the society of the ladies seems to have been all the more charming. During the great French war, their sympathies were patriotic to a degree, while their more prudent lords managed to swallow their feelings for the sake of their interests. The stay at Frankfort was, in our opinion, more useful to Eilers than the university curriculum. He not only received there that culture which only the society of well-informed ladies can impart, but met in familiar converse with some of the most celebrated men of Germany. Among the latter we may mention Stein, afterwards Prussian minister, a man equally famed for ability, and known for firmness, probity, and Christian principle. But we must hasten to a close. From Frankfort, Eilers went as teacher to the newly established school at Bremen. The description of the society there is even more interesting than that at Frankfort. But here our volume leaves us just as Eilers is married, and has received a call to become director of a new gymnasium in one of the Rhine



provinces. There we may perhaps meet him in our next. We cannot bring ourselves to drop the pen without giving an extract describing the first appearance of Neander as a teacher. It seems that his weakly form and helpless manner, as he walked the streets, between his two sisters, who seemed afraid that he would fall, had excited the scorn of the students, who thronged the lecture-room to hoot him down at his first appearance: "The young docent entered the room modestly, and almost tottering,. He ascended the chair somewhat as an innocent person would the scaffold. It took two or three minutes before he could sufficiently collect himself to commence. But what he then slowly and painfully uttered, so fully disclosed to those who were capable of appreciating it, a noble mind and deep feeling, that a counter-demonstration on their part, soon put the noisy spirits in the back-seats to flight. Neander was able to finish his lecture, and a number of students accompanied him on his return to his lodgings." Such was the commencement of the activity of one whom, even at present, we may safely class with the ecclesiastical fathers.

Without trammelling ourselves with promises for the future, we may at least hold out to our readers the prospect, that to make up for past deficiencies, we will, in our next, introduce to their notice some of the less-known German theological Reviews.

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## Brief Notices.

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LITURGICAL PURITY, OUR RIGHTFUL INHERITANCE. By John C. Fisher, M.A., of the Middle Temple. Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1857.

THE author of this volume (containing 667 pages) has investigated the subjects of which it treats with a large amount of labour and patience; and those who shall give it, as we have done, a careful perusal, must certainly exercise a measure of the same qualities. But those subjects well deserve attention, more especially from members of the Established Church, to many of whom, as well as to many Nonconformists, we are persuaded this treatise will develop facts of which they are very imperfectly aware. It is the author's object to show that the formularies of the Church of England greatly need material revision. He writes as an attached member of that communion; but he proves by a large examination of its history, and citation of many authorities, that its liturgical services have been, since the first age of the Reformation, altered in points of great importance. It is shown, particularly, that the office of baptism, the communion service, and the catechism, have been, since the time of King Edward VI., all subjected to retrogressive changes; above all, by the last revision in the reign of Charles II. The author dwells largely on the contrast between the catechism of 1553, and that now taught, which, as he fully shows, is distinguished by its

"sacramentalism." "Out of *twenty-five* questions of which the catechism *now* consists, no less than *seventeen* relate exclusively to the nature and efficacy of the sacraments." "It is not too much to say that in the catechism, as it *now* stands, the SACRED ORACLES, considered as an inspired code of religious belief, are completely overshadowed by the prominence given to a patristic scheme of sacramental theology" (p. 293). We apprehend, however, that while the author earnestly advocates revision and "Liturgical Purity," a majority of the Anglican clergy will be rather confirmed than shaken, by his exposition of past changes, in their adherence to the present structure of liturgical services. They will say, we fully expect that the retrograde movements complained of were, in reality, but a fit and commendable return from innovations which had been carried much too far; that those hasty and rash approaches to the doctrines of Geneva were most rightly corrected in a subsequent age; and that the present offices of the church, as a whole, contain and exhibit the true and sound theology. Not a few would go beyond this, and hold that the actual system, both of ordinary and sacramental forms, needs to be yet more modified in the same direction, by a still further recession from the creed of those whom they deem to be misnamed "Evangelical." The author, while sensible to the great difficulties which his proposal of revision must encounter, entertains hope from opinions expressed in convocation, with regard to abbreviation, the addition of certain new forms, and a withdrawal of Apocryphal lessons; but these proposals involve no question of doctrine. It appears to us that such a fundamental revision as the author desires, can only be expected on the formation of a FREE CHURCH, disposed to carry out their Evangelical reforms more fully and unequivocally than the majority of the clergy, as the national church is now constituted, would approve or sanction. The present position of the "Evangelical" minority will certainly not appear, to themselves or others, the less difficult and embarrassing from the statements and reasonings of this volume.

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DIVINE RESERVE; or, Christianity in Relation to our Mental Moods. By the Rev. Joseph Parker, Banbury: preached before the Northamptonshire Sunday School Union, in College-Street Chapel, Northampton. London: Judd & Glass. 1857.

THIS is a remarkable sermon—in its title, in its text, and in its mode of treatment—sufficiently so to justify our making it the subject of a distinct notice. The passage of Holy Writ selected by the preacher is that contained in the Gospel of St. Luke, xxiii. 8—11: "And when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad; for he was desirous to see him of a long season, because he had heard many things of him: and he hoped to have seen some miracle done by him, &c." From these words are deduced the inference that "all subjects reveal themselves according to the mental mood in which they are examined;" that "the Divine being discriminates our mental moods;" and that "certain mental moods deprive men of the richest blessings of Christianity." The persons who are possessed of these

vitiating moods are specified as : 1. Men of violent personal antipathies. 2. Men of large speculative curiosity. 3. Men who accept Rationalism as their highest guide. 4. Men who delight in moral darkness. Of these it is further affirmed in general, that they "resort to opposition," as illustrated in "the history of infidelity, bigotry, and persecution." The practical application of the discourse to the matter especially before the preacher, is summed up in the three following points : 1. That the Bible is God's appointed representative. 2. That the Bible must be approached in a sympathetic spirit. 3. That we are responsible for our manner of reproducing the Bible. We have thus presented our readers with a dry skeleton of a discourse which, in its integrity, resembles the good kine of Pharaoh's dream, being "well-favoured" and "fat-fleshed." It is graceful in outline, succinct in garb, beams with a warm and sober intelligence, and is worthy alike of the preacher and of the occasion. Mr. Parker has our best wishes for a long and successful career as an expositor and defender of Christ's holy Gospel.

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REAL HAPPINESS; or, the Philanthropist. By Prothesia S. Elton. (Run and Read Library.) London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.

THIS book is indeed what its title professes. It details the attempts of a Christian philanthropist, spiritually and temporally, to better the condition of those with whom he is brought into contact. "Real Happiness" is not a *story* in the ordinary sense of the word, in the sense of having a plot with a regular *dénouement*. The principal personages are Mr. D'Arcy, his sister, and his children. Mr. D'Arcy is a Christian gentleman settled in Ireland, and the story is rather meant to give an account of the ordinary life and the pursuits of the D'Arcy family and their friends, than portraying impossible adventures, hairbreadth escapes, desperate love-scenes, *et hoc genus omne*. We can safely recommend the book as wholesome and instructive reading. One main feature in it is the full discussion of the principal social and religious questions agitated in our days. It is no disparagement to Mrs. Elton to state that in some of her views we cannot concur. We cheerfully add that, if we are not convinced, it is not because her views are not supported by as able arguments as we believe can be pleaded on her side of these questions. Thus, we do not remember having seen what is commonly known as the "Peace Question," more amply, moderately, or ably discussed than in this volume. If we still hold that, under certain circumstances, war is not only lawful, but duty, and that there is no inconsistency in a Christian continuing the profession of arms, we must not be understood as implying anything prejudicial to the volume under review. What has especially struck us while reading it, was the distinct individuality, the freshness and vivacity, of the writer, coupled with deep moral sympathy in the great social problems of our day, and with high Christian principle; sometimes a vein of satire against the morbid tendencies around appears in her pages. We have said sufficient to interest our

readers in "Real Happiness." Would that many who seek after it would follow her advice. Mrs. Elton is not a writer soon to drop the pen: we shall, therefore, cherish the hope of meeting her again in similar departments of literature.

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A SYSTEM OF PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY; containing a Description of the Natural Features of the Land and Water, the Phenomena of the Atmosphere, and the Distribution of Animal and Vegetable Life; to which is added a Treatise on the Physical Geography of the United States. By D. M. Warren. The whole embellished with numerous Engravings, and illustrated by several Copper-plate and Electrotyped Maps and Charts, drawn expressly for the work by James H. Young. London: Sampson Low, Son, and Co.; Philadelphia: Cowperthwait & Co. 1857.

THIS title-page sufficiently describes the contents of the volume. Mr. Warren, in his preface, acknowledges his obligations to Continental and British writers, among the latter specifying Petermann and Milner, whose arrangement, he says, has been generally adopted, and in some cases their language has been used. Though prepared specially for the United States, it is not less fit for use in this country; and, as far as we have examined it, appears to comprise within less than one hundred quarto pages, a well-digested account of the most remarkable facts and phenomena relating to a very interesting study, which in our school-days could scarcely be said, except in a very limited sense, to be a branch of education at all. Besides the maps and illustrations, a series of questions is appended to every section, which adds to its value for scholastic purposes.

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POEMS. By Emmeline Hinxman. London: Longmans.

THIS is a volume of true and most sweet poetry, charming alike in thought and in embodiment. The sentiments are always good and pure; the imagery is such as seems to glow spontaneously from the subject, and the diction, exquisitely simple and unaffected, is never wanting in dignity. While reading the book we have exulted in the thought that another poet is amongst us. We should like to sustain our opinion by extracts, but the poems are such beautiful *wholes*, that we should wrong them by presenting parts to our readers. Perhaps, however, we may not injuriously give the following detached lines from the noble poem entitled "Crescentis." The metaphors are applied to duty:—

"Fair Angel, from whose gleaming feet,  
The silver cord is still unwound,  
That guides through all the mazy tracks of life."

"Chain on whose links in lightning current dart  
The missions of the Will Divine,  
And the consenting answers of man's heart."

We think Wordsworth would not need to be ashamed of his follower—not imitator—in the homage she renders to duty. Those who need refreshment for heart and mind cannot do better than open this volume.

HINTS TO A YOUNG GOVERNESS ON BEGINNING A SCHOOL. London: Wertheim & Macintosh.

WE most cordially recommend this little book. Its principles are the highest and best, and the advice given is in general excellent, though of course many of the details must vary in applicability according to circumstances. The remarks on "moral training" are admirable, and the presentation of Christian motive and Christian supports to the consideration of the governess, very beautiful and striking. The little book is adapted equally to those engaged in private tuition. It is evidently written by one who has herself known the pressure of the duties and trials of the profession. Her sympathy will be most acceptable to those similarly occupied, who may often have longed in vain for such sympathy and aid in their arduous life. They will feel that *one*, at least, appreciates both the difficulties and the dignity of their position, and would fain help them to fill it worthily. We wish a copy of this tract (whose *money-value* is but sixpence) were in the hand of every young governess.

HOMELY WORDS AND SONGS FOR WORKING MEN AND WOMEN. By the Rev. Charles Marshall, Dunfermline. Part I. Wives and Mothers. Part II. Young Women. Edinburgh: Constable.

WE have only to regret that the songs which form the most attractive portion of these excellent little volumes being in the Scottish dialect, are unintelligible to our English cottagers. The prose parts are replete with good counsels, based on religious principles, and given in a familiar manner; and we should hail the appearance of similar *brochures* adapted to the circumstances of the working classes in this country.

MARIAN FALCONER; or, Stars in the Darkness. By E. H. W. Bath: Binns & Goodwin; London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co.

THOUGH we cannot congratulate the author on having produced a well-arranged story, yet we can recommend the volume as an entertaining one, and as containing passages of considerable beauty, while the religious sentiments are such as meet our cordial approbation.

## Books Received.

Abbott's (J. S. C.) History of Henry IV. of France and Navarre. 232 pp. Knight & Son.  
 Address to Mr. Peter Pindar, &c. 16 pp. Warminster: George E. Palmer, Market Place.  
 Angel's Visit (The): a Poem. 40 pp. J. Heaton & Son.  
 Annotated Paragraph Bible. Part V., the Four Gospels. Religious Tract Society.  
 Annual Report of the Dutch Protestant Mission, Bethany, 1856—1857.  
 Arago's (François) Memoirs of Distinguished Scientific Men. 607 pp. Longmans.  
 Arnot's (Rev. Wm.) Laws from Heaven for Life on Earth. 430 pp. T. Nelson & Sons.  
 Barth's (Dr.) Travels in North and Central Africa. In 5 vols., maps, &c. Vols. 1, 2, 3. Longmans.  
 Bathurst (C.) on the Differences in Shakspeare's Versification. 218 pp. J. W. Parker & Son.  
 Beale's (Lionel John) Health, Disease, and Longevity. 224 pp. Jno. Churchill.  
 Bibliotheca Sacra and American Biblical Repository, for April. Trübner & Co.  
 Blackley's (Rev. Wm.) Translation of the Frithiof-Saga. 193 pp. Dublin: M'Glashan & Gill.  
 Bonnet's (Dr. Jules) Letters of John Calvin. Vol. II. 434 pp. Edinburgh: Thos. Constable & Co.  
 Bray's (Mrs.) Sketch of the Life of Handel. 92 pp. Ward & Co.  
 Brown's (Dr. John) The Three Gatherings. 112 pp. Hamilton, Adams, & Co.  
 Champney's (H. N.) Family Prayers for a Fortnight. 78 pp. Wertheim & Macintosh.  
 Cole's (Dr. Henry) The Waste Places and the Desolations. 12 pp. W. H. Collingridge.

- Commentary Wholly Biblical. Part VII. Bagster & Sons.  
 Congregational Church Music in the Sol-fa Notation. 126 pp. Ward & Co.  
 Cooper's (F.) Wild Adventures in Australia and New South Wales. 168 pp. Jas. Blackwood.  
 Cruel Sister (The), a Tragedy; and other Poems. 184 pp. Smith, Elder, & Co.  
 Dalgleish's Memorials of the High School of Edinburgh. Portraits. MacLachlan & Stewart.  
 Davidson's (Dr.) Facts, &c., on 2nd vol. of 10th Edit. of Horne's "Study, &c." 124 pp. Longmans.  
 Du Boulay's (Jno.) England's Advantages: a Lecture. 46 pp. Whittaker & Co.  
 Eyre's (Dr. Sir Jas.) The Stomach and its Difficulties. 162 pp. Jno. Churchill.  
 Farmer's (Sarah S.) Wise to Win Souls: a Memoir of Rev. Z. Job. 262 pp. Hamilton, Adams, & Co.  
 Fellows's (Mrs. P. P.) Poems. 83 pp. Smith, Elder, & Co.  
 Fenwick's (Dr. S.) Treatise on the Causes and Prevention of Diseases. 220 pp. Jno. Churchill.  
 Fisher's (J. C., M.A.) Liturgical Purity our Rightful Inheritance. 667 pp. Hamilton, Adams, & Co.  
 Fraser's Magazine, for May. J. W. Parker & Son.  
 Fry's (E.) Essays on the Accordance of Christianity with the Nature of Man. 216 pp. Constable & Co.  
 Funeral Services occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Dr. Harris. 124 pp. Ward & Co.  
 Gairdner's (Dr. W. T.) Few Words on Homœopathy and Homœopathic Hospitals. 14 pp. A. & C. Black.  
 Gaskell's (Mrs.) Life of Charlotte Brontë. 2 vols., 679 pp. Smith, Elder, & Co.  
 Gilfillan's (Rev. Geo.) Christianity and our Era: a Book for the Times. 478 pp. Edinburgh: J. Hogg.  
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1825.....	382 14 0	108 14 0	1486 8 0
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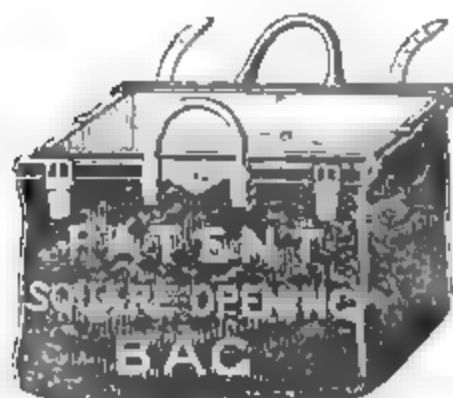
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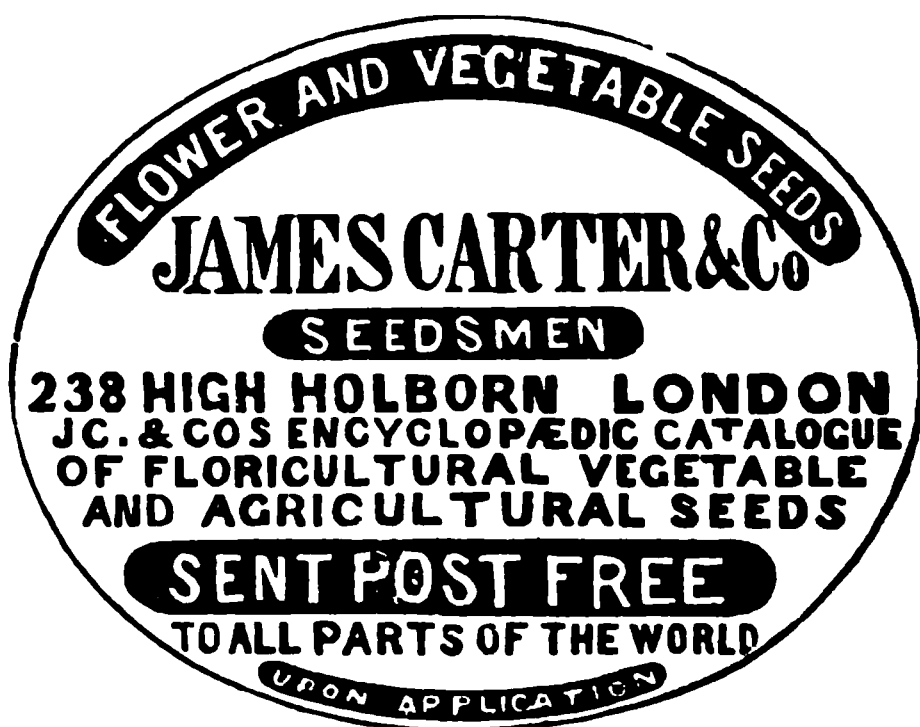
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The following is a List of the Principal Articles in the **ECLECTIC REVIEW** for the Year 1856: each Number containing, in addition, A Review of the Religious and Political Occurrences of 1 Month; Brief Notices of Recent Publications; and Literary Intelligence.

## JANUARY.

The English Pre-Raphaelites.  
Mosses and Mountain Scenery.  
Northamptonshire Words and Phrases.  
The History of Piedmont  
Butler's (W. Archer) Sermons.  
Cambridge Essays  
Macaulay's History of England.  
Davidson's Hebrew Text of the Old Testament.

## FEBRUARY.

On German Protestantism.  
Macaulay's History of England (*Second Notice*).  
Harris's Patriarchy.  
The Kabbalah.  
The Austrian Concordat.  
General Guyon.  
James Montgomery.

## MARCH.

The Fine Arts in France  
Correspondence of Napoleon Buonaparte.  
Guthrie's Gospel in Ezekiel.  
Boy-Crime and its Cure.  
The Philosophy of Reproduction.  
The Works of the Hanserd Knollys Society.  
Samuel Rogers.  
The Plant as it lives and moves.  
Recent Poetry.

## APRIL.

Salvator Rosa.  
Bible Truth and its Opponents.  
Dr. Wardlaw's Life and Writings.  
Bayne's Christian Life.  
On Architecture.  
The Civil Service Commission.

## MAY.

Dr. Kitto: his Life and Works.  
The Fine Arts of the Middle Ages.  
Reformers before the Reformation.  
Religion in the West Indies.  
The Food of London.

## JUNE.

Ruskin's Modern Painters.  
Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation.  
Life in Brazil.  
Tenby: a Seaside Holiday.  
Spiritual Despotism.  
Aird's Poems.  
Hupfeld on the Psalms.  
Moore's Memoirs.

## JULY.

Studies of Foreign Literature.  
The Peel Memoirs.  
Popular Religious Literature.  
Hours with the Mystics.  
Later Jewish History.  
Border Lands of France and Spain.

## AUGUST.

Modern Painters, Vol. IV.  
Low Life in London.  
The Austrian Concordat in its Political Aspect.  
Lamartine's Memoirs.  
The Mystery; or, Evil and God.  
Eastern Hospitals and Lady-Nurses.

## SEPTEMBER.

Studies of Foreign Literature, No. II.  
Bunsen's Signs of the Times.  
Bacon's Essays.  
Ramus: his Life and Opinions.  
On Goltre and Crétinism.  
Popular Religious Teaching.  
The Oxford Essays.

## OCTOBER.

Mrs. Stowe's, "Dred."  
Perthes: Life in Germany.  
Councils and Synods.  
Eastern and Western Africa.  
Kirby and Spence's Entomology.

## NOVEMBER.

Studies of Foreign Literature, No. III.  
Goethe.  
Ancient and Modern Mathematical Science.  
Fremont, the Pathfinder.  
Parsons: the Earnest Minister.

## DECEMBER.

Torquato Tasso.  
China: its Civilization and Philosophy.  
Our Prisons and their Inmates.  
Austrian Secret Memoirs.  
Zoology: Invertebrated Animals.  
A Vacation in Brittany.  
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[JANUARY, 1857.

THE *Recd. Feb 4. 1857*

# ECLECTIC REVIEW;

OR,

## Critical Journal

OF

BRITISH AND FOREIGN LITERATURE.

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Notice.—In our next Number will be given the first QUARTERLY REVIEW OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. We have been obliged to postpone several literary and other articles till our February number for want of space.

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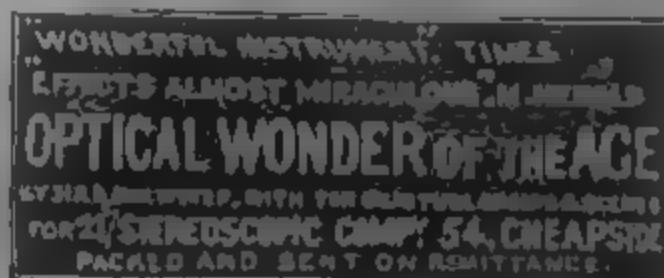
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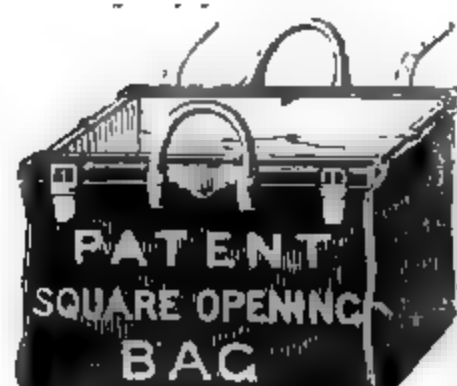
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**S**IX PER CENT. INTEREST.—Debentures bearing Six per cent.  
Interest are now ready to be issued for sums of £20 and upwards. Interest  
payable Half-yearly. Annuities granted.—LIFE ASSURANCE TREASURY,  
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Gentlemen desirous of becoming Agents, should address to Mr. A. Cockshaw.



## WATCHES, PLATE, JEWELLERY.

HENRY MILLS, 171 & 172, OXFORD ST.

Respectfully solicits an inspection of his elegant stock of highly-finished GOLD and SILVER WATCHES, all warranted for Twelve Months.



	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Gold Horizontal Watches, Gold		
Dial, Jewelled .. ...	4 10 0	to 5 5 0
Ditto ditto superior quality	7 7 0	to 10 10 0
Ditto Lever ditto 10 holes		
Jewelled ... ..	6 10 0	to 10 10 0
Ditto best London make ... ..	12 12 0	to 21 0 0
Silver Horizontal ditto 4 holes		
Jewelled ... ..	2 10 0	to 3 0 0
Ditto Lever ditto ... ..	3 0 0	to 4 0 0
Ditto ditto, very superior		
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In great variety.

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Price of a Single Truss, 16s., 21s., 26s. 6d., and 31s. 6d., 42s., and 52s.

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The material of which these are made is recommended peculiarly ELASTIC and COMPRESSIBLE, and the best efficient and permanent support in all cases of WEAKNESS the LEGS, VARICOSE VEINS, SPRAINS, &c. It is poor inexpensive, and is drawn on like an ordinary stocking. Price each. Postage, 6d.

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**THE BEST REMEDY FOR INDIGESTION, HEARTBURN,**  
Headache, Acidity, and Bilious and Liver Disorders. Sold 18½d. a box, by Mr Edwards, 67, St Paul's Churchyard; Butler & Harding, 4, Cheapside, and Barclay & Sons, Farringdon Street; of whom may be had BEDDOME'S POWDERS FOR CHILDREN, unequalled as a mild alterative Aperient.

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which does the Washing of a Family in two or three hours without injury to the Linen, and more economically than any other in existence; price £3 to £10. Also,

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The Greatest variety of Crystal  
Frames in London, from  
18s. 6d. each.

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Tablespoons &c.	12s. 6d.	12s.	12s.	12s.
Teaspoons &c.	12s. 6d.	12s.	12s.	12s.
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Tablespoons &c.	12s. 6d.	12s.	12s.	12s.
Teaspoons &c.	12s. 6d.	12s.	12s.	12s.
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Tablespoons &c.	12s. 6d.	12s.	12s.	12s.
Teaspoons &c.	12s. 6d.	12s.	12s.	12s.
Knives &c.	12s. 6d.	12s.	12s.	12s.

Kitchen Table Knives & Forks from 8s. per Doz.

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Tablespoons &c.	12s. 6d.	12s.	12s.	12s.
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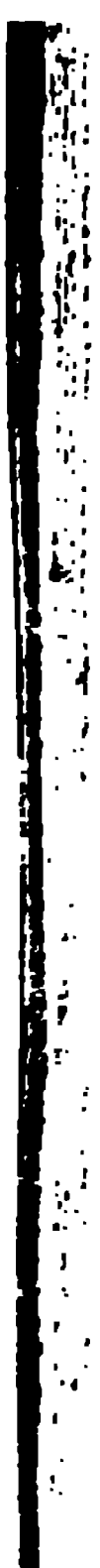
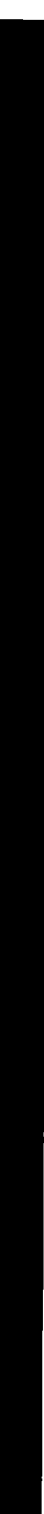
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This beautiful manufacture is celebrated for its peculiar purity and silver whiteness; and, as a substitute for silver (from which it cannot, by any test, be distinguished), is unsurpassed.

DEANE, DRAY, and CO. have always on sale Table and Dessert Spoons and Forks, in all the newest and most approved silver patterns, also Tea and Coffee Sets, Legueuse-stands, Cruets, Candlesticks, Cake baskets, and every article usually produced in silver.

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A large and handsome collection of **BRIGHT STOVES**, for the drawing or dining-room, embracing all the newest designs, is always on **SALE**, in the Stove and Fender department of DEANE, DRAY, and Co.'s establishment. They have applied to these and other classes of register stoves patented improvements, economizing the consumption of fuel, for which the highest testimonials have been given. Deane, Dray, and Co. also invite attention to their improved **COOKING STOVE**, adapted for gentlemen's mansions, and all large establishments, with Kitchen Ranges of the best construction. In Fenders and Fire Irons they are constantly introducing every novelty at the lowest possible prices.

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A large collection of Sculpture, consisting of copies from the antique, and numerous original compositions.

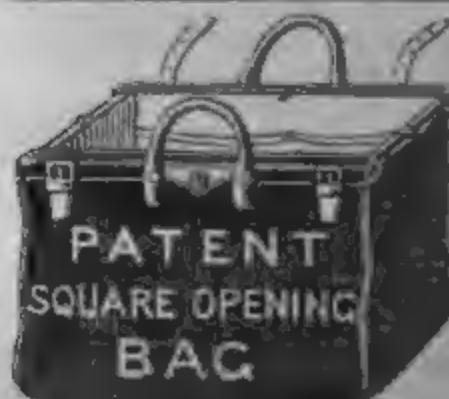
Estimates and Drawings upon application.

Vide *Building News*, February 13th, 1857, page 158, "Works in Marble."

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In the hardest and most perfect metal known, and tested, and in no other is so perfectly reproduced. A single Tea Spoon will be sent on receipt of 1d. postage stamps.



	Fuller Pattern	Strong Pattern	Plated 1st	Plated 2nd
Table Spoon & Fork per doz.	12s. 6d. & 12s.	10s.	7s.	6s.
Dessert Utensils	10s. 6d. & 10s.	8s.	5s.	4s.
Tea Spoon	5s. 6d. & 5s.	4s.	3s.	2s.

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By Messrs. Ellington & Co.'s patent process, a coating of Pure Silver over Nickel, a combination of metals possessing such valuable properties, as appearance and wear equal to Sterling Silver.

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Table Spoon & Fork	1 10 6d. & 1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.
Dessert Utensils	1 10 6d. & 1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.
Table Spoon	1 10 6d. & 1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.
Dessert Utensils	1 10 6d. & 1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.
Tea Spoon	1 10 6d. & 1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.

Made into every article for the Table, as Teapots, Sugar Castles, Creamers, Tea Pots, &c.

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Has been celebrated for 20 years for quality and price.

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IVORY TABLE KNIVES	1 10 6d. & 1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.
in Blades	1 10 6d. & 1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.
also	1 10 6d. & 1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.
also	1 10 6d. & 1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.

Kitchen Table Knives & Forks from 6s. per doz.

## BATHS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION.

Hot Bath from 10s. Spring Bath 7s. 6d. to 10s. each. Children's Bath from 5s. to 10s. each. 10s. 6d. to 15s.

## DISH COVERS.

Every one having dinner or supper in their house, should have Metal, and Black Tin.

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Round Tin Dish Cover with handle to table	1 10 6d. & 1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.
Ditto, same's Pattern	1 10 6d. & 1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.	1 10 6d.
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Wholesale furnishing may effect a great saving by Purchasing at RICHARD AND JOHN SLACK'S Established IRONMONGERY WAREHOUSE, 115, Strand, opposite Somerset House. Where we carry on one of the most extensive Assortment of Fenders, Fire Irons, Dish Covers, Tea Trays, Table Knives, Nickel Silver Ware, and every Article in Furnishing Ironmongery of the best quality, at prices much lower than other houses. Tea Trays, from 6s. 6d. the set of three; two-piece metal set, 25s. set of three.

Iron Fenders, 8s. 6d. to 10s.; Bronzed Fenders with Standards, from 10s. 6d. to 15s.; Fire Irons, 2s. 6d. to 15s.; Roasting Jacks, 7s. 6d. complete; Meat Saws, from 13s.; and every requisite for the Kitchen at equally low prices.

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